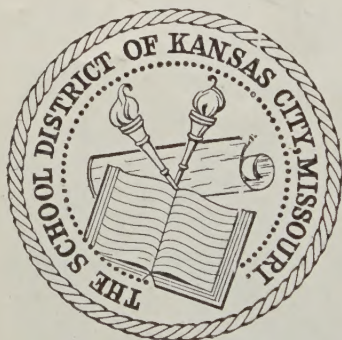


27227

Bound
Periodical

Kansas City Public Library



This Volume is for
REFERENCE USE ONLY

YUASBII 01919
YTIO 2A20A9
OM

THE

BIBLICAL REPERTORY

AND

PRINCETON REVIEW

FOR THE YEAR

1853.

VOL. XXV.

PHILADELPHIA:

OFFICE OF THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY, 265 CHESTNUT ST.

WALL LUM
VIB 24000
00

BIND. JAN 10 '27

27227
a
6204

CONTENTS OF VOL. XXV.

No. I.

	PAGE.
ART I.—Outlines of Moral Science, by Archibald Alexander, D. D.,.....	1
ART. II.—Epistle to Diognetus.....	44
ART. III.—Modern Millenarianism.....	66
ART. IV.—China and California.....	83
ART. V.—Theology of the Old Testament.....	102
ART. VI.—The Ventilation of Churches.....	121
SHORT NOTICES.....	138
Robert and Harold; or the Young Marooners on the Florida Coast.	
Select British Eloquence.	
Baconianism and the Bible.	
The Scots Worthies; containing a brief historical account of the most eminent noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and others, who testified or suffered for the cause of Reformation in Scotland, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the year 1688.	
Daily Commentary.	
Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane, of Airthrey, and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane.	
Footsteps of our Forefathers: What they suffered, and what they sought. Describing Localities, and portraying Personages and Events in the struggles for Religious Liberty.	
The Three Great Temptations of Young Men: With several Lectures addressed to Business and Professional Men.	
Daily Readings.	
The Faded Hope.	
Elegy Written in a Country Church Yard, and other Poems.	
The Practical Man, an Address delivered before the Diognothian and Goethean Societies of Marshall College, at the annual commencement, September 7, 1852.	

1. A Forest Flower.—2. Grandmother's Parable, or the Young Pilgrims.—3. The Waterloo Soldier, or the Early Life and Closing Days of Farquhar Mackay.—4. The Youth's Gleaner, or Ripe Fruits of Early Piety Gathered and Garnered, for the Presbyterian Board of Publication.—5. My Own Hymn Book. 6. Evidences for Heaven.—7. The Bible the Book of the Lord, or the Divine Authority of the Sacred Scriptures.—8. Patience. 9. A Manual on the Christian Sabbath.
- The Book of Poetry.
- The Sinner's Progress; or, the Life and Death of Mr. Badman; also Review of Anti-Christ.
- Help to Zion's Travellers.
- A Defence of Restricted Communion.
- A Eulogy pronounced on Daniel Webster, before the citizens of Burlington, N. J., at the Lyceum, on November 4th, 1852.
- A Discourse occasioned by the death of Daniel Webster.
- A Discourse on the Life and Character of Daniel Webster.
- Africa's Redemption. A Discourse on African Colonization, in its missionary aspects, and in its relation to Slavery and Abolition.
- Justification by Faith. A Sermon delivered before the Synod of New York and New Jersey, Oct. 20th, 1852.
- A Contrast between the erroneous assertions of Prof. Schaf, and the Testimony of credible Ecclesiastical Historians, in regard to the state of the Church in the Middle Ages.
- A Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church in the City of New Brunswick; read before the Historical Society of New Jersey, September 8th, 1852.
- The Revelation of St. John, expounded for those who search the Scriptures.
- The Mine Explored; or Help to the Reading of the Bible.
- Parables of Spring.
- Churches of the Valley: or an Historical Sketch of the Old Presbyterian Congregations of Cumberland and Franklin counties, in Pennsylvania.
- Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits: addressed to a Student in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J.
- Heaven Opened: or a Brief and Plain Discovery of the Riches of God's Covenant of Grace.
- Bible Companion: designed for the assistance of Bible Classes, Families, and Young Students of the Scriptures.
- The Morning Watches and Night Watches.
- Romanism as it is. An Oration delivered by the Rev. John Cumming, D. D., of London.
- An Address to Students.
- May I go to the Theatre?
- The Spring-time of life; or Advice to Youth.

No. II.

	PAGE
ART. I.—Character and Writings of Fenelon.....	165
ART. II.—The Religious Significance of Numbers.....	203
ART. III.—Mercantile Morals, and the Successful Merchant.....	228
ART. IV.—The Life and Studies of C. G. Zumpt.....	240
ART. V.—Idea of the Church.....	249
ART. VI.—On the Correspondence between Prophecy and History.....	290
SHORT NOTICES.....	305
The Grace of Christ, or Sinners saved by unmerited kindness.	
Man's Ability. Old-school Theology.	
Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte, and Historic Certainties respecting the Early History of America.	
Ancient Christianity Exemplified, in the Private, Domestic, Social and Civil Life of the Primitive Christians, and in the original Institutions, Offices, Ordinances and Rites of the Church.	
An Appeal to the Churches: or the Cause and Cure of Remiss- ness in the Support of Pastors.	
An Analysis and Summary of Thucydides.	
An Analysis and Summary of Old Testament History and the Laws of Moses. With an introductory outline of the Geo- graphy, Political History, &c.; the Prophecies, Types, and intimations of the Messiah; Jewish History from Nehemiah to A. D. 70, chronologically added throughout; Examination Questions, &c.	
Sabbath Day Readings, or Children's own Sabbath Book.	
The Faithful Promiser.	
The Mine Explored; or Help to the Reading of the Bible.	
Songs for the Little Ones at Home.	
The Gentle Shepherd.	
A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a systematic view of that science.	
Christian Patriotism; or the Duties which Christians owe their Country. A Sermon.	
The Importance of Knowledge to the Soul of Man: An Educa- tional Discourse.	
Memoir of the Rev. John E. Emerson, First Pastor of the White- field Church, Newburyport, Mass.	
Spiritual Religion and Ceremonial Contrasted: a Discourse.	

	PAGE.
Elemental Contrast between the Religion of Forms and of the Spirit, as exemplified in Popery and Puseyism on the one hand, and genuine Protestantism on the other. A Discourse.	
A New Edition of the Authorized Version of the Bible.	
Pastoral Theology: or the Theory of the Evangelical Ministry.	
Lectures on Pastoral Theology.	
The Bible, the Missal, and the Breviary: or Ritualism self-illustrated in the Liturgical books of Rome.	
Reply to the Strictures on the Remarks made on the Translation of Genesis and Exodus, in the Revision of the Chinese Scriptures.	
The Lives of the brothers Humboldt, Alexander and William.	
Annual of Scientific Discovery: or Year Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1853.	
The Preacher and the King; or Bourdaloue in the Court of Louis XIV., being an account of the Pulpit Eloquence of that distinguished era.	
LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.....	327

No. III.

ART I.—Idea of the Church, (concluded from April No.).....	339
ART. II.—The Bible in the Counting-House.....	390
ART. III.—Journal and Letters of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D.....	409
ART. IV.—Theology in Germany.....	430
ART. V.—The General Assembly.....	450
SHORT NOTICES.....	528
Reason and Faith, and other Miscellanies of Henry Rogers, author of the "Eclipse of Faith."	
The Child's Matins and Vespers.	
The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament.	
The Difficulties of Infidelity.	
Poetry of the Vegetable World: A Popular Exposition of the Science of Botany, in its Relations to Man.	
The Doctrinal Differences which have agitated and divided the Presbyterian Church: or, Old and New Theology.	
The Old and the New: or, Changes of Thirty Years in the East, with some allusions to Oriental Customs as elucidating Scripture.	
Life of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.	

	PAGE.
Memoir and Sermons of Rev. W. J. Armstrong, D.D., late Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.	
The Young Lady's Guide to the Harmonious Development of the Christian Character.	
Two Sermons on Church Communion and Excommunication, with a particular view to the case of Slaveholders in the Church.	
A Discourse, commemorative of Amos Lawrence.	
Twentieth Anniversary. A Commemorative Discourse, delivered in the North Church of Hartford, May 22, 1853.	
A Bee-Keeper's Manual.	
Receiving and Giving. A Baccalaureate Sermon, delivered at Williamstown, Massachusetts, August 15, 1852.	
Second Latin Book; comprising a Historical Latin Reader, with notes and rules for translating; and an Exercise Book, developing a complete Analytical Syntax, in a series of Lessons and Exercises, involving the Construction, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Latin Sentences.	
Regeneration.	
LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.....	538

No. IV.

ART. I.—Religious Endowments.....	545
ART. II.—Education in the High Schools of Germany.....	564
ART. III.—Recent Doctrinal and Ecclesiastical Conflicts in Connecticut....	598
ART. IV.—History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. Vol. V. The Reformation in England.....	637
ART. V.—Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews.....	656
ART. VI.—Visibility of the Church.....	670
SHORT NOTICES.....	685
A Commentary on the Song of Solomon.	
The Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah. An Exposition of Psalm xviii. and Isaiah lii. 13—liii. 12.	
The Law and the Testimony.	
The Conflict of Ages; or, The Great Debate on the Moral Relations of God and Man.	
On Miracles.	

	PAGE.
History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.	
The Powers of the World to come, and the Church's Stewardship as invested with them.	
The Family Bible. Volume I. Genesis to Job. With brief notes and instructions.	
The Missionary of Kilmany: A Memoir of Alexander Paterson, with notices of Robert Edie.	
Water from the Well-Spring for the Sabbath Hours of afflicted Believers; being a complete course of Morning and Evening Meditations, for every Sunday in the year.	
Abeokuta: or Sunrise within the Tropics: an Outline of the Origin and Progress of the Yoruba Mission.	
Christian Progress: a Sequel to the Anxious Inquirer after Salvation.	
The Life of William Tuttle, the Self-made Man and Consistent Christian	
The Lamp and the Lantern; or Light for the Tent and the Traveller.	
LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.....	693

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1853.

No. I.

ARTICLE I.—*Outlines of Moral Science*, by Archibald Alexander, D. D., late Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. New York: Charles Scribner, 1852.

THIS treatise, although published after the death of its lamented author, had been fully prepared for the press by him while living, except in a few unimportant details, in the final revision of which he was arrested by his last sickness. It was, however, so far completed by him, that he instructed his sons to give it to the world, and empowered them to make all necessary literary corrections—a liberty which they scarcely found occasion to use. It differs, therefore, from most posthumous publications, in being published by the direction, and upon the responsibility of the author. It exhibits his thoughts on the momentous topics treated in it, in the form in which he has chosen to present them to the world. It is, in every sense, Dr. Alexander's work, and sets forth those ethical teachings for which, with death and heaven immediately in view, he stood ready to be held responsible, not only at the bar of human criticism, but at the tribunal of God. This is not often true of posthumous publications. We doubt whether it was true of President Edwards's posthumous work on one important branch of the subject, his "Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue;" a

work which has "astonished most of his admirers," while it has, partly by a perversion, and partly by a fair use of its leading principle, been employed to subvert doctrines which that great divine gained his chief celebrity in defending.

The object of Dr. Alexander in preparing this unpretending volume, was to furnish a suitable text-book on moral science for our colleges and higher seminaries of learning. No one, at all conversant with the subject, can doubt that such a book has hitherto been a desideratum, or that he who succeeds in supplying this want, thereby renders one of the highest possible services to the cause of sound education, morality and religion. It would be difficult for any man to confer a higher benefit upon his race. Next to the knowledge of God, it is as true as trite, that "the proper study of mankind is man." But we need not say, that the rational and immortal nature of man towers above all other elements in his composition; or again, that of his spiritual essence, that whereby he is a moral and accountable being, ranks first in importance, as it is supreme in its authority over him. Surely that part of our constitution is most important to be understood, whose office it is to guide the rest. Moreover, the knowledge of our moral nature is intimately connected with the true knowledge of God, for it is here that the image of God in man is principally seated. It is this that binds us to God, and to love, serve, glorify and enjoy him. This alone makes us in any manner capable of religion or morality. Although the study and scientific knowledge of it be not indispensable to religion, yet it is, beyond all doubt, necessary to scientific theology; or, in other words, to the intelligent statement and vindication of the great principles of religion, especially of the redemptive system revealed in the Bible. The slightest glance will satisfy all that most of the great questions in Christian theology, particularly in the two great departments of anthropology and soterology, involve in their settlement all the main questions of ethical science. To determine whether moral good and evil be such in their own nature, or merely as they are a means to some further end; what properties in the will are requisite to free agency and accountability; and whether moral quality attaches to dispositions as well as acts, is in reality, to lay

down the great principles, not only of our ethical, but in some fundamental points, of our theological system; especially those which determine the nature and even possibility of experimental religion and spiritual regeneration. They run into almost every question connected with sin and grace. It is difficult, therefore, to overrate the value of a text-book which, besides being in its form happily adapted to the purposes of teaching, also inculcates and vindicates the truth in regard to the fundamental principles of moral science. It must be a powerful instrument for imbuing our professional and educated classes with just principles on some of the most fundamental and far-reaching questions which engage the attention or affect the welfare of our race. If the venerated author has succeeded in this attempt to provide a satisfactory text-book in moral science, although the last in time, it will be second to none, in value, among the contributions with which his devout and affluent mind has enriched our ethical, theological and devotional literature.

While many writers have elucidated the different branches of this subject with convincing light and power, few have undertaken to treat of it as a whole, and to adjust and compact its various parts together, in one systematic treatise. And of these, fewer still have succeeded, even if they have made the attempt, in unfolding the subject in that clear and simple style, logical method, freedom from irrelevant and burdensome matter, and from essential errors and omissions, which are so vital in a class-book. Butler has shed great light upon the subject. His solutions of some of the vexed questions relative to conscience, the nature of virtue, and the relations of the various appetites and affections to happiness and duty, will always be accepted and valued, because they are true and important. But they are found chiefly in a few detached essays, and incidental fragmentary observations. Moreover, he hardly touches any of the great questions concerning the will and free-agency, which are scarcely less important than those connected with conscience and the nature of virtue. Had he undertaken it, he had qualifications for preparing a text-book on this subject which ages could not have antiquated.

The Scotch philosophers, from Reid down to Chalmers, have

done much to illustrate this subject. Of these, some have excelled in one way, and some in another. But they are all so unfitted for the purpose of teaching, from important defects either in style or matter, that they have generally gone out of use as text-books. Who could fail to be entertained and instructed by the strong and pithy good sense, and the dense, luminous, nervous paragraphs of Dr. Reid on this or other subjects? Yet, to say nothing of other defects, his whole analysis of the will is unsatisfactory. The gorgeous periods and splendid diffuseness of Brown and Chalmers enchant while they enlighten us. But, to say nothing of errors and omissions, their very brilliancy and diffuseness render them useless as class-books. They only embarrass the teacher, while they dazzle and confound the pupil.

Few men have possessed that rare combination of gifts which Dr. Paley brought to the preparation of his celebrated text-book on moral philosophy. His simple, concise, transparent style, his abhorrence of all obscurity and mysticism, his acuteness in discerning wherein things differ, and wherein they agree, his focal power of mind so remarkably displayed in the *Horæ Paulinæ*, whereby, with effortless facility and inimitable tact, he would detect and gather into one bright, convincing light, all the scattered rays of truth, his sterling English sense and judgment, his experience as a teacher and lecturer on these subjects, all qualified him to make a book that should, in some good degree, approach the true ideal. And so he did. But alas! it lacked one thing yet. Its fundamental principle is false and corrupt. It poisons morality at the very heart, by degrading it into a mere instrument of happiness, a refined form of self-love. Thus basing virtue upon expediency, and denying to it any inherent worth for its own sake, the standard to which he appears to deem it expedient that all should conform, is the English Church in religion, the English constitution in government, and English society in manners. Yet, notwithstanding these grievous defects in principle, (the most vital thing,) such are the merits of its style and arrangement for didactic purposes, that it has, until recently, been the text-book in almost all our British and American colleges and universities. As such, it has exercised a vast and pernicious

influence. It has done much to poison the principles of the educated classes, and to corrupt theology, religion and morals. For these reasons there has long been a growing desire to lay it aside. The great difficulty has been to supply its place.

It is not surprising, therefore, that teachers in this department should strive, with various success, to produce a substitute. Among the works thus far provided for this purpose, Dr. Wayland's justly takes the lead. The rapid issue of successive editions of it, shows that the want was great, and that he has not failed, in some good degree, to meet it. His work has high merits. There could be no room for doubt between it and Paley's, as a safe text-book, or that it ought to be adopted as a substitute, until something still better is provided. It demolishes the utilitarian theory, and reproduces the scheme of Butler. It is conveniently arranged for study and recitation, by an able and accomplished teacher, yet it leaves almost untouched the fundamental questions relating to the will, free-agency, and those internal states, acts, and qualities, on which the moral faculty pronounces judgment, and which have ever been in controversy among men. Thus, it leaves some of the most vital first principles of the science unresolved. On the other hand, it goes largely into the details of practical duty as shown, not only by reason, but by revelation. These are also characteristics of Paley's, and many other works of this class. We cannot but deem the neglect to deal with any important portion of the first principles of a science, a material omission. It is of no avail to say that disputes about the will and free-agency are endless, and that the tenuous distinctions and mazy windings of the subject would only puzzle and confound the learner. The same may be said, just as properly, of questions concerning conscience and the nature of virtue. The very fact that disputes abound, is proof that errors abound on these subjects. If the discussion of them requires delicate discrimination, and is easily "in wandering mazes lost," this only shows what ample hiding-places they afford for errorists and sophists. It only makes the necessity and the obligation still more imperious, to guard our youth against these evils, by disentangling the webs in which polemics have involved these subjects; exposing vulgar errors, and setting forth the truth in

convincing clearness and simplicity. The very reason why our youth need to be instructed in moral philosophy, is that they are exposed to error respecting its first principles. If these be determined aright, the details will be managed with little difficulty. A correct system of practical ethics according to the Bible is of course indispensable in its place. It seems, however, in strictness, to pertain to the province of the Christian teacher rather than the moral philosopher, whose business it is to exhibit the facts and principles belonging to man's moral constitution, as shown by its own light, independently of revelation; in which state revelation finds it, and so finding it, addresses itself to it. For these antecedent facts in our moral nature necessitate natural religion, and alone render revealed religion necessary or possible. If we could suppose man divested of all knowledge of God, but in other respects just as he now is, there would still be a moral science, for he could not avoid judging some actions right, and others wrong. If, in addition to this, there be a belief in God, natural religion and theology inevitably result. If we superadd revelation and redemption, Christian theology, theoretical and practical, are at once generated. All these are distinct, and have their own distinctive principles. They run into each other in this sense, that each presupposes and includes all that precede it. Each exists independently of all that follow it; and should be rightly understood within its own limits, in order to a just conception either of itself, or what follows and is built upon it. Thus, if it be received as a fact in moral science, that "self-love is the primary cause of all voluntary action," this must be held with regard to Christian "voluntary action," and vitiates the whole exegesis of the Bible, the whole circle of Christian morality, piety, and theology.

There was a call, therefore, for another effort to produce a manual, which should clearly set forth and prove the first principles and fundamental facts of moral science, in a form suited to the recitation room. This want Dr. Alexander was led to feel deeply in the course of his long experience as a teacher, and from his observation of the ignorance, error, and confusion of mind, on these subjects, of a large portion of the graduates of our colleges. It had been a favourite topic of study and

reflection with him from early manhood. His views were then essentially fixed, and while he examined with eagerness every new treatise or article on the subject, yet they all served to perfect and confirm, without materially changing his original convictions. He brought to the preparation of the treatise a rare assemblage of qualifications; remarkable clearness, depth, acuteness, and compass of mind; great fairness and candour; distinguished learning; a singular experimental knowledge of moral and religious truth in the exercises of his own soul; a half-century of study, meditation, and discipline upon these subjects; a long career as an eminent teacher in this and theology, an affiliated science; a peculiarly simple and perspicuous style. No one could better understand, or better state, the real issues on which the whole science turns. No one could better understand the objections of adversaries, or how to state his positions so as to unmask their fallacy. No one could have been better qualified to keep clear of crude, rash, untenable statements. No one could have better comprehended the importance, or the precise relations of the various questions involved, to sound theology. No one could have better known in what form it was necessary to present these subjects for the purpose of class instruction, in such a way as to ground the learner in the vital truths of the science, and to exclude all matter not conducive to this capital result. We reckon it an advantage that this was his last, and, if possible, his ripest work; that, being the substance of lectures delivered for a long series of years, his mind had acted upon it again and again, to purge away all impurities, until it came out thoroughly defecated.

It is correctly entitled "Outlines of Moral Science." It deals only with its great leading principles. If these be correctly laid down, the filling up of the details of duty will easily follow. Moreover, this science is chiefly important, not as furnishing a table of rules for our practical guidance—these are found in the Bible, and in summaries and expositions of its teachings—but as exercising a powerful moulding influence upon our general conceptions of Christian doctrine, experience, and duty. It is divided into brief chapters, each of which holds up some single point in strong relief, and, by a short and

happy method, leads the reader or student to test and verify it by his own consciousness. And it is so managed as to confine the attention exclusively to the question in hand, to bring the mind of the pupil to act upon that and nothing else; and to enable him to see the truth by immediate intuition, or a direct palpable inference, without any obscure labyrinthine, or transcendental process, to puzzle or discourage him. Thus the pupil is led forward, step by step, through all the great principles of the science, by a method so plain and expeditious, that ere he is aware of it, he has mastered its fundamental truths, and wonders why he had never seen them before. The memory is not burdened, while the reasoning powers are called into active play, without which no real knowledge on subjects of this sort can be acquired. While the learner is thus excited to think out and master the points for himself, ample room is left for the teacher to expatiate according to his ability and taste. We have seen nothing that so nearly approximates our idea of a model text-book on this class of subjects. In style and method it seems to us no way inferior, while in matter it is, of course, incomparably superior, to Paley. Even if a teacher should dissent from some of its positions, yet the points are brought forward in such a manner, that he can easily bring his objections, so far as they have any weight, to bear upon the minds of his pupils. For it is little else than a syllabus of leading principles, so put, as to lead the student to ascertain accurately the testimony of his own consciousness, or undeniable facts, in reference to them.

After thus exhibiting moral science on its own independent foundation, the author concludes the volume with some brief chapters, in which he considers it with relation to the Author of our being. After demonstrating the existence of God, he shows how this truth acts upon the conscience, and becomes the chief centre around which its judgments and mandates revolve, and how immensely it widens the sphere of moral exercises and moral obligations. He then proceeds to show what these obligations are, as prescribed by the natural, unperverted conscience; and since the essence of obedience is internal in the dispositions, purposes and feelings of the mind, he designates the various inward affections towards God, which conscience

enjoins by the light of nature, and so gives an outline of natural religion. The whole ends with the following passage: "The above enumeration, it is believed, comprehends the internal acts and exercises in which the duty of man to God consists, which duties plainly arise out of the attributes of God, and man's relation to him, as his Creator, Preserver and Benefactor. And if man had never failed in the performance of these duties, if he had continued to exercise those affections which spontaneously sprung up in his soul when he came from the hands of his Creator, this world, instead of being a land of misery, would have been a blooming paradise of joy. And we may be sure that a good God, who loves all his creatures according to their actions, would never have permitted the natural evils which now oppress the human soul to have entered the world. Sickness, famine and death, in all its thousand different forms, would have been unknown.

"It is evident, from the slightest view of the character of man in all ages and countries, that he has lost his primeval integrity, that the whole race have, by some means, fallen into the dark gulf of sin and misery. This reason teaches; but how to escape from this wretched condition she teaches not." pp. 271, 2.

Thus this book prepares the way for, and leads us to the margin of, revelation, redemption and Christian theology.

We are of opinion that incalculable good would result from the thorough drilling of the students in our colleges and higher seminaries in such a text-book.

Were there no higher reasons, the exercising of the students upon the elements of moral science is an important means of mental discipline, which is the first object of a liberal education. Without some exercise of this kind, the best powers of the mind are but poorly developed and trained. By it the faculty of close attention and discrimination, of consecutive and logical thinking, of seizing tenuous but important distinctions, of detecting sophisms; all the powers, indeed, required for managing high and difficult subjects, for clarifying the obscure, and disentangling the intricate, are sharpened and invigorated. Here lies the most important department of mental training.

Especially does it develop the power of just casuistry, and of treating in the light of first principles the various problems which are presented to our professional men for solution in the ever-varying exigencies of society. New questions are constantly arising, or old ones are presented in new forms, as new emergencies arise. It is of the highest moment that our educated men become such experts in reasoning on moral subjects, as to solve these on right principles. Otherwise the friends of truth are liable to base its defense on some false principle, whose ultimate influence is worse than the errors they combat. What deplorable examples of this have occurred in recent occurrences in Church and State! In order to induce men to embrace religion, Christian teachers have been induced to propound theories of moral agency, which endow sinners with plenary ability, divest the Great Supreme of his control over his creatures, and turn all moral excellence into a modification of self-love! One party, zealous to extirpate slavery, have confounded the state of involuntary servitude with certain enormities in practice or in law, which individuals and legislatures have perpetrated in connection with it, and have stigmatized them as all alike iniquitous and abominable, in plain contradiction of Scripture, and to the great detriment of all parties in interest. Another class, (chiefly political men,) justly anxious to crush the spirit of disloyalty and rebellion against an unpalatable law, have virtually taught the people that the law of the land was paramount to the law of God, and that individuals had no right to consult the dictates of conscience in a case of conflict between the two, and obey God rather than man. The true issue was not whether human law takes precedence of the divine, but whether the law in question was in contravention of the law of God. Many, in their zeal to promote temperance, have contended that all use as a beverage of any intoxicating drink is sinful, thus plainly impeaching the morality of the Gospel, and placing the temperance reformation on a basis which, if adhered to, must surely prove its ruin, and furnish a foundation for infidel attacks on the revealed standard of righteousness.

Again, we are persuaded that true conceptions on this subject among our educated classes, are necessary as an antidote

to the strong utilitarian tendencies of our age and country. These have been much fostered by the false systems of moral philosophy that have been taught in our colleges. They find much encouragement in the intense and growing commercial spirit, and the increasing inventions for saving labour and augmenting physical happiness, which characterize our times. The first question with most, in regard to all things, is, will they advance my pleasures or my interest? The idea that truth, beauty, goodness, have an inherent worth in themselves, seems to be lost. They ask not, is this true or right? but, what can I make by it? "Supposing that gain is godliness," they see nothing in piety to commend their regard but the loaves and fishes it may bring them. And why should they abide in, or contend for, the truth, unless it be a good speculation? Why maintain the right, unless they are likely to be paid for it? Why be patriotic, magnanimous, heroic, brave, just, liberal, unless at a bargain? It is in vain that we serve God, and what profit is it that we pray unto him? Does God need our prayers, our services or our alms, and can he not bless us as well without as with them? As this spirit cankers all morality and religion, so it sooner or later invades and crushes all that is honourable and tender in sentiment and feeling, all strivings towards the beautiful and ideal in life, literature and art. It subjects all things to this Iscariot standard, and asks, "to what purpose is all this waste?" It "carries the bag," and thinks that "the gift of God may be purchased with money." It would adjust morality by the ledger, and test the "first good and first fair" by the balance-sheet. As well might it measure perfumes by the yard-stick, or time by hay-scales. It is a way of thinking which eats out the heart, the soul of a people; it spreads a blight over literature, art, morals and religion; it taints the halls of justice and of legislation, all the spheres of private and public life. The root of all this lies in that spurious ethical system which denies that moral goodness is good in itself, even the highest good, or good at all, or obligatory at all, except as it is a means of happiness, and thus exalts happiness to be the supreme and only real good. The true antidote to this is a sound ethical training, which shall make it for ever indubitable, that moral good is in itself good,

and the highest good, which happiness follows but does not constitute, as it follows but does not constitute health, as motion follows, but does not constitute life, as summer verdure and fruitfulness follow, but do not constitute the summer's sun. And this is an ultimate truth which, justly put, shines in its own light; and is its own evidence. If this be 'once' seen, then it will be seen that truth and other things may be good in themselves; yea, better than mere happiness or "filthy lucre." Thus utilitarianism receives its death-blow.

But by far the most important advantage of a correct system of ethics to the rising race of educated men, is found in the radical relations it sustains to Christian theology, to which we have already alluded. This none can so fully appreciate as the theologian himself. And in this view Dr. Alexander was eminently qualified to write such a work. It is obvious that he had this in mind in every part of his book. Here lies one of its chief merits. Nearly all the great errors in theology derive their main plausibility and support from a false philosophy in relation to man's moral constitution, state and capabilities, i. e. a false moral philosophy. He so unfolds the truth as to lift the veil from these specious sophistries, and make their absurdity palpable; and this not by assuming any polemic attitude, but by the easy, natural exposition of his own principles, and the candid consideration of objections.

That the bearings of moral science upon theology may be more distinctly seen, we propose to show its influence in originating some of the phases of theological opinion that have been current in the country.

As connected with theology, moral science distributes itself into two main divisions, with respect to conscience and its operations: 1. The nature of that moral goodness which it approves, and the want of which it condemns in moral agents and their actions. 2. The various, and especially, the internal states and exercises in moral beings, in regard to which it pronounces its verdict.

On the first of these, Dr. Alexander gives the key to his own, and, in our opinion, to the true system, in the following deliverances:

"There is in the human mind a capacity of discerning what

is termed beauty, in the works of nature and art. This judgment is accompanied by a pleasurable emotion, and to this capacity or susceptibility we give the name Taste. There is also a power of discerning moral qualities, which conception is also attended with a vivid emotion; and to this power or faculty we give the name Conscience, or the moral faculty. Both these are so far original parts of our constitution, that if there did not exist in every mind a sense of beauty and its contrary, and a sense of right and wrong, such ideas could be generated or communicated by no process of education." pp. 46, 7.

"Virtue is a peculiar quality of certain actions of a moral agent, which quality is perceived by the moral faculty with which every man is endued; and the perception of which is accompanied by an emotion which is distinct from all other emotions, and is called moral. This being of a nature perfectly simple, does not admit of being logically defined, any more than the colour of the grass, the taste of honey, the odour of a rose, or the melody of a tune." p. 184.

"To see that an action is useful, and will produce happiness to him that performs it, or to others, is one thing; but to perceive that it is morally good, is quite a distinct idea; and virtue and mere utility should never be confounded." p. 186.

"The moment we see a thing to be morally right, the sense of obligation is complete; and all further inquiring for reasons why I am obliged to do right, is as absurd as would be inquiring for reasons why I should pursue happiness." p. 52.

These positions he sustains by incontestable proofs. As to the diverse moral judgments of different men, he shows that they originate in that ignorance and perverseness, whereby the whole truth of the case on which conscience sits in judgment, fails of being presented to it. Hence these diverse moral judgments, in reference to the same action, respect in reality diverse representations of it or its circumstances presented to the conscience by different persons. So far as these representations are false, he is blamable who makes them to his conscience, as also for the false moral judgments that follow. But when precisely the same case, *in all aspects*, is presented to the consciences of different men, the verdict of their consciences upon

it is immediately and unavoidably the same. And hence arises the necessity of that study and investigation which are found requisite for ascertaining the right in complicated cases. The object is to bring clearly to the view of conscience the precise point on which its decision is needed; but when this is accomplished, its judgment is immediate and sure. This solution coincides with that given by Dr. McCosh, of the same facts.

The theory of morals, which the system here set forth confronts, is that which makes happiness the only good. According to this, other things, such as virtue and truth, are good only relatively, as they are instruments of promoting it. Nothing is morally good except as, and because, it conduces to happiness. Of this theory there are two forms, both of which have had great influence upon theological speculation in our country. The first and least offensive form of it, is that which makes the essence of virtue lie in promoting the highest happiness of the universe. According to this, nothing is morally good in itself, but only as it is a means of happiness, the only ultimate and real good.

The second and most revolting, but most logically consistent form of it, is that which makes the essence of virtuous action to lie in its tendency to promote the highest happiness of the agent. We say most revolting, for what principle can be more so, to beings gifted with a moral sense? We say more logically consistent, for if happiness be the supreme good, is it not incumbent on every man to make it his first object of pursuit?

This theory is maintained in its unmitigated boldness by Dr. Paley. In the form in which it is advanced by him, and in full reply to his chief arguments, Dr. Alexander exposes its futility and foulness.

Most of our readers are aware that this same doctrine of morals is one of the main pillars of the New Haven Divinity, which not long since shook our various Calvinistic communions to their centre. Once allow it, and most of the other principles of that school, and some things disowned by it, follow by direct consequence. If self-love or the desire of happiness be the highest principle in the best of men, it surely is in the worst, and hence there is no radical difference between the two. Both act from the same principle, the only difference being,

that the one class does it with more sagacity than the other. Hence there is and can be no such thing as native and inherent moral depravity. There is no room for implanting any new principle by the Spirit in regeneration. The office of the Holy Ghost, if he has any, is essentially the same in kind as that of the preacher. His work is one of moral suasion only. The sinner has plenary ability to choose to follow his own highest happiness. All that is necessary, is to present to him the truth, and show him what course leads to it. If all this be true, that preacher was guilty neither of hyperbole nor irreverence, who said, "If I were as eloquent as the Holy Ghost, I could convert sinners as fast as he." It was not surprising that religion, thus levelled to the natural man, should for a time multiply its converts. It reminds one of the label which a gentleman once placed on a bundle of Socinian tracts, "Salvation made easy, or every man his own Redeemer."

In all the reasonings of the abettors of this scheme, so far as we have observed, they constantly impose on themselves and others, by an unconscious begging of the question. They constantly use the word *good* as if it were only the equivalent of happiness; as if, in short, happiness were the only good. On this depends the whole plausibility of their logic, which surely ought to be conclusive, if they furtively assume their whole theory in the premises. Thus one of these writers, after laying down the principle that "it is the ability we possess to appreciate His (God's) disposition to render us happy, and in view of it to derive enjoyment, that constitutes us the proper subjects of obligation," and that the "true ultimate foundation of obligation is its tendency to promote the highest happiness of the agent, by promoting the highest welfare of all," says, "the bond of obligation fastens upon him precisely at this point of *his highest good*." "He ought not to prefer a less to a greater *good*." "It is the nature of the being, constituted as every moral agent must be, to seek happiness, to *obtain good*, if possible."* "The very reason which God assigns, (for the obligation of his law,) is, that it is *good*—the surest way of making us most happy."† Another writer says, "that

* Christ, Spectator, Vol. X., No. iv., pp. 530-2.

† Ib. p. 538.

such an action, which has no tendency to produce *good or happiness* either to the agent or others, should be supposed to be morally right or morally good, is to suppose that to be morally right or *good*, which is *good* for nothing.* This, and much more the like, would be as fine as it sounds, were not the very question in issue, whether happiness be the only and the highest good, and whether moral rectitude be not a good, distinct from, and superior to happiness? We leave the answer to these questions to the moral sense of our readers. Due notice of this paralogism will kill volumes of sophistry on these subjects.

Again, this same writer contends that the idea of right is not simple, because it involves, "first, the idea of the action as intelligent; secondly, the idea of the action as voluntary; thirdly, as tending to the greatest happiness of others; and fourthly, as tending to the greatest happiness of the agent."† We deny that the two last ideas enter into our idea of an act as right, however such an act may promote the happiness of ourselves or others, any more than they enter into the idea of truth, albeit truth may promote happiness. To say that right is a complex idea, because it characterizes the actions of intelligent voluntary agents, is like saying that happiness is a complex idea, because it can only attach to sensitive beings; or proportion, because it can only hold between a plurality of objects, or colour, because it belongs only to matter, and requires light and eyes to be seen. However, these things are not to be argued. Each one must consult his own consciousness as to whether the idea of right is only the idea of productiveness of happiness.

Another common shift is seen in the following, from another of these writers. He asks, "is it mean to seek our highest happiness in making others happy?"‡ But why is it obligatory to do it in this way rather than any other, if there be no ultimate ground of obligation but a regard to our own happiness? Besides, the meanness or nobleness of "making others happy" depends entirely on the intention with which it is done.

* Christ. Spectator, Vol. VII., No. iv., pp. 608, 9.

† Ib. p. 608.

‡ Ib. Vol. VII., No. iv., p. 567.

If a man proposes to make others happy in unrighteousness, that he may thrive upon their vices, he is "mean" and detestable.

But since it is manifest that all men desire other objects besides their own happiness, and this fact breaks the back-bone of this scheme, they try to evade its force by turning all the desires into forms of self-love, and by saying that in seeking any object of desire, we are seeking the *subjective* pleasure which arises from procuring and possessing it. "All our desires are only different forms of self-love. They are nothing but the soul going forth after happiness, or the means of it, (for we desire nothing else)." * Again, "we do not mean the objective motive, whatever it may be, which is at the moment of choice *in view* of the mind, and which influences to the specific decision; but we mean that deep laid spring which sets in motion the activity of a moral being." † This shows that the writer had a moral sense which yet rose above his speculations. It is giving up the whole in a sentence. The following from Bishop Butler, is the best comment upon it: "That all particular appetites and passions are towards *external things themselves*, distinct from the *pleasure arising from them*, is manifested from hence, that there could not be this pleasure, were it not for that prior suitableness between the object and the passion. * * * And if, because every particular affection is a man's own, and the pleasure arising from its gratification his own pleasure, or pleasure to himself, such particular affection must be called self-love; according to this way of speaking, no creature whatever can possibly act but merely from self-love; and every action and every affection whatever is to be resolved up into this one principle. But then this is not the language of mankind; or, if it were, we should want words to express the difference between the principle of an action, proceeding from cool consideration that it will be to my own advantage, and an action, suppose of revenge, or of friendship, by which a man runs upon certain ruin, to do evil or good to another."

The second form of the dogma that happiness is the only good, makes the promotion of the highest happiness of the

* Christ. Spectator, Vol. VII., No. iv., p. 566.

† Ib., Vol. X., No. iv.

universe, the essence of moral goodness. Those who hold this view, of course resolve all virtue ultimately into benevolence. But it is a mistake to suppose that all who simplify all virtue into mere benevolence, however erroneous this opinion may be, make happiness the only good, or deny that virtue or vice is intrinsically good or evil. Dr. Emmons thus reduced all virtue to benevolence alone. Yet no man dealt more frequent or ponderous blows against utilitarianism. He says, that "to suppose that virtue consists in utility, is to suppose that there is nothing right in the nature of things, * * that there is nothing in the universe intrinsically good or evil, but happiness or misery, * * that there is really no such thing as virtue and vice in the universe."—*Works*, Vol. IV., pp. 175–7. Again, "moral good, which consists in true benevolence, is morally right in its own nature. And moral evil, which consists in selfishness, is morally wrong in its own nature. * * Or, if it were supposable that benevolence should have a natural tendency to promote misery, still it would be morally excellent in its own nature. Or, if it were supposable that selfishness should have a natural tendency to promote happiness, still it would be in its own nature, morally evil. * * It is the nature of a voluntary exercise in a moral agent that renders it morally good, and not its tendency."—*Ib.* pp. 226, 7. Although it is an error to suppose that benevolence is the whole of virtue, yet this is consistent with the idea that it is good in itself, irrespective of its tendency to promote happiness. It consists, on this hypothesis, in a desire to impart a like benevolence to others on account of its own moral excellence, and is *toto calo*, above that form of it which makes happiness the only good. On the other hand, Dr. Dwight, in this instance, unfortunately departing from his usual habit of allowing the intuitive beliefs and common sense of mankind higher authority than mere speculation, laid the foundation of virtue in mere utility or tendency to promote happiness. Yet he is careful to say that this is not the rule for our guidance, because we are incapable of applying it. And his main object seems to be, to find some ground or standard of moral excellence in the nature of things, as distinguished from mere will. For in common with most leading writers on this subject, he rightly argues,

that if virtue be founded in the mere *will* of God, then if God should so ordain, lying, theft and blasphemy would be virtuous, a conclusion from which we instinctively revolt. So Edwards in that Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue, which is supposed to have given the first start to the peculiar speculations of some New England divines on this subject, appears to have been led to propound his fundamental dogma on this subject, viz: that "virtue is benevolence or love to being in general," by his repugnance to the sentiment, "that conscience can be truly said to be no more than a *sentiment arbitrarily* given by the Creator, without any relation to the nature of things." * It seems to have escaped both these penetrating minds, that moral rectitude is as much a part of the nature of things, and as much an ultimate good, and a simple uncomprehended idea, as beauty, truth or happiness. He argues that "if virtue consists primarily in love to virtue, * * we never come to any beginning or foundation; it is without beginning and hangs on nothing." † But virtue is a good in itself. To love it is therefore good. If it therefore "hangs on nothing," then happiness "hangs on nothing," for it surely is no more than good in itself. To inquire why righteousness is good, and why we ought to pursue it, is no more reasonable than it is to inquire why happiness is a good, and why we ought to pursue it. This fact these distinguished men appeared to see clearly, when they were not speculating on the subject, and trying to explain that which can be explained into nothing more simple and ultimate than itself. They were possessed by the idea, if they did not possess it. The very title of one chapter in Edwards's Treatise on the Religious Affections, and that which is the key to the whole book is, "the first objective ground of gracious affections, is the transcendently excellent and amiable nature of divine things *as they are in themselves*; and not any conceived relation they bear to self, or self-interest." ‡ Again, "the holiness of love consists especially in this, that it is the love of that which is *holy, for its holiness*; * * * *It must be the nature of holiness chiefly to tend to and delight in holi-*

* Edwards's Works, New York edition, Vol. III, p. 155.

† *Ib.*, p. 96.

‡ *Ib.*, Vol. V., p. 129.

ness.”* If this is in direct contradiction of the main reason which he assigns for seeking a foundation for virtue stronger than itself, it is only what often happens in the case of the mightiest men. They may think that they have succeeded in speculating away their intuitive convictions, their belief in free-agency, or in the intrinsic difference between moral good and evil, or like Berkeley, in the reality of the external world. And yet they will soon make it manifest that a belief in these things underlies all that they do and say, when their theories are out of mind. Edwards’s speculations on this subject appear to have had very little influence on his views of practical and theoretical theology. His “Dissertation” seems to have been a sort of tentative effort, made late in life, to erect a new adamant barrier against a selfish scheme of religion, which then began to inundate the churches. The disorders of the “great awakening” gave birth to two opposite forms of spurious religion, each based on no higher principle than self-love. One was that of frigid Arminian moralists, who felt emboldened by these disorders to assail experimental religion and supernatural regeneration, and to contend for the sufficiency of an orderly life animated by self-love. The other was that of the fanatics who conceived the essence of conversion to lie in getting comfort, and in loving Christ merely from the persuasion that he would save them. It will be observed that the stress of the practical writings of Edwards, and of his two distinguished friends and coadjutors, Bellamy and Hopkins, is mainly directed against these two forms of religion based upon self-love. It was therefore natural that benevolence, the opposite of mere self-love, should be uppermost in their view as the chief element of true goodness, until, as often happens, the opposite of a given wrong came to be regarded as the essence of all right. Hopkins took up the main principle of Edwards’s *Essay on Virtue*, not as a speculation outside of the main fabric of his theology, but as its fundamental principle, which he undertook logically to carry out in his system. He therefore fell athwart some of the doctrines of catholic Calvinism, and of Edwards, their eminent defender. His followers, in

* Edwards’s Works, New York edition, Vol. V., p. 146.

this respect, however, were never numerous. They were always, like those of Emmons, a decided minority even in New England itself, as Dr. Woods has proved by incontestable evidence.* Bellamy, on the other hand, has always been conceded to be a representative of the prevailing type of New England doctrine in his day, and not, like Hopkins, the head of a little party. He followed Edwards in all the great principles of practical and theoretical divinity, but followed him not in this single exceptional case wherein he was eccentric to his main orbit. He contended that "right and wrong do not result from the mere will and law of God, nor from any tendency of things to promote or hinder the happiness of God's creatures. It remains, therefore, that there is an intrinsic moral fitness and unfitness absolutely in things themselves."†

Yet of all his compeers, he marshals the most weighty and crushing arguments against a religion founded in mere self-love. And well he might. He held the strongest position from whence to assail it. Truth alone is mighty. But still the doctrine that all virtue is reducible to benevolence, either on the ground of its utility, or because of its intrinsic excellence, received so great an impulse, not chiefly from the writings of Hopkins, or of the younger Edwards, his follower, but from the great and sacred name of the elder Edwards, that it came at length to impregnate a large part of the writings

* Theology of the Puritans, pp. 13-15.

Dr. Woods is confirmed in the main position taken in this excellent pamphlet, by the following, published in 1845 by an author whom no one will charge with unfair Old-school partialities: "As early as 1648, our fathers gave in their unanimous adherence to the Westminster Confession; this they did, as they say, that they might express their belief and profession of 'the same doctrines which had been generally received in all the reformed Churches in Europe.' And in 1680, the churches of the Commonwealth drew up a confession of faith, affirming the same doctrines and using nearly the same words as the Westminster. This is the authorized faith of the Congregational churches—the only faith which has ever been preferred by the churches assembled by their pastors and representatives in synod or council. And this has been not only the publicly authorized faith of our churches, but it has been the *real or implied faith of every church calling itself Congregational.*"—*Badington's History of the First Church, Charlestown, Mass.*, p. 151. On this ground the author proceeds to vindicate the exclusion of the Unitarians from fellowship, by the orthodox churches of Massachusetts.

† Bellamy's Works, New York edition, Vol. I., p. 83.

which have received the distinctive appellation of New England theology. What was held by the Edwardses, father and son, by Hopkins, Smalley and Dwight, and Emmons, of course had a wide prevalence. The consequences of this peculiarity were not at once developed. They scarcely appear in the writings of the elder Edwards, who was, with hardly a deviation, a defender of Calvinism, after the Reformed and Puritan standard. But it had the effect very soon among his successors, of leading to a denial of the imputation of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness, and to some important innovations upon the received doctrine of the atonement. The abandonment of our race by God to depravity and ruin, instead of being deemed a penal visitation of justice for the sin of its representative, came to be regarded as a mere sovereign infliction of evil, not in punishment of sin, but for the greatest good of the universe. And it became necessary, therefore, (if we may borrow a word from the Tractarians,) to put a "non-natural" meaning upon such words, as that "by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation." The important idea was thus unconsciously introduced, that God sometimes inflicts the most fearful evils upon moral beings in mere sovereignty, irrespective of any *sin* in themselves, or their representatives. Of course too, it was impossible to ignore the idea of justice as distinct from benevolence, without giving up the idea of the atonement as being strictly a satisfaction of justice, or as the sufferance of the sinner's penalty by a substitute. It became a mere *expedient* to display God's hatred of sin, and regard for his law, by subjecting his Son to death, instead of punishing sinners, and this, for the sake of the greatest happiness of the universe. A regard to this, indeed, these writers call "public justice," and in this sense, they say that Christ satisfied divine justice.* Of course the whole basis of the idea of imputation as connected with the work of Christ, by which he is punished for our sins reckoned to his account, and we are justified and rewarded for the sake of his righteousness, reckoned to our account, is lost, while it is yet, we rejoice to say, most strenuously held in another sense, that the believer is pardoned and

See the Sermons of Jonathan Edwards the younger, on the Atonement.

justified, solely by faith in Christ viewed as suffering and obeying in his stead. Whether it has been the effect of these modifications of the doctrine of the cross, to give Christ and him crucified a more commanding place and power in preaching, than before prevailed, must be determined by those who have the means of judging. All facts known to us indicate a contrary result.

Another fruit of the principle under consideration was to resolve all sin into selfishness. But as men are conscious of virtues which do not class under benevolence, so they are conscious of sins which do not class under selfishness. A man who in a fit of generosity, gives away his estate or his time to a prodigal friend, which is needed for his own support, or that of his family, as truly sins, as the veriest miser. Men often sin in making their own welfare a sacrifice to the overbearing demands of others. They are bound to be "just before they are generous." In short, benevolence must be regulated by justice, or it is no longer a virtue. The two are complements of each other. It is artificial, one-sided, inadequate to reduce all sin or all virtue to one category. It fails to find a response in the living consciousness of men, and must weaken the power of that preaching into which it radically enters, over their consciences. It must therefore tend towards a one-sided development of moral and religious character. The disposition to reduce all religion to philanthropy, is a dangerous vice of the times.

Moreover, all extremes tend, by reaction, to produce the contrary extremes. As we have already seen, the dogma that benevolence is the whole of virtue gave place within the present generation, to the opposite dogma, that "self-love is the primary cause of all voluntary action," on the part of a numerous and powerful school.

Nor is this all. If benevolence is the sum of all goodness, then it is the only element in God's moral character. He is therefore disposed to produce all the happiness possible in the universe. Why then does he not make all his creatures happy, by making them holy? One hypothesis is that he cannot, without destroying moral agency. We need not say, where this has found earnest and able advocates. Another, is the

heresy of the Universalists, that God is both desirous and able, and therefore will save all men. President Clap in his syllabus of the heresies that were beginning to threaten the Churches, published more than a century ago, specifies the following as one: "The ultimate end and design of God in the creation, is the happiness of the creature.

"God's ultimate design never can be finally frustrated or defeated; therefore all intelligent creatures shall be finally happy." The solution of the orthodox, who hold this theory, of course is, that God creates the greatest aggregate of happiness in the universe, by consigning a portion of his creatures to misery. But we think it a far weaker defence against these heresies, than the theory which distinguishes justice from benevolence, and makes them both equally necessary elements of the divine goodness. When it is pleaded in behalf of the scheme objected to, that "God is love," and that "love is the fulfilling of the law," we simply ask, love to what? Is it not primarily love to moral excellence, as it exists in the Most High? And do not the Scriptures show that this is just, as well as benevolent?

It is worthy of note in this connection, that Dr. Bellamy, as he held the true view of the nature of virtue, also strenuously defended the imputation of Adam's sin and Christ's righteousness, and held the atonement to be strictly and properly in satisfaction of divine justice, as we should be glad, if we had space, to make more fully appear.

We have a single remark further, in concluding this branch of the subject. It will be observed from the analysis we have given, that there is a very general agreement among the leading writers on Moral Philosophy, in rejecting the theory that the *mere will* of God is the *foundation* of obligation, while all concur in making it the rule of duty. Their repugnance to this theory lies in this, that if virtue be founded in *mere will*, then had that will ordained the opposite of what it has, it would be virtuous and binding. But our moral sense revolts at the idea that lying, blasphemy, and malice, could be made right by the mandate of even an omnipotent will. Therefore there must be some immutable standard of virtue to which the divine will conforms, and commands all others to conform. But others

feel a strong repugnance to this view, inasmuch as it seems to make God amenable to a power out of himself; or implies some eternal entity extraneous to him—and in a vital point superior to him—thus militating against his supremacy, independence, and exclusive divinity. The true solution seems to be, that an eternal standard of rectitude exists to which the will of God conforms, and requires all moral agents to conform; but that this is not extraneous to his own being. It is the eternal, immutable, immaculate sanctity and goodness of his own nature, to which his will infallibly conforms, for he cannot deny himself. This is original rectitude, and the norm of all rectitude in Creator and creatures. The power of perceiving what is thus right or morally good, he has implanted in all moral agents, by enduing them with conscience, or the moral faculty. It is by this faculty that the creature discerns the obligation to obey and honour his Maker, when once he knows his existence and character. And without such a faculty he could neither feel this, nor any other moral obligation. Thus Turretin and orthodox divines generally dispose of this question, and, in our judgment, dispose of it aright.

It is perhaps proper also to notice an evasion sometimes attempted by the abettors of the happiness scheme, in either of its forms, for the purpose of parrying objections against it. It is this. They say they mean, not that the essence of goodness consists in pursuing or promoting happiness of whatever sort, but only that which is of the most pure and elevated kind. To say no more of this, it is enough that it really gives up the whole. For it confesses that the essence of goodness lies not in the *amount*, but the *purity* of the happiness pursued or promoted, *i. e.* in subordinating our devotion to happiness to a rectitude which is superior to, and regulative of it. It is no longer “love to being in general,” or to happiness “in general,” but to the *right kind* of being, and happiness. It is no longer *quantum*, but *quale*, that is the standard, and rectitude and purity are enthroned, as they should be, in supremacy over happiness.

Passing now from the consideration of conscience and the standard of moral obligation to the actions and states on which the moral faculty passes judgment, it is conceded on all sides,

that it is only the acts or states of moral beings, endowed with reason, conscience, and will, that come under its jurisdiction. It is another question, how far these faculties must be developed into active and conscious moral agency, in order that the inherent, native dispositions of the soul may be deemed to possess moral character, merit, or demerit. The following extracts from Dr. Alexander's work will indicate the leading principles laid down by him on this subject, which he illustrates and sustains with his usual felicity and force.

"When it is said that the actions of moral agents are the only proper objects of moral approbation or disapprobation, two qualifications of the assertion must be taken into view. The first is, that the omission to act when duty calls, is as much an object of disapprobation as a wicked action. * * * The second qualification of the statement is, that when we disapprove an external act, we always refer the blame to the motive or intention. But if we have evidence that the agent possesses a nature or disposition which will lead him often or uniformly to perpetrate the same act when the occasion shall occur, we not only censure the motive, but extend our moral disapprobation to the disposition or evil nature lying behind." pp. 93, 4.

"Indeed if there is one point on which responsibility above all others rests, it is on the motives, that is, the active desires or affections of the mind, from which volition proceeds, and by which it is governed." p. 120.

"It is admitted that man has power to govern his own volitions, and does govern them according to his own desire. He has the liberty within the limits of his power, to act as he pleases, and greater liberty in our judgment is inconceivable. To suppose, in addition to this, a power to act independently of all reasons and motives, would be to confer on him a power for the exercise of which he could never be accountable. It would be a faculty which would completely disqualify him from being the subject of moral government." p. 127.

"In every act of choice or will it is implied that the person willing might, if he pleased, act in a different way from what he does, for otherwise he would be under a necessity of acting in one way only, and there could be no freedom in such an

action. * * * A man may do what he pleases, but it is absurd to suppose that he can will to do what it does not please him to do."

"The doctrine of a power of contrary choice, as the thing has now been explained, is a reasonable doctrine, and in accordance with all experience, if with the volition you include the motive, if with the choice you take in the desire. But to suppose a volition contrary to the prevailing inclination is inconsistent with all experience; and, as has been shown, such a liberty or power would disqualify a man for being an accountable moral agent." pp. 132-4.

"When it is asserted that all moral actions are voluntary, the meaning is, either that by actions only external actions are meant, or that under the word voluntary, the affections of the mind which precede volition are included. * * * Our desires are as free and spontaneous as our volitions, and when it is said that every moral act must be voluntary, the word is used in this comprehensive sense." p. 137.

"It is clear then that men are more accountable for their motives than for anything else; and that primarily, morality consists in the motives; that is, in the affections." p. 140.

"As to the maxim, that nothing is sinful which is not voluntary, it relates to positive acts, not to dispositions of the mind. But as was explained before in regard to the desires and affections, so in regard to dispositions, we say that they are in a sense voluntary. They properly belong to the will, taking the word in a large sense. In judging of the morality of voluntary acts, the principle from which they proceed is always included in our view, and comes in for its full share of the blame. Thus Bishop Butler, in his excellent essay on the 'Nature of Virtue,' says, in speaking of the moral faculty, 'it ought to be observed that the object of this faculty is actions, comprehending under that name active and practical principles.' This sagacious man saw that it would not do to confine virtue to positive acts, but that principles must come in for their full share of approbation or disapprobation."

"The notion that corrupt principles must vitiate the essence of the soul is without foundation. The soul is the subject of many affections which are not essential to it. Natural affec-

tions may be extirpated, and yet the soul remain unchanged. Moral qualities may be entirely changed, without any change in the essence of the soul. The faculties remain, while the moral principles which govern them may be changed from good to bad, and from bad to good. The same faculties which are employed in the performance of virtuous actions, may be occupied as instruments of wickedness. That inherent moral qualities may exist in the soul, has been the belief of all nations, and is the sentiment of every common man whose judgment has not been warped by a false philosophy." pp. 151-3.

"Those, however, who maintain that the will possesses a self-determining power, independent of motives, deny the existence of any such principles lying back of the acts of the mind, especially in moral exercises." p. 147.

"The reason why one effect is necessary and another free, is not that the one takes place without an adequate cause, or that the same cause may produce different effects; for both these are contrary to common sense. The true reason is, that the one is produced against will, or without will, whereas the other is a voluntary act." p. 106.

These several positions will carry their own evidence to un-biassed minds, that faithfully inspect their own consciousness. For those, however, who entertain any doubt, they are abundantly vindicated by the author, with his usual clearness and cogency of argument and aptness of illustration. Those who have been interested in the great controversies that have agitated the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of our country during the last quarter of a century, will at once see their bearings on the main questions in issue. They present a conclusive answer to nearly all the objections which have been raised against the doctrines of the Westminster and Savoy Confessions, in regard to original sin and original righteousness, inability, regeneration, and decrees. The whole force and plausibility of the arguments for what is commonly called the New-school Divinity, lie in the denial of these plain ground-truths, we had almost called them postulates, of moral science: so fundamental is the relation of this science to these subjects.

Irrespective of the happiness scheme of morals already considered, which large numbers who advocate the New Theology,

as a whole, have rejected, (how consistently it is not for us to show,) it has been founded on three leading principles: 1. That moral character attaches to acts only, and not only so, but to acts of volition only, and that the spontaneous desires and affections of the mind lying back of, and prompting volition, are constitutional propensities devoid of moral character, except so far as they are acted on by volition. 2. That those dispositions which underlie and give birth to all exercises, whether spontaneous or voluntary, have no moral character and no good or ill desert. 3. That we are not responsible even for our volitions, unless they are the acts of a will, which in each instance of choice, has at the same moment, and under the prompting of precisely the same internal and external motives, power to make the contrary choice. Allow these principles, and not only New-school Theology follows, but a great deal more. There is no consistent stopping-place short of unmitigated Pelagianism. And few have ever long remained content in such a resting-place. *Facilis descensus*. Those who have not returned from this point towards the landmarks of eternal truth, have usually plunged rapidly downward from depth to depth of error. On the other hand, take away either of these three cardinal principles, and the system of which they are a part at once staggers and reels. Thus, deny either of them, and the doctrine that wicked men are able instantly, *proprie viribus*, to repent, believe, and fulfil all righteousness, without which most persons would care little for the whole *catena* interlinked with it, must be given up. Deny these principles, and every plausible argument against native, inherent, sinful depravity, sinful inability, efficacious grace, the implantation of new principles in regeneration, the sovereignty of God and the dependence of man therein, and unconditional personal and eternal election, is neutralized. On the contrary, if the principles in question are admitted, then not only must these doctrines fall before them, but it will follow that religion must be excluded from its main theatre, from the spontaneous affections and inmost principles of the soul; that evil lusts and passions are not morally wrong, except so far as they are produced by a volition; that when we *would* do good, moral evil *cannot* be present with us; that the will of a moral agent has, in the lan-

guage of a distinguished divine of this school, "power to act despite all opposing power," and thus, that God is divested of his sovereignty over the moral universe.

That some of the worst of these principles have been extensively and earnestly propagated, and have kindled bitter contention in the Church, is painfully notorious. There is, however, a portion of those who hold the "exercise scheme" as it is called, *i. e.*, that moral quality pertains only to acts, who escape some of the most offensive of these dogmas, by rejecting the figment, that the acts of the will are not determined by any thing antecedent to themselves, sometimes called by its advocates, the self-determining power, and sometimes, the power of contrary choice, and by maintaining the opinion, which few have accepted, that infants from birth have their faculties sufficiently developed to make them true and proper moral agents. Of this class were Hopkins and Emmons, and their limited circle of followers. Few have been stronger sticklers than these men for native depravity, a real moral inability, efficacious grace, and especially for decrees, predestination, and absolute divine sovereignty over the human will. These last indeed, were their favourite and habitual themes. Emmons at least, pushed them to the extreme of hyper-Calvinism. With fearless consistency, he openly preached that God is the direct efficient of the sinful as well as the holy actions of men, and that the wicked are as truly dependent on him as the regenerate, for their volitions and character. The following is a sample of the manner in which he taught these revolting dogmas.

"Since the Scripture ascribes all the actions of men to God as well as to themselves, we may justly conclude that the divine agency is as much concerned in their bad as in their good actions. Many are disposed to make a distinction here, and to ascribe only the good actions of men to the divine agency, while they ascribe the bad ones to the divine permission. But there appears no ground for this distinction in Scripture or reason. * * * He not only prepared these persons (Joseph's brethren,) to act, but he made them act. He not only exhibited motives of action, but disposed their minds to comply with the motives exhibited. But there was no possible way in

which he could dispose them to act right or wrong, but only by producing right or wrong volitions in their hearts. And if he produced their bad as well as their good volitions, then *his agency was concerned in precisely the same manner in their wrong as in their right actions.*"* "Though they (men,) always act under a divine influence, yet that influence neither increases their virtue (merit?) nor diminishes their guilt, and of consequence ought never to be brought into view when they are praised or blamed for their conduct."† It was not strange, when such hyperborean metaphysics came to be thrown like so many icicles from the pulpit, upon Christian assemblies, that there should have been a violent recoil to a contrary extreme. If God works sin as much, and in the same manner as holiness, then it is easy to say he is no more the author of holiness than of sin, and to deny divine efficiency and special efficacious grace altogether. Somebody shrewdly said, "Taylorism is Emmonsism with the divine efficiency part cut off." And the venerable doctor himself once replied to a distinguished improver of theology, who greeted him with the congratulation, "Well Dr. Emmons, we are all agreed that moral quality pertains only to exercises;" "Yes, only we differ as to where they come from."

Since the appearance of this more recent scheme of metaphysical theology, efforts most strenuous and unsparing have been made to lead the public to believe that in its leading principles, it was sanctioned and taught not only by Hopkins and Emmons, but by the whole body of leading New England divines, from Edwards down. In particular, the attempt has been made in various and laboured forms, to persuade us that the characteristic features of the theology of these men were—

1. A limitation of moral quality to actual choice, with power of contrary choice at the same moment, and in the same circumstances.

2. As a consequence, plenary ability in fallen man to fulfil all God's commands.

3. That all dispositions, desires, feelings, and principles, lying back of, and uncaused by choice, in the manner afore-

* Works, Vol. IV., p. 371.

† *Ib.*, pp. 369, 70.

said, have no moral character, consequently that man cannot be the subject of native, or as Bellamy says, "connatural" sin and guilt, or of holiness infused. We deem all such representations, however intended, in reality a libel upon these luminaries in the church, and a fraud upon the living and the dead, which, as it is a high duty, so it will require but little space, to repel and expose. We grant this recent school whatever "aid and comfort" it can derive from Hopkins and Emmons. This is limited to the single point that moral character is confined to acts. In this particular, however, they were only the heads of a small party, out of sympathy with the prevailing current of opinion in New England, and with those great divines whose writings were most in repute and authority among her ministers and churches. If any divines may be taken as exponents of the prevailing theological sentiment of New England, before the outbreak of recent controversies, they are the elder Edwards, Bellamy, Dwight, and Smalley. The very names of the first three will satisfy our readers as to this. Smalley may be less known. But he elaborated the distinction between moral and natural ability and inability beyond all his predecessors. His writings contributed much to commend it to general acceptance, and were recognized as the completest exposition of New England doctrine in regard to it, while his method of treating theological subjects generally, was reckoned eminently sound and judicious. We propose simply to let these distinguished divines speak for themselves on the points in question.

I. THE POWER OF CONTRARY CHOICE, AND THE NATURE OF NATURAL AND MORAL INABILITY.

EDWARDS. "There are some, who, when they talk of liberty of will as consisting in indifference, express themselves as though they would not be understood to mean the indifference of the *inclination* or tendency of the will, but an indifference of the soul's *power* of willing; or that the will, with respect to its power or ability to choose, is indifferent, can go either way indifferently, either to the right hand or the left, either act or forbear to act, one as well as the other. * * * I wish such refiners would thoroughly consider, whether they

distinctly know their own meaning, when they make a distinction between an indifference of the soul, as to its power and ability of choosing, and the soul's indifference, as to the preference or choice itself; and whether they do not deceive themselves in imagining that they have any distinct meaning at all."

"Surely the will cannot act or choose contrary to a remaining prevalent inclination of the will. * * * It is equally impossible for the will to choose contrary to its own remaining and preponderating present inclination, as it is to *prefer* contrary to its own present *preference*, or *choose* contrary to its own present choice."—*Freedom of the Will, Part II., Sec. 7.*

"We are said to be *naturally* unable to do a thing when we cannot do it if we will, because what is most commonly called *nature* does not allow of it, or because of *some impeding defect or obstacle that is extrinsic to the will*; either in the faculty of understanding, constitution of body, or external objects. *Moral* inability consists not in any of these things, but either in want of inclination, or the strength of a contrary inclination, or the want of sufficient motives in view, to induce and excite the act of will, or the strength of apparent motives to the contrary. Or both these may be resolved into one; and it may be said in one word, that moral inability consists in the opposition or want of inclination.

"To give some instances of this *moral inability*: A woman of great honour and chastity may have a moral inability to prostitute herself to her slave. * * * A great degree of habitual wickedness may lay a man under an inability to love and choose holiness; and render him *utterly unable* to love an infinitely holy Being, or to choose and cleave to him as his chief good."—*Ib., Part I., Sec. 4.*

BELLAMY. "Our impotency in one word is not *natural*, but *moral*; and, therefore, instead of *extenuating*, does but *magnify* and *enhance* our fault."*

"If it was the business of the Holy Spirit to give us new natural *faculties*, then we might plead our inability, and plead God's not giving us sufficient power, in excuse for ourselves.

* Works, Vol. I., p. 156.

But since our impotency takes its rise entirely from another quarter, and all our need of the influences of the Holy Spirit to bring us to love God, results from our badness, therefore are we without excuse.”*

“If it is not just for God to require of us more than we *can* do, i. e., any more than we have not only a *natural* but a *moral* power to perform, then these things will necessarily follow.”†

DWIGHT. “The degree of our inability to obey the divine law does in no case lessen our guilt. Certainly he, who is more disinclined to obedience, is not less guilty than he who is less disinclined. Disinclination to obey is our inability, and our sin. The greater our disinclination is, the greater plainly. not the less is our sin.‡ If there be *no bias* towards either virtue or sin, at the time immediately preceding each of its volitions, and the freedom of each volition arises out of this fact, then certainly, there being no bias either way, the number of virtuous and that of sinful volitions must naturally be equal: and no cause can be assigned, why every man independently of his renovation by the Spirit of God, should be sinful only.”

“The freedom of will, and consequently moral agency, in man in this world, is the same with that of *the spirits of just men made perfect in heaven*; the same with that of angels; the same with that of the man Christ Jesus. Whence, then, does it come to pass, that the same moral agency leads, or influences, these beings universally to virtue, and men in this world universally to sin? This question the objectors are bound to answer.”§

SMALLEY. “In these discourses, under moral inability to that which is good, is meant to be included all that impotency which consists in *moral depravity*; whether in principle or exercise; whether in privation, that is, the want of moral rectitude only, or in any positive lusts and corruptions; and whether native or contracted; whether removable by moral suasion, or not without a new creation.”||

“The very first idea we can have of sin, is a depraved and

* Bellamy's Works, Vol. I., p. 163.

† Ib., Vol. II., p. 258.

‡ Dwight's Works, Vol. IV., p. 468.

§ Ib., Vol. II., pp. 12, 13.

|| Smalley on Natural Ability, New York edition, p. 60.

wicked heart; and if this is not a blamable thing *in itself*, there is no danger of finding any thing that is so. * * *

“If the distinction now insisted on was well understood, and clearly kept in view, it would appear in like manner, that a sinner’s not being able to change his own heart, is really nothing in his favour. * * * Sinners do not see how it is their own fault, that they have such bad hearts, and do nothing from gracious principles, provided it is not in their own power to alter themselves in this respect. Now if a wicked heart was not a *moral evil*, but a thing of the same nature as a weak head, a bad memory, this would be the case.”*

“An ability to act otherwise than agreeably to our own hearts, would only be an ability to act unfreely and by constraint.”†

II. WHETHER THE AFFECTIONS AND FEELINGS, TOGETHER WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND DISPOSITIONS WHICH LIE BACK OF, AND GIVE RISE TO ALL MORAL EXERCISES, HAVE MORAL CHARACTER, AND ARE IN A SENSE VOLUNTARY.

EDWARDS. “True religion, in great part, consists in holy affections.”

“The affections are no other than the more vigorous and *sensible exercises of the inclination and will of the soul*.‡

“It is agreeable to the sense of men, in all nations and ages, not only that the fruit or effect of a good choice is virtuous, but that the good choice itself from whence that effect proceeds is so; yea, also the antecedent good disposition, temper, or affection of mind, from whence proceeds that *good* choice, is virtuous. * * * A virtuous disposition of mind may be before a virtuous act of choice; and therefore it is not necessary there should first be thought, reflection and choice, before there can be any virtuous disposition.”§

One of the most remarkable attempts in the whole history of polemics, has been made to parry the force of this and other like declarations of this wonderful man, by representing him as here inconsistent with himself; and especially by alleging that his maturer views on the subject are to be found in his *Disser-*

* Smalley on Natural Ability, New York edition, pp. 63, 4,

† *Ib.*, p. 77. ‡ *Works*, Vol. V., pp. 9, 10. § *Ib.*, Vol. II., p. 407.

tation on the Nature of Virtue, and are contradictory to the foregoing. Never have we seen a more gratuitous plea in serious argument. It is perfectly clear that it was no part of Edwards's purpose to treat of the will in this essay. Nor has he written a syllable in it, in contradiction of the positions he had laid down in works, in which he treated of it *ex professo*. We can conceive no reason why this attempt has been made upon this production, unless because Old Calvinists in common with a multitude besides, have been generally dissatisfied with it. But their dissatisfaction has no reference to questions of this sort. It refers to the main position of the essay, with respect to the nature, the foundation of moral obligations, and is based on reasons which we have partially indicated on previous pages. It has been alleged that because he holds that virtue consists in *benevolence*, therefore he held that it consists exclusively in *acts* of will. Any of his treatises affords as good premises for such a conclusion. If he held that virtue consists in benevolence, is this any proof that he did not hold that it lies in principles and dispositions, as well as acts? Or that such principles might not be native or infused as well as acquired? But let us go to the record. In the Dissertation under consideration, he says, "When it is inquired, what is the nature of true *virtue*? This is the same as to inquire what it is that renders any *habit, disposition* or *exercise* of the heart truly beautiful?"* "A *principle* of general benevolence softens and sweetens the mind, &c."† Now we will cite his own definition of principle and disposition.

"By a *principle of nature* in this place, I mean that foundation which is laid in nature, either old or new, for any particular manner or kind of exercise of the faculties of the soul; or a natural habit or foundation of action, giving a person ability and disposition to exert the faculties in exercises of such a certain kind; so that to exert the faculties in that kind of exercises, may be said to be his nature. * * * The new, holy disposition of heart that attends this new sense, is not a new *faculty* of will, but a *foundation* laid in the nature of the soul, for a new kind of exercises of the same faculty of will."‡

* Works, Vol. III., p. 94.

† *Ib.*, p. 147.

‡ *Ib.*, Vol. V., pp. 102, 3.

BELLAMY. "As Adam was created in the image of God, to prepare him for holy acts and exercises of heart, so the same image is restored in regeneration, to prepare us for the first holy act. As there was a holy principle in Adam before the first holy act, so there is a holy principle in the regenerate sinner before the first holy act.*

"The idea of spiritual beauty supposes an internal spiritual sense communicated to the soul by the Spirit of God."†

DWIGHT. "*These (amiable natural characteristics) and all other qualities of the mind are, however, means either of virtue or sin, according to the nature of that controlling disposition, or energy, WHICH CONSTITUTES THE MORAL CHARACTER. By this disposition or energy, I intend that unknown cause, whence it arises, that the actions of the mind are either sinful or virtuous.*"‡

"The divine law originally requires nothing but affection."§

"Regeneration is a change of the *temper, or disposition*, or, in other words, of the heart of man; and by consequence of his whole character. The heart is the great controlling power of a rational being—the whole of that energy by which he is moved to action. The moral nature of this power, therefore, will be the moral nature of the man."||

"This disposition of Adam, existing antecedently to every volition, was the real cause why his volitions subsequently existing, were virtuous. It ought to be remarked here, that plain men, with truth, as well as with good sense, ascribe all the volitions of mankind to *disposition*, the very thing here intended, as their true cause.

"In regeneration, the very same thing is done by the Spirit of God for the soul, which was done for Adam by the same divine Agent at his creation. The soul of Adam was *created* with a relish for spiritual objects. The soul of every man who becomes a Christian is *renewed* by the communication of the same relish."¶

"God created man in his own image; in the image of God

* Works, Vol. III., p. 334.

† Works, Vol. I., p. 527.

|| Ib., Vol. III., p. 75.

† Ib., Vol. II., p. 503.

§ Ib., Vol. IV., p. 460.

¶ Ib., p. 64.

created he him. In a former discourse I have shown, that the likeness or image, here mentioned, is the *moral image of God*, consisting, especially, in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness, as we are informed by St. Paul.”*

When Dr. Dwight says, “man is the actor of his own sin,”† he in no manner contradicts the foregoing doctrines, which are ingrained into his whole theology, but is simply denying the doctrine of Emmons, that sinful acts are directly created by God, as the context proves.

SMALLEY. “It is agreeable to common sense, and seems plainly supposed in several texts and doctrines of Scripture, that depravity of nature must be antecedent to all sinful actions and the cause of them. But if so, there may be a *wicked heart* prior to knowledge. * * * Both the first and second creation unto good works, spoken of in Scripture, necessarily suppose that there may be holiness in man, prior to his having any actual perception or exercises; and why not sin, as well, prior to all acts of sin? * * * We know as well what a good or bad disposition is, prior to virtuous or vicious exercises, as we do what reason is, prior to rational actions. * * * Were not an ungovernable inclination to iniquity criminal in its own nature, it would excuse whatever it necessarily occasions, as much as any other innocent cause does, its unavoidable effects. But if a depraved disposition be a moral evil—a culpable thing, then he who hath it may justly be condemned for it, before he has time to act at all.”‡

III. NATIVE DISPOSITIONS SINFUL.

EDWARDS. “*By original sin*, as the phrase has been most commonly used by divines, is meant the *innate sinful depravity of the heart*.”§ “We may well argue from hence that infants are not sinless, but are by nature children of wrath, seeing this terrible evil comes on mankind at this early period. But besides the mortality of infants in general, there are some particular cases,”|| &c.

“The things which have been said, obviate some of the chief objections of *Arminians* against the *Calvinistic* doctrine

* Works, Vol. II., p. 7.

† Ib., Vol. I., p. 460.

‡ Smalley's Sermons, Hartford edition, pp. 188–90.

§ Works, Vol. II., p. 309.

|| Ib., p. 402.

of the *total depravity and corruption of man's nature*, whereby his heart is wholly under the power of sin, and he is utterly unable, without the interposition of sovereign grace, savingly to love God, believe in Christ, or do anything that is truly acceptable in his sight."—*Freedom of the Will, Part IV., Sec. 14.*

Edwards doubtless understood his own purpose in this treatise, as well as the modern impugnors of the doctrines he designed it to fortify.

BELLAMY. "Adam was considered not merely as a single private person, but as a public head and representative, standing in the room of all his posterity; and considered in this capacity, was he threatened with *death* in case he sinned; and considered in this capacity, was *natural death* denounced upon him after his fall. So that in both his posterity were equally included; and therefore St. Paul calls Adam a *type of Christ*."* "We are, in fact, born like the wild ass's colt, as senseless of God, and as void and destitute of grace; we have *nature*, but no grace; a *taste* for *natural good*, but no *relish* for *moral beauty*; an *appetite* for *happiness*, but no *appetite* for *holiness*. * * * We are *natively diametrically opposed to it* (the law of God) *in the temper of our hearts*. * * * These propensities, perhaps, in some sense, may be said to be *contracted*, in opposition to their being strictly and philosophically *natural*, because they are not created by God with the essence of the soul, but result from its native choice, or rather more strictly, are themselves its native choice. * * * They are not *natural* in the same sense as the *faculties* of our souls are, for they are not the workmanship of God, but our native choice, and the voluntary, free, spontaneous bent of our hearts. And to keep up this distinction, I frequently use the word *native* instead of *natural*."† "Choice" here is clearly used in the sense of "spontaneous bent," *i. e.*, disposition or principle. See *Works*, Vol. III., p. 334, already quoted.

"As to our sentiments touching total depravity, works done by unregenerate man, and the sovereignty of divine grace in the conversion of sinners, we profess to agree with the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. And you know, that their

* *Works*, Vol. I., p. 315.

† *Ib.*, Vol. I., pp. 200-202.

Confession of Faith, and Larger and Shorter Catechisms, are adopted by the Church of Scotland as their test of orthodoxy; and are much the same with the Savoy Confession of Faith, which is adopted, in general, by the churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut.”*

DWIGHT. “With these facts in view, we are compelled to one of these conclusions: either that infants are *contaminated in their moral nature*, and born in the likeness of apostate Adam; a fact irresistibly proved, so far as the most unexceptionable analogy can prove anything, by the depraved conduct of every infant, who lives so long as to be capable of moral action; or that God inflicts these sufferings on moral beings who are perfectly innocent. I leave the alternative to the choice of those who object against this doctrine.”†

SMALLEY. “The mortality of mankind, in every period of life, is full proof of their being sinners from their birth.”‡
 “There may be good nature, or ill nature; a holy or an unholy temper of mind, in a man when he is in the most profound sleep; and is as unknowing and inactive as an unborn infant.”§

“There may be a wicked heart prior to knowledge. * * * This may be in us, as early as we have human souls.”||

But it is time to bring these citations, which might be indefinitely multiplied, to a close. The evidence is cumulative and irresistible, that the attempt to turn these great lights of the Church into patrons of the modern Pelagian speculations, which assert in man a plenary power of contrary choice, a plenary ability to do works acceptable to God, without grace, and which deny either that the dispositions, or that the affections possess moral character, or that man is sinful from birth, is one of the most amazing pieces of strategy ever recorded in the annals of polemic theology.¶

* Works, Vol. III., p. 428.

† Ib., Vol. II., p. 13.

‡ Sermons, p. 172.

§ Ib., p. 190.

|| Ib., p. 168.

¶ Perhaps, however, our readers will cease to wonder, when we tell them that a complimentary notice of the book under review has already appeared, (in the Portland Christian Mirror for Nov. 16,) in which the writer appears most of all pleased, that in it, as he understands it, Dr. Alexander confines moral quality to acts! It is supposed to be from a theological teacher, whose known character forbids the suspicion that he intended any unfairness. Thus strangely do men's

The inherent good or ill-desert of inward dispositions to good or evil respectively, has been believed in by all unsophisticated men. This belief is a part of the intuitive convictions, and is implied in the language of the whole human race. Once admit this, and the great argument against a sinful native depravity vanishes, and that doctrine is impreguably confirmed by Scripture and undeniable facts. It is a part of the faith of the Christian Church, as shown in her creeds, rites, literature and devotions. Notwithstanding the incessant rationalistic assaults upon it, we are persuaded that no other disposal of the subject can so well be vindicated at the bar of reason even, in view of the undeniable facts which objectors themselves are compelled to admit. The least objectionable variation from the orthodox doctrine, is that of those advocates of the "exercise scheme," who, denying inborn sinful propensities back of action, assert that men are complete moral agents, and so actual sinners, from birth. But no doctrine, conditioned on the belief that infants are complete moral agents, can widely or permanently prevail. The men are too few who can be persuaded to believe it. The speedy consequence of basing the doctrine of native sinfulness on this hypothesis, was the utter rejection of the doctrine in many quarters where this resolution of the subject prevailed. Indeed we cannot help thinking that the advocates of this view must have some inward misgivings after all, as to the theory that moral character pertains to acts only. Dr. Pond, in a recent article, in which he argues the doctrine of the sinfulness of infants with great success, nevertheless contends that they have no sin but actual sin, and that they have this from birth. In answer to the question, whether the infant can also repent, he says, it may undergo such a change that "it will have the *element* of repentance, though not perhaps, the precise form of it. It has that which *will be* repentance the

theories distort their interpretations of other men's language. After the extracts we have given from Dr. Alexander on these points, and the known fact that he laboured all his life in opposition to the doctrines here attributed to him, it is indeed strange that a candid and intelligent man should understand him to advocate them. If this is possible, we need no longer wonder that heated partisans understand Edwards, Bellamy, and Dwight to have been its decided and earnest defenders.

moment it comes to a sight and sense of its sins.”* How much this differs from a principle of repentance distinct from, and prior to, and the source of, acts of repentance, we are glad that we are not bound to show.

Another solution of the case is the Pelagian and Socinian, that man is not really fallen, and that before moral agency begins, or that with regard to all that lies back of volition, his soul is in its pure, normal state. This is so palpably contradictory to all facts, that it could never command extensive and permanent support.

A third method of treating the subject, which has always found numerous adherents, denies moral character to all but acts, while it asserts that men uniformly sin, and only sin, from the commencement of moral agency, till conversion; and that this is owing to a disordered and vitiated moral nature, which yet (because it is not an act, nor series of acts, nor the fruit thereof,) is neither sinful nor guilty. But although thus sinless, these men say, “still this nature is so odious in itself, and so pernicious in its influence, that our emotions often prompt us to stigmatize it as sin!”† If that within us, which is “so odious in itself,” that our moral sense often prompts us “to stigmatize it as sin,” is to be exculpated as blameless, we are in little danger of finding sin anywhere. Besides, how, on this theory, can we account for the sufferings and death of infants? Why, under the administration of a righteous God, should the “wages of sin” be inflicted upon them, if they are sinless?

A fourth view of the subject is thus presented. Says a recent writer,‡ “It is impossible, without destroying the attribute of justice in God, to hold that any *guilt* attaches to original sin, previous to the actual choice of transgression; unless there is also held a doctrine, which New England rejects as a foul and fatal error, the doctrine of ‘one baptism for the remission of sins.’” This position is the weakest that we have yet seen taken on the subject. If baptism procures “the remission of sin,” then there is antecedent sin and guilt

* Bibliotheca Sacra., Oct. 1852, p. 759.

† Bib. Sacra, July, 1851, p. 627

‡ Church Review, Oct. 1852; Art. New England Theology.

to be remitted. It exists in all before baptism, and in all who do not receive baptism. These constitute a vast majority of our race. If this in itself is contrary to the justice of God, then baptism cannot make it otherwise. God has provided no ordinances of grace, as a remedy for his own injustice. They all imply the utter sinfulness of man, and the perfect rectitude of the Almighty. According to the Articles of the Episcopal, and all other Christian churches, the corruption of man's nature, "deserveth God's wrath and damnation." No other view of the subject agrees with Scripture or undeniable facts.*

If we have succeeded in showing the vital connection between moral science and Christian theology, and that this important work of Dr. Alexander forcibly exhibits the truth on the subject, we need not add that we hope it will be not only extensively used as a text-book for teaching the science, but that it will prove a welcome addition to the libraries of ministers, theologians, and all who are interested in the high subjects of which it treats.

* A standing difficulty in the minds of all classes of objectors to the doctrine of original sin appears to be, that it makes God the author of sin. They present it indeed in innumerable forms. But "to this complexion" they all come at last. We need not say, that all advocates of the doctrine but those who, like Emmons, make sin a direct creation of God; regard sin as a negative thing, arising from a *privative* cause, as darkness from the withdrawal of light. It is not the effect of God's presence or agency in the soul; but of his withdrawal from it, on account of the sin of the first parent and representative of the race. The effect of this withdrawal is, that the inferior principles of nature become ascendant, and thus inordinate and depraved. So Augustine, Edwards, Bellamy, Smalley, and the whole *consensus* of Calvinistic confessions. With one consent they repudiate the idea, that God is the author of sin, or interferes with the freedom of the human will. Their words are, "God, from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own *will*, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away; but rather established." — *Westminster and Savoy Confessions*.

ART. II.—*Epistola ad Diognetum, Justinī Philosophi et Martyris nomen præ se ferens. Textum recensuit, translatione Latina instruxit, prolegomena et adnotationes adiecit, Joan. Carol. Theod. Otto. Leipsick, 1852, 8vo., pp. 131.*

WE cannot easily forget the delight with which we first perused the Epistle to Diognetus. It came to us as an exquisite specimen of the sentiment and religion of an early period, much more vital than the heavy controversies of the day, and rather resembling the short epistles of the apostles and apostolic fathers. Yet we could name few works in patristic literature, to which reference is less frequently made.

The critical edition of the Epistle to Diognetus, by Professor Otto, is well worthy of attention. An early publication of the editor on this subject, appeared in 1845. A few years after, the great and learned Bunsen, now Prussian ambassador at London, intimated in his volume on Ignatius, that he would issue a monograph on this epistle, which he ascribes to Marcion. In 1851, Hoffman edited the Greek text, with a translation and notes. Otto saw reason to come forward with a new and enlarged edition of the work, which is now before us. Availing ourselves of his aid, and acknowledging the value of his careful apparatus, we shall express some thoughts on this most interesting relic.

The Epistle to Diognetus is in the Greek language, and fills about ten pages like those we here employ. The work has generally been ascribed to Justin Martyr, and published with his writings. It purports to be a letter to a Gentile inquirer, of rank and learning, for the purpose of showing what Christianity is. It begins therefore, by showing on what grounds the Christian rejects the ritual of the Jews and the idolatry of the Greeks. Without philosophical subtilty, and with great earnestness, the writer inveighs against image-worship. From this he proceeds to censure the sacrifices and festivals of the Jews; which, indeed, is one of the characteristic points of the whole composition. Having thus cleared the way, he describes Christianity as a phenomenon then extant in the world, and shows that it makes little of externals, but influences the heart, man-

ners and life. The picture here given is a celebrated portion of the work. He indicates the source of this remarkable system as divine, and as proceeding from a descent and incarnation of the Divine Wisdom. After a dark view of the state of mankind before the coming of the Son of God, he magnifies this great communication, and breaks out into praises of the love of God and the atoning work of Christ. To these are added two closing paragraphs, which are not regarded as genuine.

From the subject we pass to the text of this ancient work. Three codices only are known to exist. These are the Strasburg manuscript, the apograph of Stephanus, and the apograph of Beurer.

The Strasburg manuscript is a *bombycinus*, of 260 folios. It contains several acknowledged works of Justin, and then 5^o τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Διόγνητον; followed by one or two tracts in another hand, and by a few treatises, some of which are in the first hand. The older part of the codex, and that which contains our epistle, was executed in the thirteenth century. It was once the property of the celebrated Reuchlin, as appears by his autograph in the reverse of the board cover. Then it fell into the hands of the monks of the abbey of Maursmünster in Alsace. During the wars of the French Revolution, it was brought to Strasburg. Mice have nested in it, and devoured large portions of the second part. Otto quotes a letter from Cunitz, an eminent theologian of Strasburg, who says, that the character is generally careful and uniform, but that many illegible places exist; further, that the agreement is striking with the apograph of Beurer.

The apograph of Beurer is preserved in the public library of Leyden. It once belonged to Isaac Vossius. The librarian, Mr. Jacobus Geel, expresses his belief that this manuscript (Cod. Vossian. 30) is the same which Henry Stephanus copied from some unknown original, and used in his edition of 1592; that the handwriting is that of Stephanus; and that certain marginal notes are the same which appear in printed editions by this editor. Dr. Van Hengel of Leyden concurs in these opinions. In the judgment of Otto this copy could not have been made from the MS. now at Strasburg.

The apograph of Beurer, the only remaining codex com-

prises the Oration to the Gentiles, as well as this epistle. Beurer, a professor of Freiburg, in the Breisgau, gave a version, with some emendations of lection, repeated by Stephanus, who used this copy. Stephanus avers, that he and Beurer copied the same manuscript, ("sed ego ante illum;") but if so, either the transcript was very inexact, or Beurer collated some other. For Beurer often fills lacunæ in Stephanus's copy, with the very words which are found in the Strasburg codex; and there are readings which altogether vary from those of Stephanus.

The first edition of the Epistle to Diognetus was that of Henry Stephanus. It was a quarto, printed at Paris in 1592. The work was set forth as Justin's. The other impressions were all indebted to this *editio princeps*. The Epistle was contained in the Heidelberg edition of Justin, by Franciscus Sylburg, fol. 1593; in that of Morel, fol. Paris, 1615; and again 1636, and at Cologne, 1686; in that of Maran, fol. Paris, (or the Hague,) 1742, and Venice, 1647; in Galland's *Bibliotheca*, fol. Venice, 1765; in Oberthur's *Greek Fathers*, Wurzburg, 1779; in Olshausen's *Collection*, Berlin, 1822; in Bœhl's *Opuscula*, Berlin, 1826; in Hefele's *Apostolic Fathers*, Tübingen, 1839; and in Grenfell's *Collection*, London, 1844. By the aid of the Strasburg codex, Otto prepared a new recension, for an edition of Justin's works, at Jena, 1843 and 1849. This is employed by Hefele in his third edition.

A translation of the Epistle to Diognetus was made into Latin by Stephanus, which was adopted by Sylburg, Morell, and others; and, with emendations by Maran, Galland, Cail-lau, and Guillon. Hefele and Otto both offer new versions. There are several German translations, and one into French. Large parts appear in the English of Lardner.

There was a long period, during which no man of learning ventured to ascribe this remarkable epistle to any other than Justin, so that Bishop Ball did not hesitate to say, "Ea epistola quin Justinus sit genuina nemo doctus, (quod scio,) hodie dubitat." The first denial proceeded from that learned Jansenist and acute critic, Tillemont. In this he was followed by such men as Le Nourry, Oudin, Roncaglia, Baratier, Orsi, Lardner, Galland, and Lumper. Other and graver objec-

tions chiefly doctrinal, were adduced by Mœhler, Bochl, von Grossheim, Herbig, Permaneder, Hefele, Grenfell, and others. Semisch has a monograph on the question. The other side, however, did not lack defenders; and the authorship was claimed for Justin by Tentzel, Basnage, Fabricius, Remy-Ceillier, Cotta, Kestner, Baumgarten-Crusius, Lange, Rudelbach, and Hoffmann.

Lardner, who is always judicious, condenses much argument into the following sentences: "The epistle to Diognetus is generally supposed to be Justin's, though it is doubted by some, because the style is more elegant than that of his other pieces. For my own part, I cannot persuade myself to quote it as Justin's; since the style is allowed to be superior to his, and there is no mention made of it by Eusebius or Jerome. It would indeed be to my purpose to suppose it genuine, because it has more reference to St. Paul's epistles than all the other works of Justin. But this is another exception, it not being very usual for Justin to express himself in the style of the New Testament, as this writer does. Nor can there be any particular reason for it in this epistle, written to a Gentile, and not to a Christian. And how can any one pretend to ascribe to any author a small piece, not mentioned among his works by the ancients, different from the ordinary style of all his other allowed pieces, when there is no character in the title or conclusion to determine whose it is? Tillemont, who is sensible the style is abundantly superior to Justin's, endeavours to prove it more ancient, and written before the destruction of Jerusalem. These arguments are fully confuted by Basnage, who is willing to think the epistle genuine. The Christians, before the writing of this epistle, had suffered several persecutions; which could not be said of them before Jerusalem was destroyed. It is an excellent epistle. And, as at the time of writing it, the Christians were in a suffering condition, it must have been written before the time of Constantine. I think, therefore, that the author of it is some anonymous ancient Christian writer, whose age cannot be exactly settled."*

From some community of subject and of style with some of

* Lardner's Works, 4to ed., I. 342.

Justin's, the letter came to be ascribed to him, and the only manuscript was mingled with his works. This is no more than a high conjectural presumption; not it is true of Stephanus, but of earlier critics. Fabricius supposed that the copy in the Leyden library attributes the epistle to Amphilochius the bishop. Of the several tracts in the volume, the first does indeed bear the name of that author, who was the biographer of Basil; but this has no application to the case in hand. Oudin and others rest on the fact, that neither Eusebius nor Jerome names this among Justin's writings. We must indeed admit that Eusebius says there are other works, and that Jerome borrows entirely from him on this subject.

The arguments from internal tokens are more extensive. Tillemont urges that the writer calls himself "a disciple of the apostles." But Otto sees nothing in this which might not have been said by Justin. The same author alleges the designation of Christianity, as "a new thing." But it is replied, that the same language is used by Tertullian, and even by Eusebius. It is further maintained, that it must have been written while the temple-service was still existing. But Otto shows that the same argument may be applied to like expressions of Justin and Josephus.

It is asserted with confidence, that the doctrines of this epistle vary from those of Justin. Otto, following and quoting Muenscher, explodes this, as a canon of criticism altogether unsafe, and adds a reply drawn from the custom of the fathers to argue κατ' οἰκονομίαν. One of the doctrinal discrepancies is this: Justin treats the gods of the Gentiles as existing demons; our author derides them as mere idols. But Otto asserts that either view might, on suitable occasions, be justly taken, without inconsistency, and compares parallel places from other writers. Another difference concerns the view taken of the Jewish rites. Here we touch upon one of the grand characteristics of the composition; and one which stands in strong contrast with the opinions expressed on the same point, and in great detail, in the celebrated Dialogue with Trypho. The opponents of the genuineness maintain that our author, in his third chapter, places the Jewish sacrifices on the same footing with those of the heathen; suggesting that

they were not of divine institution, but invented by men. Justin, on the other hand, admits to Trypho, that these were prescribed by God. This argument of Semisch and others is certainly very cogent. The most that can be done in reply, is to call attention to the alleged gist of the controversy in the Epistle. The question, say they, is not as to the origin or authority of sacrifices, but as to the erroneous opinion held by the Jews in regard to their intrinsic validity. Our author admits that the Jews are less faulty than the Gentiles; but urges that, in this respect, namely the force of sacrifices, they coincide with them; as if God stood in need of such oblations. This notion he derides with much keenness. But this very course of argument is pursued by Justin himself, in replying to Trypho. In like manner a discrepance is alleged between the teachings of the fourth chapter, concerning circumcision, holy-days, and the distinction of meats, on one hand, and the acknowledged doctrine of Justin, on the other. And the reply is analogous to the one just recited. To the Jew, the rule of decision was the Old Testament; to the gentile Diognetus, the rule was common reason. From the light of nature the Jewish rites are considered, according to their appearance.

But other diversities arise on examination, and in regard to a subject no less important than the person and offices of Christ. We shall here abstract the clear account of the learned editor. Semisch is constrained to admit, that in his general view of the person of Christ, our author agrees with Justin, while, as he maintains, he dissents from him in particulars. The place chiefly cited is the glowing and sublime one, which may be found below in our version of the seventh chapter, "But he truly, the Sovereign and Creator of all and the invisible God, himself from the heavens placed among men the truth, and the holy and incomprehensible Logos, and implanted him in their hearts," &c. Here Semisch maintains that Justin could never have said that God did not send "an angel" or "a prince;" since he expressly describes the Son as a "servant," "angel," and "prince." But the different connection in which these assertions are respectively made, ought to solve the difficulty. The point urged is, that God sent, not an inferior

nature, but the Logos, nearest to himself; not ὑπηρέτην τινὰ, but αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων. Justin Martyr never describes the Logos as a servant. Arguing against the Jews, he sets forth the Word, as numerically diverse from the Father, but not in *will*, (*Dial. c. Tr. c. 56.*) The word ἄγγελος has two significations, one of which is used in one treatise, and one in the other. The word ἄρχων is obviously ambiguous in the same degree. Some of the other objections of Semisch, on this head, are verbal, and almost puerile. An unbiassed reader will acknowledge with pleasure that the expressions of both works are explicable on no hypothesis but the sound and catholic one; and that the seeming contradictions in the language are only such as may be found in Scripture itself. But while this particular argument does not appear well sustained, it still remains to be proved, that the writer of the Dialogue and of the Epistle are one and the same person. There are certain lesser discrepancies, which have been sought out with much ingenuity and labour, but which would overburden an article of such limits as ours.

The stronghold, however, of those who attack the genuineness of the Epistle to Diognetus, is the style of the performance. This, it is generally admitted, is more elegant than that of Justin in his acknowledged works. At the same time, there are those who assert a diversity of the same sort between the *Cohortatio ad Gentiles* and the rest. Indeed, both this and the treatise on the Resurrection have been denied to Justin, on the same ground. It is declared by scholars, that in the Apologies and the Dialogue the diction is less elevated, the order of propositions is confused, and the structure of sentences is loose. To the Epistle, on the other hand, has been universally conceded the merit of graceful ease and polished elegance.

Professor Otto indicates passages in the Apologies and the Dialogue, in which Justin Martyr rises above his common level, to something of oratorical pomp. (*Apol. I. c. 14; Dial. c. Tr. c. 12, c. 13, c. 29, c. 113.*) But the Epistle, he adds, shines in almost every part with flowers of rhetoric, and especially with felicity of antithesis. Against this it is said, that Justin may have written the Epistle soon after his becoming a Chris-

tian; and that the style of many great authors is known to vary considerably in different periods of their lives. It is supposed, therefore, that as he advanced in the Christian profession, he deliberately abandoned those ornaments which savoured of the Gentile schools. This reasoning would have more weight if the decorations of the Epistle were meretricious: on the contrary, they are such as endure the touchstone of a severe criticism. Nor do we find any analogous change in the style of Tertullian, Cyprian, or Augustine, not to mention the lofty eloquence of Basil and Chrysostom. It is suggested by Otto, that in the Apologies the Martyr was occupied with grief for the sufferings of his brethren; but in writing to Diognetus, was inflamed to enthusiasm by the hope of making an important convert. To pronounce upon a question which has thus divided the learned world would scarcely become us; we venture, however, to express our remaining doubts as to the Justinian origin of the Epistle.

Guericke considers the unknown author of the Epistle as less orthodox than Justin. Von Cölln, Von Grossheim, Neander, and Schwegler, discern in it an antijudaic leaven, savouring of gnostic error. Yet Neander speaks with caution: "However nothing properly gnostic is found in the Epistle;" and Schwegler adds: "The remainder of the Epistle is truly Christian."

It is a singular conjecture of the Chevalier Bunsen, which attributes the work to no less distinguished a personage than Marcion the heretic. As far back as 1847, this great scholar promised to treat more fully of this point. He has probably done so in his late English work on Hippolytus and Hegesippus, which, to our regret, we have not been able to obtain in time.* Otto, in the *Leipsick Repertorium* for 1852, gives a summary of arguments which may be alleged for confirmation of this opinion; as the endeavour to make religion tend to improve the life (c. 5, 6); the devoted reverence for Paul's writings; the opposition to Judaism; the representation of Christianity as a new religion; the absolute goodness ascribed to God (c. 8); and the view taken of God as altogether unknown, till manifested in Christ. In like manner Marcion, as

* London, 1852, 4 vols., 8vo.

quoted by Tertullian: "Deus per semetipsum revelatus est in Christo Jesu."

But such arguments, the editor justly adds, are of small avail. There is scarcely a Catholic writer by whom similar things have not been said, and Professor Otto shows this particularly as true in regard to Justin, by citations from his works. Opinions peculiar to Marcion, moreover, are wanting here, though every occasion was offered for announcing them. Again, there are those things present which tend to silence the conjecture. Marcion restricts the notion of justice; the *Epistle* makes it an essential attribute. Marcion rejects the Old Testament; the *Epistle* makes use of it. Marcion repudiates the gospel of John as judaic; our author quotes both the gospel and the epistles. If Marcion wrote the work, therefore, it must have been when his gnosticism was as yet inchoate.

From what has preceded, it will be sufficiently apparent how hard is the task of determining the date of this beautiful composition. It is pleasing to observe that almost all who deny it to Justin, place it at a time earlier than his. As we have hinted, Tillemont would place it as early as the first century. Others give it an early date, without venturing on particularity. Galland, indeed, imagines that it was the work of Apollos, who was "an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures." Barattier ascribes it to Clement; a puerile supposition, as the style is totally unlike. "There is an entire absence of proof," says Grenfell, "that either Apollos or Clement was its author." Moehler would refer it to the reign of Trajan, and Permaneder and Böhl to times immediately subsequent to the apostolic age. Such conjectures as these contribute to invest this brief production with more than ordinary interest; and we no longer wonder that Hefele should publish it among the apostolical fathers.

There is however, an argument against so early a date, which, so far as we know, is original with Professor Otto. It is that the writer of the *Epistle* quotes from almost all the books of the New Testament, or makes such allusions as indicate acquaintance with them. He must have lived then, in an age in which all the books had been collected and were read in the churches; that is, not later than the time of Justin, who was

the first to make use of all the New Testament books. It is further to be observed, that at the time of this composition, Christians were very widely dispersed, and were clearly distinguished from the Jews (c. 5 and 6). Zeller thinks it belongs to a later part of the century. Coëlln, Semisch, and Tzschirner refer it to the age of Justin.

Amidst the uncertainties which surround the date, it would obviously be unwise to speak with an air of decision as to the person to whom this singular Epistle is addressed. Jortin hazarded the conjecture, that it was a mere rhetorical exercise, and not a communication to a real person. The grounds for this opinion have no solidity; such license would introduce a fatal insecurity into all criticism of ancient documents. Till some adverse proof can be adduced, we must take the writing upon the face of it, as having been addressed to the person whose name it carries. The same rash judgment has been pronounced on the works of Justin, and other patristical writers; but this would open a way for all the vagaries of Hardouin. It has been aptly observed by Tzschirner and Otto, that those times of persecution and earnestness were not the days for rhetorical fictions.

The name Diognetus was frequent in antiquity. Omitting those which Otto has gathered from periods anterior to Christianity, we find a Diognetus at Athens, during the reign of Tiberius Claudius. Another has been discovered of later date, in a lapidary inscription. But it really seems vain to grope in a region of such utter darkness.

A few words seem to be necessary, respecting the closing part of the epistle as now extant, which we shall indicate below, by enclosing it in brackets. Henry Stephanus, with that critical acumen which he possessed in so high a degree, expressed his suspicion that this addendum is supposititious. In this opinion he has been followed by Sylburgius, Tillemont, Bœhl, Grossheim, and Semler. Of external arguments, the chief is, that the Strasburg codex has at this place the gloss, *καὶ ὧδε ἐγχοπῇν εἶχε τὸ ἀντίγραφον*, and this portion begins after a considerable space in the manuscript. Of internal arguments, it is alleged that these chapters have no natural articulation with what precedes. The quasi apology for prying into mys-

teries, follows badly after so simple a discourse. Then the mystical incomprehensibilities concerning gnosis and life, are altogether alien from the genius of the original writer. The former part contains replies to inquiries of Diognetus; but the latter assumes to be uttered in compliance with some injunction of the Logos. The style is, moreover, so unlike that of what precedes, as to cause an instant revulsion in every reader of taste; it is both turgid and obscure. There seems therefore, to be little risk in pronouncing the last two chapters spurious.

If any should inquire how this incongruous portion came to be appended, we might reply with Böhl, that it was done through the negligence or ignorance of the transcriber. Such cases are not rare in diplomatic history. Or we might ascribe it to a pious fraud, such as has loaded the names of the greatest fathers with similar burdens. Some officious writer, of greater zeal than ability, may have deemed the conclusion abrupt, and have sought to eke it out by somewhat expressive of his individual opinions. There is a shadow of internal evidence that this addition is of a much later date. The wealth and exaltation of the Church, in chapter XII., point to a period of prosperity. The citation of Paul, as "the apostle," absolutely savours of a later age, and is unusual in early writings. The mention of tapers fixes the date as not earlier than the third century. Otto recognizes in the continuator a moderate Alexandrian Gnostic, of the class which adhered to substantial orthodoxy.

We shall now attempt a translation of the whole Epistle. In seeking to keep close to the original, we shall necessarily sacrifice most of that classical grace which has awakened admiration among all judges of the original. But our object will be attained, if the English reader shall be awakened to any interest in this pleasing morsel of antiquity.

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

- "I. Forasmuch as I see, most excellent Diognetus, that thou art exceedingly eager to learn the religious worship of the Christians, and that thy inquiries concerning them are made with clearness and precision, in order to discover in what deity they confide, and in what way they

render service, so as all to condemn the world and despise death; while they neither esteem those gods which are so regarded by the Greeks, nor observe the superstition of the Jews; also, the tender affection which they bear to one another, and moreover why this new kind or institution came into being now, and no earlier; I applaud thee for this earnestness, and pray God who furnishes the ability, both of speaking and hearing, that to me it may be granted so to speak that he who hears may be made better, and to thee so to hear that he who speaks may not be grieved.

“II. Come, then, having purged thyself from all thoughts pre-occupying the mind, and having cast off deceptive custom, and being made as it were from the beginning a new man, as one about to be the hearer of a new doctrine, which you have yourself avowed: behold, not merely with the eyes, but with the understanding, what is the form or substance of those which you call and esteem gods. Is not one a stone, like what we tread on; and one brass, no better than the vessels forged for our use; and one wood, already decayed; and one silver, needing a man to watch that it be not stolen; and one iron, corrupted by rust; and one earthen, nowise more seemly than what is prepared for the vilest service? Are not all these of corruptible matter? Are they not all made by the help of steel and fire? Did not the sculptor make one, the brazier another, the silversmith a third, and the potter a fourth? Before they were framed into these shapes by the arts of those men, was not each of them thrown into shape, and that even now, by its respective artificer? Could not the vessels which now are of the same matter, if they met with the same workmen, be made like such as these? And again, those which are now worshipped by you, could they not by men be made vessels like the rest? Are they not all deaf? All blind? All lifeless? All void of sense? All motionless? All corruptible? All corrupting? These ye name gods, these ye serve, these ye worship; and ye become altogether like them. It is for this that ye hate the Christians, because they do not

deem them gods. But ye, who think and deem them such, do ye not despise them more than they? Do ye not much more mock and deride them, worshipping without a guard those of stone or earthenware, but shutting up the gold and silver ones at night, and sometimes setting a watch by day, lest they should be stolen? You rather punish them by the honours which you appear to render them, if they have perception; but if they are senseless, defiling them with blood and fat, ye worship them. Let any one of yourselves endure this! Let any one suffer himself to be thus treated! But not a man would willingly submit to such a penalty, for he has sense and reason; but the stone suffers it, because senseless. Of a truth ye demonstrate it to be senseless. In regard then, to the freedom of Christians from servitude to such gods, I would say many and other things; but if, to any, these do not seem sufficient, I think it superfluous to say more.

“III. In the next place, I suppose thee to desire much to hear concerning their divine worship being different from that of the Jews. The Jews then, if they abstain from the above-mentioned service, and choose to venerate the one God over all and esteem him lord [judge rightly]; yet if to him they render worship in the manner aforesaid, they err. For those things which the Gentiles, offering to the senseless and the deaf, exhibit as a demonstration of their folly, the same these, as if supposing they furnish them to one who stands in need, might reckon perhaps folly, rather than divine worship. For he that made the heaven and the earth and all things therein, and supplies us all with whatsoever we need, himself needs none of those things, which he furnishes to the persons who think they bestow on him. But those who, by blood and fat and whole burnt-offerings, think they do sacrifice to him, and thereby do adorn him with honours, appear to me nowise to differ from such as exhibit the same generosity towards things without sense, which cannot perceive the honour.

“IV. And moreover I suppose thou wouldest learn of me also concerning their timidity about meats, and their superstition about Sabbaths, and their boastfulness about

circumcision, and their dissembling about fasting and new moon; which are laughable, and worthy of no account. For how is it right, among those things which were created by God for the use of men, to accept some as well created, and reject others as useless and superfluous? Then, to lie concerning God, as if he forbade to do good on the Sabbath; how is it other than impious? Then, to boast of a diminution of the flesh as a token of election, as though on that account they were specially loved of God; what does it deserve but ridicule? And then their busy watching of stars and moon, their instituted observance of months and days, their distribution of God's ordinances and the vicissitudes of times according to their pleasure, so as to allot some days to festival and others to mourning; who will regard this as an exhibition of divine service, and not rather of silliness? I suppose, therefore, that thou hast sufficiently learnt, that the Christians rightly abstain from the error and deceit common [to both], and from the scrupulous officiousness and boasting of the Jews. Yet the mystery of their own proper worship, think not thou canst learn of man.

"V. For the Christians are distinguished from the rest of mankind neither by language nor by customs. For neither do they inhabit cities of their own, nor use any extraordinary dialect, nor lead a marked life. Nor was this their instruction delivered to them by any speculation or solicitude of overcurious men; nor do they rest on human dogmas, as some. But, inhabiting Grecian and foreign cities, as the lot may have fallen to each, and following the usages of the land, in garb, diet, and the remaining manner of life, they exhibit a conduct which is wonderful, and by all considered incredible. They dwell in their own cities, yet as sojourners; they partake of all things as citizens, and suffer all things as aliens; every foreign land is their home, and every home a foreign land. They marry, as do all; rear children, but cast not away the newborn; observe a table which is common, but not unclean. They are in the flesh, but live not after the flesh; they dwell on earth, but have citizenship in heaven. They obey the

constituted laws, and surpass the laws by their own example. They love all, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown and are condemned; they are slain, and made alive again. They are poor, yet making many rich; stand in need of all things, yet abound in all. They are dishonoured, and glorious in their dishonour; they are accused, and yet justified. They are reviled, and bless; they are contemned, and render honour. Doing good, they are punished as evil; being punished, they rejoice as receiving life. By the Jews they are warred against as aliens, and by the Greeks they are persecuted; and those who hate them can give no reason of their hatred.

“VI. But to speak plainly: that which the soul is in the body, the same are Christians in the world. For the soul is diffused through all the members of the body; and Christians through all the states of the world. The soul dwells indeed in the body, but is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world. The invisible soul is kept in a visible body; and Christians are known to be in the world, but their religion remains invisible. The flesh hates the spirit, and without cause wars against it, because it is kept from enjoying pleasures; and the world without having been injured hates Christians, because they oppose its pleasures. The soul loves the flesh, which hates it and the members; and Christians love those who hate them. The soul is locked up in the body, but holds the body together; and Christians are kept in the world, as it were in custody, yet hold the world together. The immortal soul dwells in a mortal tabernacle; and Christians sojourn amidst corruptible things, awaiting incorruption in the heavens. The soul when ill-treated as to meats and drinks is made better; and Christians when punished increase day by day. God has assigned them to such an ordering, as it is not lawful for them to abandon.

“VII. For, as I said, it is not an earthly discovery which has been delivered to them, nor is it a speculation of mortals which they deign so diligently to observe, neither are they entrusted with the dispensation of human mysteries.

But he himself, who is truly the Sovereign of all and Maker of all, the invisible God, himself [I say] from heaven hath implanted and fixed in the hearts of men the truth, and the holy and incomprehensible word; not, as one might surmise, sending to men some servant or angel, or prince, or any of those who govern earthly things, or any of those entrusted with the heavenly provinces, but the Framer and Creator of the universe himself; by whom he created the heavens, by whom he shut the sea within its own bounds, whose mysteries all the elements faithfully observe, from whom the sun hath taken the measure of his career of days to be run through, whom the moon obeys, commanding her to shine by night, whom the stars obey, following the course of the moon; by whom all things are disposed, and circumscribed, and subjected, the heavens and things in the heavens, the earth and things in the earth, the sea and things in the sea; fire, air, the abyss, things on high, things below, things in the midst. Was this, as some among men might conjecture, for purposes of tyranny, and striking terror? By no means; but in clemency and gentleness. As a king sending his son he sent the king, sent him as God, as unto men, as Saviour, as one persuading, not constraining; for violence is not with God. He sent him as calling, not pursuing; sent him as loving, not as judging, As judging he shall [indeed] one day send him; and who shall abide his presence? [Seest thou not] those thrown to the wild beasts, to make them deny the Lord, yet, not overcome? and that the more there are punished, the more are others multiplied? These things appear not to be wrought by men; these things are the power of God; these things are proofs of his coming.

“VIII. For who among men could at all know what God is, before he came? Approvest thou the vain and doting words of those esteemed credible philosophers, of whom some say, God is fire (they shall go to it, as they call it God), and some water, and some other elements created by God? But, indeed, if any one of these sayings were worthy of acceptance, any one of the other creatures

might announce itself as God. But these are prodigies, and deceits of impostors. None of mankind hath seen him, or made him known; but he hath revealed himself. He hath revealed himself through faith, whereby alone it is vouchsafed to see God. For God, the Lord and Creator of all things, he that made all and disposed them in order, was not only loving towards man, but also long-suffering. But this [God] was, and is, and ever shall be benignant and good, and devoid of wrath, and true, and the only good; and when he hath conceived a great and ineffable idea, he communicates it to his Son alone. For so long a time, therefore, as he retained in mystery and reserved his wise counsel, he seemed to us to neglect us, and to be indifferent; but after he revealed by his beloved Son, and manifested the things prepared from the beginning, he at one and the same time bestowed on us all things, as well to take part in his benefits, as to behold [God] and to do [his will]. Who of us could ever have expected [this]? Therefore he knew all things by himself, with the Son, according to the [divine] economy.

“IX. During the former time, therefore, he suffered us to be borne along by irregular motions according to our own counsel, misled by pleasures and lusts; not as if by any means he took pleasure in our faults, but bearing with them, and not approving the former period of unrighteousness, but bringing into existence the present [period] of righteousness; that when we had been convinced in the former time that we were by our own works unworthy of life, we might now be deemed worthy of it by the kindness of God, and that when we had made it manifest that by any thing in ourselves it was impossible to enter into the kingdom of God, we might be made able by the power of God. But since our unrighteousness was made complete, and it was fully manifested that its recompense, punishment and death must be expected, and the time had come which God had foreordained to manifest his own goodness and power, since from its immeasurable philanthropy the love of God is unparalleled; he did not hate us nor reject us, nor bear remembrance of the evil,

but was long suffering, himself gave his own Son a ransom in our stead, the holy for the lawless, him that knew not wickedness for the wicked, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal. For what else was able to cover our sins but his righteousness? In whom was it possible for us, the lawless and impious, to be justified other than in the only Son of God? O sweet exchange! O design past finding out! O bounties never to have been expected! That the iniquity of many should be hidden in one righteous; that the righteousness of one should justify many unrighteous! Having then in the foregoing period convinced us how impossible it was for our own nature to attain to life, and having now shown us a Saviour able to save that which was impossible, by both these he intended that we should trust in his goodness, and esteem him our nourisher, father, teacher, counsellor, physician, mind, light, honour, glory, might, life, and not to be solicitous about raiment and food.

“X. If, also, thou shalt have desired this faith, thou mightest also receive first the knowledge of the Father. For God loved men, for whom he made the world, to whom he subjected all things in the earth, to whom he gave reason, to whom understanding, whom alone he permitted to look upward to himself, whom he formed in his own image, to whom he sent his only-begotten Son, to whom he has promised the kingdom in heaven, and will give it to those who have loved him. And when you shall have known him, with what joy thinkest thou wilt thou be filled? Or how wilt thou love again him who hath first so loved thee? And when thou hast loved, thou wilt become an imitator of his goodness. Nor shouldest thou wonder that man can become an imitator of God. With God’s consent he can. For to be happy, is not to lord it over neighbours, or to wish to have more than weaker persons, or to be rich and use violence to the needy; nor can any one in such things be an imitator of God; for these things are all incompatible with his majesty. But he who takes his neighbour’s burden on himself; he who, in the thing

wherein he is superior, wishes to benefit another who is inferior; he who supplies to others in need those things which he has received of God, becomes as a god to those who receive. This man is the imitator of God. Then thou shalt see on earth that God reigns in heaven; then thou shalt begin to speak the mysteries of God; then thou shalt love and admire those who are punished because they will not deny God; then thou shalt condemn the deceit and imposture of the world, when thou hast learnt to live really in heaven, when thou hast come to despise what is here considered death, when thou hast come to dread what is truly death, reserved for those who shall be condemned to eternal fire, to be the punishment of those delivered to it even unto the end; then shalt thou admire those who for righteousness' sake endure the temporary fire, and shalt pronounce them blessed, when thou hast known that [other] fire.

(Here ends that part of the Epistle which is held to be genuine.)

“[XI. I am not speaking strange things, nor instituting unreasonable inquiries, but being a disciple of the apostles, am become a teacher of the gentiles; those things which are delivered to me I minister to such as become disciples of the truth. For who that is rightly instructed and begotten by the beloved Word, does not seek to know accurately those things which were manifestly shown to disciples, to whom the Word having appeared manifested them, speaking with freedom of utterance, not comprehended by the unbelieving, but discoursing to disciples, who, accounted faithful by him, have known the mysteries of the Father? For which cause he sent the Word, that he might appear unto the world; who being dishonoured by the people, preached by the apostles, was believed on by the gentiles. The same who was from the beginning, appeared now, and was found to be ancient, and ever new is begotten in the hearts of the saints. The same who was from eternity, to-day is reckoned Son; by whom the Church is enriched, and grace spread abroad is multiplied in the saints, affording intelligence, disclosing mysteries,

announcing times, rejoicing over the faithful, bestowed on those who seek, by whom the boundaries of faith are not broken, nor the boundaries of the fathers transcended. After this the fear of law is hymned, and the grace of prophets is known, and the belief of gospels is established, and the tradition of apostles is guarded, and the grace of the Church leaps for joy. If thou grieveest not this grace, thou shalt know what things the Word speaks, by whom he chooses, and when he pleases. For whatsoever things we are moved, by the will of him that commandeth, to utter with labour, we are partakers [of the same] with you out of love for what has been revealed to us.

“XII. Which having obtained and heard with attention, you shall know what things God affords to those who love aright; being made a paradise of delight, having reared within you the all-fruitful, well-germinating tree; being adorned with manifold fruits. For in this very place were planted the tree of knowledge and the tree of life; but it is not the [tree] of knowledge that slays, but the disobedience slays. Nor are those things obscure which are written, how God from the beginning planted the tree of life in the midst of Paradise, indicating life through knowledge; which when those who were from the beginning did not use purely, they were made naked by the deceit of the serpent. For neither is there life without knowledge, nor is knowledge safe without true life. Therefore each was planted in proximity, which power the apostle perceiving, and blaming that knowledge which is exercised [in order] to life, without the truth of the commandment, says, ‘Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.’ For whoso supposes that he knows any thing, without true knowledge, witnessed by the life, knows not, is deceived by the serpent, not having loved the life; but whoso with fear thoroughly knows, and seeks life, the same plants in hope, expecting fruit. Let the heart be to thee knowledge, and the life the true Word, [as] accepted. Of which, [thou] bearing the tree and plucking the fruit, shalt gather always those things which are desired of God, which the serpent touches not, nor meddles with by imposture; nor

is Eve corrupted, but is deemed a virgin; and salvation is shown forth, and apostles are instructed, and the Lord's passover advances, and tapers are brought together and fitted with decorum, and the Word who teaches the saints is made joyful, by whom the Father is glorified; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.]”

In regard to that large portion of this Epistle which is of undoubted genuineness, some observations may well be allowed. And, first, it breathes the spirit of a very early age. It much more resembles the apostolical fathers, and indeed the canonical epistles, than any later productions of Greek Christians. The allusions are to a state of things in which believers had not lost their distinctive character, and in which they were separate from the world. The splendid amplification of the fifth chapter, has attracted universal admiration. Its resemblance to certain passages of the apostle Paul, need not be pointed out to any mindful reader. The silence of the Epistle, moreover, on certain points which stand out glaringly on every page of the later fathers, is very instructive. If image-worship had begun in any shape, the line of argument pursued by the writer would necessarily have been unlike what it is; he would have been driven to the subterfuges and distinctions which grew out of the iconoclastic controversy, and which disgrace the arguments of Rome. The same remark applies to the denunciations of Judaism, in regard to set days. If Christians at that time had possessed a calendar of feasts and fasts, it would have been difficult to write the latter sentences of the fourth chapter, without a salvo for such observances. The writing proceeded from a time anterior to all ecclesiastical distinction of days and meats. Equally silent is our eloquent author concerning any claims of hierarchy. Not a word does he utter about sacramental grace, priesthood, distinction of laity and clergy, baptismal regeneration, the necessity of coming to an external catholicism for safety. But these are assumptions on which we perpetually stumble, in the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. In all these respects the air of the production is healthful and primitive. Nor does it contain,

in its genuine portions, a syllable on which a papist could build a plausible argument.

We remark, secondly, on the inadequate and erroneous view which the author takes of the Old Testament dispensation. This it is, as we have said above, which has led many to class the Epistle among Gnostical works. In our apprehension, however, these passages, though painfully aside from truth, only serve to corroborate the opinion that the work is of early date. In later periods, the Old Testament was assigned to its proper standing. But when early converts came over from gentilism to the gospel, unless belonging to the class of proselytes, they did not, like the Jews, pass through the Old Testament as a vestibule. In many cases, we may suppose it was long before even the version of the Seventy was put into their hands. One who at this stage should write a defence of Christianity, would be very apt to indulge in just such indiscriminating censures of Judaism as characterize this Epistle. It is indeed one of the most obscure points in church history, to determine by what process the early converts from heathenism were brought acquainted with the Old Testament Scriptures and economy. What difficulties it has offered to the greatest Christian historian of our age, may be seen in Neander's delightful but unsafe volume, on the Planting and Training of the Church.

Our third remark is of a more pleasing kind. The Epistle to Diognetus abounds in the statement of vital Christian doctrine. Even our bald version cannot altogether conceal the sublimity of that passage of the seventh chapter, in which the writer sets forth the uncreated dignity of the Redeemer. Here we read, that when God would save men, he sent, "not some servant, or angel, or prince, or any of those who govern earthly things, or any of those entrusted with the heavenly provinces, but the Framer and Creator of the Universe himself;" (an expression which certainly savours little of Gnosticism); and the words following, rise in a climax unsurpassed in patristical eloquence. The value of faith is clearly asserted in the eighth chapter. But it is in the ninth that we have expressions concerning the method of justification, such as we have often toiled in vain to find in some church-fathers of the highest name. "By our own works unworthy of life," we are "deemed worthy of it by the kindness of God." The desert and impotence of

fallen nature are strongly asserted. God "gave his own Son, a ransom in our stead; the holy for the lawless; him that knew not wickedness, for the wicked; the just for the unjust." The doctrine of justification, as something beyond mere pardon, is taught: "*For what else was able to cover our sins, but His righteousness?*" And he breaks forth, "O sweet exchange! O design past finding out! O bounties never to have been expected! That the iniquity of many should be hidden in one righteous; that the righteousness of one should justify many unrighteous."

We have said enough, we trust, to draw the attention of inquiring students to the Epistle to Diognetus. By all means they should study it in the original. So doing, they will find much light cast on the history of the Church, and of early opinion.

ART. III.—*Modern Millenarianism.*

[We published, in a former number of our Quarterly, an article on the missionary bearings of the Millenarian doctrines. As these dogmas are making very high pretensions, and "no small stir" in our day; and as many are beginning to wonder what these strange things mean, we have thought we could not render our readers a better service, than by attempting to set before them, in as compact a form as possible, an analysis of the entire Millenarian creed.]

"THE term *Millenarian*,* in its widest application, denotes one who believes in a millennium, or thousand years of the saints' reign with Christ on earth; without determining whether that reign is to be in all senses personal and literal, or characteristically a spiritual reign. But in controversial works this term has assumed a more restricted meaning, and is now generally employed to denote those who hold that Christ's personal advent is to precede the millennium; that at his coming the resurrection and glorification of them who have slept in Jesus are literally to take place; that they, in conjunction with Christ, are personally to reign on the earth over mortal men; that mankind, as now, are to continue in the natural body, are to multiply, be still subject to the diseases and death that are

* Theological and Literary Journal, July, 1850, pp. 5, 6.

the fruits of Adam's fall; that the gospel dispensation is to continue during the thousand years, and Jews and Gentiles are to be generally converted."

And let it be observed here, to avoid the confusion into which some writers on this subject have fallen, that those who hold to the future personal reign of Christ and his saints on earth, are divided into two great classes. The one class are the millenarians, whose theory we have sketched. The Lords, Duffield, Henshaw of America, agree substantially with the British millenarians. The other class are the Second Adventists, or more commonly known now amongst us as Millerites. There are comparatively few of these in Britain, but many in America. The belief of the Millerites is, in substance, as follows:—That Christ is very soon to return in person to the earth; when he comes, the deceased saints are to be raised; they, together with the living saints, are to be changed, and withdrawn from the earth into some region of the air; the world is then to be purified by fire, the earth to melt with fervent heat, its works and all the unregenerate portion of mankind to be burned up. After the purification is thus completed, then the saints are to descend upon the earth again, and reign with Christ in sole possession of the world for the thousand years. At the end of this period the second resurrection is to take place; that is, all the wicked dead are to be raised, and those, deceived by Satan—as if they would need to be deceived for that purpose—are to make war upon the camp of the saints, to meet a signal overthrow, and be cast down for ever to hell.

It will be perceived that those two classes hold but little in common. The millenarian believes in the continuance of the fleshly and probationary state during the millennium; that the agencies of redemption and conversion work are still to go on; indeed that this is Christ's great harvest period, when he shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied; that little, comparatively, is to be accomplished for man's salvation, in giving to Christ those who had been promised him by the Father, until that period arrive. The Millerite, on the other hand, believes in no such mixed millennial state. He believes that probation ends with Christ's coming—that that is the end of saving sinners—that there is to be no such thing as men in the flesh in the period of the millennium.

Those are the two theories of the millennium; that stand in contrast with the one which we suppose to be most generally entertained; viz., the view which places the personal second coming of Christ at the close of the millennium, and that not for the purpose of abiding and reigning on earth at all, but to bring the affairs of our world to an end, and to consummate the work given him as Redeemer. It is the millenarian theory alone that we propose to consider in contrast with the general one.

It might strike one at first view, that, as to the practical influence upon those embracing it, it matters little which of those two theories a person now adopts; that to us, who live before the millennium, the doctrines of the gospel which are vitally related to Christian faith and practice, must all be the same, whether we take up with the one or the other view; that the subject is more speculative and curious than practical. A little farther attention to the matter, however, will show that it is otherwise. Millenarianism has grown out of a new "school of Scripture interpretation;" and its laws of interpretation are so different from the old, that the Bible may almost be said to wear a new visage and speak with a new tongue—a tongue not very intelligible, in many of its utterances, to the uninitiated. The central law of interpretation, by which millenarians profess always to be guided, is that of giving the literal sense. They call themselves literalists, in opposition to those who entertain the other notion of the millennium, whom they denominate spiritualists, or allegorists, and whom they accuse of frittering away the sense of Scripture by following a system of figurative interpretation. It is by following out rigidly (we may say doggedly) their system of literalism with reference to a portion of the prophetic Scriptures, that, in defiance of all other Scripture, they bring in the future personal reign of Christ on earth, and shape their entire view of the system of revealed religion to that nucleus. Suffice it for the present to say, that the theory of Christianity, which introduces Christ's personal reign on earth during the millennium, can coincide in but few particulars (happily these are the most fundamental; so, on the supposition of the falsity of their theory, there is no shipwreck made of essential faith) with the other, and which, for convenience sake, we shall call the commonly received theory of Christi-

anity. The plan that we have adopted for this discussion is, to lay side by side the two theories of Christ's second advent. (viz., the one which locates it before, and the one which locates it after the millennium,) and thus bring to view the principal points of difference.

1. We differ, *toto cælo*, on the nature itself of the millennium. We regard the millennium as nothing more and nothing else than the increased expansion and power of our present Christianity; they regard it as a new dispensation of religion—a dispensation so unlike the present as to have little in common with it. Dr. Duffield says, and none will deny that in this he represents the cardinal point at issue justly, "The great question which forms the nucleus of the whole discussion, is one, and very simple, viz., Is the kingdom of heaven a new dispensation, to be introduced on earth by the visible personal coming of Jesus Christ? or has it been commenced?" That is the point in controversy; and to that "nucleus," that germinal principle, must all the other parts of one's adopted system of grace adjust themselves. We have studied out and embraced a scheme of Christian faith which connects the kingly office of Christ inseparably with his mediatorial relations; we believe that as Mediator, from first to last, he as really and as necessarily executeth the office of King as of Priest. We believe the Scriptures plainly teach that Christ is now King in Zion; that his mediatorial kingdom has already commenced on earth in the hearts of his people, and is to be perfected and perpetuated through everlasting ages in the world to come. Jesus himself, in answer to Pilate's inquiry, confessed that he was then King, that for the purpose of wearing that character he was born. Yet the whole millenarian theory is built upon the assumption that Christ, as Mediator, is not King—that he is now reigning upon his Father's throne, not his own—that his own proper kingdom is to commence with the millennium, and is of course yet future; that the present is the Priestly age of Christ—the age yet to come, before entering upon which he will have finished the work of intercession, (!) is his Kingly age. Hence will be perceived how different is the character of Christ's kingdom according to them—a kingdom yet to be—from the nature of that which we call the kingdom of Christ, and which we think is now in existence.

We understand it to be a spiritual kingdom. "My kingdom is not of this world." "The kingdom of God is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo here! or, Lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you." The millenarian doctrine is, that Christ's kingdom is of this world; that it is to be a visible reign, the seat, or capital, of which will be at Jerusalem. "The notion," says Mr. Brooks, a distinguished British writer on the millenarian side, "that the kingdom of Christ signifies the present visible Christian church, or the Christian religion in the hearts of God's people, or both—and that it has been manifested to the world ever since the establishment of Christianity—is in the main erroneous, inasmuch as it mistakes the means for the end, and substitutes what may be considered as the preparation for the kingdom, for the establishment and manifestation of it;—but if, on the contrary, it shall appear that it was not in its primary sense to be manifested under this dispensation, and has not been manifested, then it determines that its character will necessarily be something far more exalted and different from what has hitherto been witnessed."

2. We will therefore pass, secondly, from the nature of the millennium, to consider the means of introducing it.

Our belief is, that the present agencies for spreading the gospel are the only means ever to be employed in converting the world to God. These agencies are the publication of gospel truth, accompanied to the souls of men by the silent energy of the Holy Ghost. The word is ever to be the instrument, the Almighty Spirit the agent in the conversion of men. These are the means of salvation which the Scriptures everywhere recognize; and they not only give no intimation that these are to be exchanged for others, or that others are to be superadded, but they seem clearly to forbid the expectation of other instrumentalities. The commission given by Christ, under which all his followers act, runs as follows: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all nations; and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Now it is agreed on both sides, that the phrase "unto the end of the world," denotes that period which terminates with the second coming of Christ.

Does not, then, that commission contain ample provisions for both introducing and perfecting the millennium?

The process by which the whole world is to be evangelized, until the millennium's meridian is gained, we believe to be plainly indicated in the parables of the mustard seed and the leaven.

Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the image, too, as interpreted by Daniel, seems to teach the same thing. The image denotes the kingdoms of this world that are to be destroyed before the glories of the millennium can be reached. Now, what is to destroy those kingdoms? The kingdom of Christ, all say. The God of heaven shall set up a kingdom that shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. The kingdom, too, all admit, is that stone cut out of the mountain without hands. But these admissions concede to us all we claim on this subject. For, (1) this stone is cut out without hands; (2) it grows till it fills the whole earth; both denoting, like the leaven, the silent operation of gospel grace in regenerating the world; and (3) the God of heaven was to set up his kingdom in the days of those kingdoms it was to demolish, which proves that the kingdom of Christ was to have its commencement before the millennium, and that it was by its growth and powerful sway that the millennial state was to be brought about.

What say our millenarian brethren, however, on this subject? They maintain that, previous to the millennium, the moral condition of the world is to receive no substantial improvement, but rather that things are to wax worse and worse, until the measure of the world's iniquity is full. They sneer contemptuously at the Church's professed hope of converting the world by the agency of Bible and missionary societies, or by any diffusion of truth, or in any possible way in which the church can now convey the gospel to mankind. They do not object to these benevolent movements—individual souls will be saved by them—and then they hold that all these efforts to propagate the gospel are made essential, in the purposes of God, to the introduction of the promised kingdom; that this is the witness-bearing age, and, before Christ can come, the gospel must be preached to all nations for a testimony against them; that there is just so much preparatory gospel work to be done; therefore, let the Church be in earnest, for the better and the

faster Christians work, the sooner will Christ come. But they kindly caution the Church against being deceived by harbouring any unwarrantable expectations of evangelizing the world by these efforts. Men will not be converted in any considerable numbers, they tell us, till Christ actually makes his appearance. The personal sight of Christ, coming in his glory; the dreadful judgments he is at once, upon his appearing, to execute upon the wicked and upon all antichristian powers; the stupendous miracles that are to be performed in setting up a new dispensation; the agency of holy angels, dispersed through the earth to gather together the elect, &c., these are to be the demonstrations that will make sinners bow the knee to Christ. They believe, however, that sinners are to be regenerated then, as now, by the truth and Spirit of God; yet it is very manifest that they, after all, give other agencies the pre-eminence. Hear some of them speak for themselves.

"Multitudes of professors of religion," says Mr. Brooks, "are at this time under a delusion in regard to the nature of those events that are impending over the Church of Christ"—referring to the supposition that the millennium is to be glided into by the instrumentalities of various missionary institutions, and by a gradual diffusion of scriptural light, and he then adds: "As regards, however, the kingdom of Christ, which is the millennial kingdom, the testimony of Scripture is most abundant to the fact, that it is to be ushered in by desolating judgments; and that the universal prevalence of religion hereafter to be enjoyed, is not to be effected by any increased impetus given by the present means of evangelizing the nations, but by a stupendous display of divine wrath upon all the apostate and ungodly."

Says Mr. Tyso, "The Scriptures do state the design of the gospel, and what it is to effect; but they never say it is to convert the world. Its powers have been tried for eighteen hundred years. The Scriptures never state that the gospel, or Christian economy, will be the means of converting the world. That the world is to be converted is evident from many scriptures; but they ascribe it principally to other causes."

Mr. A. Bonar says he has heard missionaries "regret deeply that the Church at home should be dazzled by the vain hope of conversions on a grand scale."

Dr. Lord, the venerable President of Dartmouth College, holds the following strain on this subject: "It remains for another age to take off the curse of sin; to change the spots of the leopard and the skin of the Ethiopian; to cover Lebanon with cedars, and reflect the glory of the divine presence from Zion. We may enrich our galleries with the dug up ruins of antiquity. We may adorn our museums with its relics. We may repair some wastes. We may preach the gospel for a witness to the worn out nations, and save God's elect within them from the impending judgments. We ought; we shall; we will. But we can do no more. To expect more is not faith, but presumption. To attempt more will be but to hasten and heighten the catastrophe. It is against the purpose of God."

3. Having seen how the longed-for era of the gospel's triumphs is to be introduced, we will now proceed, in the third place, to consider the state of things on earth during the millennial age.

We need not enlarge upon the common view, which is simply this, that nothing is to distinguish the millennium from the present period, except the greater prevalence of true religion, and the various changes and blessings that are its natural accompaniments and consequents.

But could we now break loose from our dull theory, and transmigrate into the millenarian idea, and venture for once to take its bold flights, we might promise ourselves a rich reward for the excursion; at least, if the gratification of a morbid and endless curiosity is of the nature of a reward. We should find ourselves very shortly set down upon a new world; and if we did not find there just what Paul found when he was caught up to the third heavens, we should certainly see things of which it is not possible to give to men below an intelligible account.

What, then, according to the millenarians, is the anticipated state of things during the thousand years of Christ's personal reign on earth?

The Son of God will descend visibly from heaven, attended by all the impressive display and insignia becoming his divine royalty; he will be accompanied to earth by myriads of angels, and by the souls of the saints that had slept in him; the bodies of the saints will be raised and changed into bodies like

Christ's glorious body; the angels will be dispersed through all the world to gather the wheat into the garner, and to gather the tares for burning; that is, to assemble before Christ all the pious living, and to cut off all the wicked by terrible judgments. Millenarians expressly assert that the "complementary or full number of the elect gentile church" is to be gathered in at this time as introductory to Christ's kingly age, and that the world is then to be purified by fire, according to the prediction of the apostle Peter.

The way being thus prepared, Christ seats himself upon the throne of David in Jerusalem, and sets about inaugurating his kingdom. He is king. The first question is, whom does he associate with himself to take part in administering the government? Millenarians are not agreed here; there are three opinions. Some say, the martyrs only; or at least, such saints as had gained the distinction of passing through great tribulation for Jesus' sake, and had come out like gold tried in the fire: that these only are raised and glorified. Others hold that all the saints who had previously died, together with all the pious found on the earth at Christ's appearing, are changed, and in their glorified bodies reign with Christ. This probably is the more general opinion among them. Others still, and of this class is that American champion of Millenarianism, the Editor of the Theological and Literary Journal, believe that all the holy dead, and no others, are, in the first instance, to be joined with Christ as rulers.

The next question is, Who are the subjects, or the ruled over? They are men in the flesh—mortal men like ourselves, with all our passions, and affections, and infirmities; men who shall live, as we do, in nations; live by the various pursuits of industry, who shall plant and build, shall marry and multiply, &c.

The third question we will raise concerning the condition of things on earth during the millennium, is this: What are to be the arrangements by which those two classes of such opposite natures can dwell together, as different departments of the same terrestrial kingdom, and sustain to each other respectively the relation of rulers and subjects? We will endeavour to communicate to our patient readers all the idea we can get on this subject from millenarian writings; though we confess

it is about as foggy and indistinct as the idea of departed shades and their abodes, as described in the sixth Book of Virgil's *Æneid*. The rulers—to wit, Christ and the glorified saints—are to dwell, as the seat of empire, in the holy city, the New Jerusalem that is to come down from God out of heaven. But where is this New Jerusalem to be located? It is to be directly *on*, or *over*, the earthly Jerusalem, “like as Jehovah’s pillar of fire rested on the tabernacle in the wilderness, or the more awful glory on the top of Sinai; here is to be the meeting point of heaven and earth.” You have the full description of it in the twenty-first chapter of Revelation.

Mr. H. Bonar holds with reference to it, the following language: “We do not hold that Christ and his risen saints are to dwell in actual houses of lime and stone, such as we dwell in [in Scotland]. Their dwelling is in the *pavilion cloud*, or residence provided for them in the New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from God, and which rests over the earth just as the pillar of cloud did of old. From that, as the palace of the king in which they abide, they go forth continually, as vice-royal potentates, to rule the nations of the earth.”

This New Jerusalem, then, is *over* and *on* the earthly Jerusalem, where David reigned; it rests down upon it as a *pavilion cloud*, yet so as not to obstruct at all the earthly Jerusalem; for this is to be rebuilt and adorned in more than its ancient magnificence, and is to be to the entire new world what it formerly was to Palestine. In connection with this representation, read the description of the New Jerusalem given in the twenty-first of Revelation, which has high walls of jasper, and twelve foundations, garnished with all manner of precious stones, the city itself being of pure gold. How much this sounds like the other description, of a “pavilion cloud”—“the meeting point of heaven and earth”—which does not interfere with the uses of the earthly city on which it rests! Blessed literalism!

Such is to be the abode of the rulers. What, on the other hand, is to be that of the subjects—human beings in the flesh? The new heavens and new earth, described in the twenty-first of Revelation, are to be prepared for them. And what sort of a residence is this? Mr. Lord, of New York, says that the new heavens and earth are to be the same materially as the present,

and their newness is to consist in their renovation—*i. e.*, in the curse being taken off which Adam's sin has brought upon them; (he must have overlooked the circumstance that after the new earth is prepared, there is to be "no more sea," Rev. xxi. 1,) the atmosphere, instead of pestilential, is to become congenial to life; the earth, in place of being blighted with sterility, and overgrown with thorns, is to become fruitful. Wildernesses are to bud and blossom as the rose; and deserts smile with verdure and plenty. The several countries of the gentiles, instead of being obliterated, are still to continue to be occupied by them and bear their ancient names. The laws of nature are to remain the same as now—sun and moon to revolve the same—the alternations of the seasons to be the same.

All the nations of the earth are to walk in the light of the New Jerusalem—that city of the saints. The saints are to come out of their pavilion and go amongst men all over the earth; all men are to have Christ constantly in sight, (though some millenarians deny this.) Mortal men, too, are at all times to have free access to the saints, within the New Jerusalem, and the kings of the earth are to bring their glory into it. How it will be possible for men in the flesh to see with fleshly eyes beings, who themselves are not partakers of flesh and blood, is not explained. The idea of such a motley kingdom, made up of such opposite and incongruous elements, would seem to bear on the very face of it an air of absurdity.

A fourth very curious inquiry, pertaining to matters in the millennium, we will introduce here. It is a prominent part of the millenarian doctrine, that, in the times of the millennium, the gospel is to have free course and be glorified—this is the great harvest period of redemption; not only are the nations of the earth to be generally converted—(all excepting some of the more incorrigible, dwelling in certain corners of the world—corners as yet undiscovered, we suppose)—but the same work of conversion and ingathering is to go down through successive generations as they come into being. The question is, by what agencies, and on what moral grounds, is the work of conversion to be executed then? The millenarian will reply, "The same as now—on the ground of Christ's death, and by the agencies of the truth and the Spirit; these made ef-

fectual by the binding of Satan, and the powerful rule of Christ and the saints." But we have some difficulties. In the first place, we say to the millenarian, "You maintain that Christ is no longer executing the office of Priest—he is no longer intercessor—he is King now; on what ground therefore can a sinner be accepted? Who is there to advocate his cause before the eternal throne, and show a valid ground for his pardon and acceptance?"

We ask our millenarian brethren, in the next place, What truth do you rely upon to save sinners in the millennium? It cannot be the present Scriptures, for they will be altogether out of date, on your own admission; they were prepared for man in his present state and circumstances—battling with Satan, and braving the storms of temptation and of adversity—all of which will have blown over for ever before those days of peace and quietness; therefore the present Bible will not be adapted to the facts of the sinner's or of the saint's case under that dispensation of things. Here they frankly confess that they are looking for a new revelation from God, to supersede, partly, if not wholly, the present revelation. All the warrant they profess to give for such an expectation is, that it has been God's method, in setting up a new dispensation of religion, to make a new revelation, adapted to the nature of the dispensation.

A fifth inquiry, pertaining to the condition of things on earth during the millennium, relates to God's ancient covenant people, the Jews; how are they to figure in these times of Christ's glory? and how are they and the gentile world to stand related to each other? We believe that the wall between Jew and Gentile is for ever broken down; not so the millenarians. They maintain that the Israelites are to be gathered from all the lands of their dispersion, and restored to their ancient Palestine; that the temple is to be rebuilt; that a ritual of worship very like the Mosaic shall be restored; there shall be all the various offerings of the Levitical economy—even literal sacrifices of animal victims; there shall be peace-offerings, meat-offerings, burnt-offerings, trespass-offerings, sin-offerings. "Jerusalem," says Mr. Pym, "shall be the metropolis of the world, from which the law shall go forth, and be the centre of worship for the whole earth." Mark the fact—the law is to go

forth from Jerusalem, and Jerusalem is to be the centre of worship for the whole earth. In what sense the centre of worship? you will ask. Remember, Mr. Lord and other millenarians have the whole world peopled by nations as now; how then is Jerusalem the centre of worship to them all? It is in the most literal and unrestricted sense. They hold that all the gentile nations, kings and subjects, men, women, and children, will literally come up to Jerusalem to worship, not only annually, but from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another! It will not do for us "rationalists" as Dr. Lord calls us, to raise any objections on the ground of difficulties involved in the supposition. "What right have difficulties to open the mouth in opposition to the literal sense of prophecy? Let apparent impossibilities be dumb before such scriptures as Ezek. xlv. xlv. ; Isa. lxvi. 23; Zech. xiv. 16; Ps. lxvi. ; Jer. xxxiii. 17, 18. We must say nothing about the impossibility of thousands of millions of human beings in the flesh being accommodated simultaneously within one small city; we must not speak of the inconvenience of taking such journeys so often.

There are, however, some prophecies upon which they do not comment, that we should like to have them understand literally. Such, for instance, as Mal. i. 11: "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts."

What relation now are Jews and gentiles to sustain to each other? The Israelites are to have a supremacy, both civil and religious, over all the nations of the earth—a supremacy subordinate to that of Christ and the risen saints. They are to constitute the priesthood—even Christ himself, Mr. Lord intimates, may take part in offering bloody sacrifices!! The gentiles, like the Levites of old, will be a sort of servants to the priests. "It would appear," says one, "that the ordinary avocations of life, such as the dressing of vines and the tending of flocks, will be performed for them by the gentiles, whilst they are to be engaged in the higher offices of being the priests of the Lord." On the subject of the world's annual solemn assembly at Jerusalem, Dr. McNeill says, "All shall go to Jerusalem, to the feast of Tabernacles, and see [with eyes

of flesh] the Lord of hosts manifested in the human nature of Jesus reigning in Mount Zion."

The sixth and last inquiry we will raise concerning the condition of things during the millennium, relates to the Church of Christ. Who are then to compose his Church? The Scriptures, on their own admission, represent the Church of Christ—his mystical body, the Lamb's wife—as full and complete at the coming of the Bridegroom. Mr. Bickersteth, a high authority with his party, says—in answer to the question, What is meant by the Church?—"It is composed of all those who have been given to Christ by the Father from eternity. It comprises all those for whom, in an especial manner, Christ gave himself." And on "the nature of the manifestation" of Christ, he remarks, "The Church will be glorious in its completeness. Never before shall the whole Church have been seen together; then he will have accomplished the number of his elect. Not one of the Lord's people will be wanting."

All this being so, we are curious now to know what those will be who are to be converted to Christ after his coming—for the number of the saved up to the time of his appearing will be as nothing compared with the number afterwards brought in. Who are all these? They cannot, if millenarians are consistent with themselves, be a part of the Church of Christ; for it will be "glorious in its completeness" at his coming. They cannot belong to his elect, whom the Father gave him from eternity—cannot be of those for whom Christ in a special manner, gave himself. Who are they? What relation do they sustain to Christ? To get over this difficulty, millenarians make a fanciful distinction between the Church, and the whole number saved. The Church they call the Bride—this will be complete and glorious at Christ's appearing. If we ask what other union there is of sinners to Christ than that represented in the fifth chapter of Ephesians, Mr. Bickersteth gives the following answer: "There may be, and doubtless are, a thousand stages and varieties of union with Christ, distinguishable from the glory of the Church of the first-born."

To our mind, this maiming of the body of Christ—the introducing of this non-descript class of the redeemed, is one of the most repulsive features in all the ugly compound of millenarianism.

We have thus far brought to view only three of the general points of difference between the two theories of the second advent. There are three others upon which we must touch.

4. We differ then, in the fourth place, on the doctrine of the resurrection. We believe in the resurrection of all the dead, both of the just and of the unjust, at the coming of Christ: that the pious dead and the pious living will then be changed. &c. Millenarians believe in two resurrections—that of the holy dead, and these only, at the commencement of the millennium; and that of the wicked dead after the millennium, at the end of the “little season.” If we ask them what is to be the fate of those pious ones who shall die during the millennium—are they ever to be raised? We get no answer. They have exhausted the Scriptures in making provision for the resurrection of the two classes named. This large intermediate class, larger than both the others, is dropt out; there is no provision in the whole millenarian system for bringing them to life again—unless it be in the as yet unknown new revelation they are expecting in the new dispensation.

5. We differ most essentially and entirely on the doctrine of the judgment. As we read the Scriptures, God hath appointed a day in which he will judge all mankind, both righteous and wicked—every deed—all their secret things—by Jesus Christ. Millenarians have in their theory what they call a judgment, but they scoff at our idea of a day of general assize. They break the judgment up, as they do the resurrection, into two parts; being partly before, and partly after the millennium; and, moreover, they have it going on all through the millennium; it is a protracted process of judging for a thousand years. It is not of the nature at all of our judgment, but it rather answers to an idea of divine Providence; God making a difference in his wise and holy dispensations between the righteous and the wicked; adjudging, according to their respective merits and demerits, one to a place of honourable preferment and happiness, and another to a place of infamy and misery. The judgment scene described in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, they locate before the millennium, and make it a national, not an individual judgment.

6. We differ in relation to the condition of the greater portion of the human family during the eternal ages that are to

supervene after the millennium, the "little season," and the final judgment. While, on the one hand, we believe that this physical, material earth is to be no more—that there will be no more men in the flesh—that all the wicked will be cast down to an eternal hell, and all the righteous glorified with Christ in an eternal heaven; they, on the contrary, maintain that the world, as refitted in more than its paradisaical goodness at the commencement of the millennium, is to last for ever; that it is to be inhabited for ever by human beings in the flesh, who are to marry, and procreate, and multiply, &c., just as in the millennium; that Christ and his saints, pavilioned in the New Jerusalem, are to rule over them in the same manner; in a word, that this is only the prolongation and continued increase of Messiah's kingdom, which is, according to the promise to David, on whose throne he sits, an everlasting kingdom, that shall have no end.

Mr. Lord, of New York, says: "Men, then, are for ever to exist as communities and nations, and thence in the natural body, and therefore are for ever to multiply. To suppose that they are not to multiply, is to contradict their nature, and exhibit their existence as an infinite absurdity; for it is to suppose that the marriage institution is to be discontinued, and the world occupied by countless millions of immortal celibates, debarred from the principal offices, duties, and joys, for which their constitution fits them. No man in his senses can persuade himself that such a society of isolated beings is the *beau ideal* of a renovated world. . . . The most important function of our nature is that of bringing similar beings into existence, and the parental and filial relations are the chief sphere of the duties, virtues, and enjoyments of life."

The question, how is the condition of the race after the millennium to differ from its condition during that period, Mr. Lord answers substantially as follows. He says the great peculiarity that is to distinguish the condition of the race after the close of the thousand years, is, an entire exemption from the curse brought upon man by his first progenitor, an exemption from the curse of mortality, sorrow, suffering, the loss of spiritual blessings, &c. How this curse is to be repealed without breaking our federal relation to Adam, he does not inform us. He says

the race are, during the millennium, to consist of two classes. (1) The saints who, still in the flesh, are changed from mortal to immortal—that is, made just like our first parents before their fall. He holds that all the pious on earth at the time of Christ's coming, will be thus changed. They will not be glorified, like the risen saints—will only be exempted from the liability to disease and death. Besides these, others will receive the gift of immortality during the millennium. (2) These will be the mortal inhabitants of the earth. All who shall be born during the thousand years will be born mortal, that is, subject to death. But very many of these, as the reward of their piety, will be permitted to eat of the leaves of the tree of life, (for this is to be restored,) and will thus be made immortal. Such is to be the mixed fleshly state during the millennium. After this, however, the curse is to be wholly repealed; there is to be no more death, no more suffering, no more curse of any kind. How the countless millions of human beings, with bodies and bodily wants as now, are to find sufficient accommodations on this earth at some future point in her eternal existence, does not appear. There seems, to a "rationalistic" mode of looking at things, to be a difficulty here; for the race is to multiply without end—there is no place for them but this world, and it does not appear that this globe is ever to be more than twenty-five thousand miles in circumference. However, we, those of us who belong to the Bridegroom, will not vex ourselves with that puzzle, for we hope to be ourselves in the New Jerusalem; there is no marrying and multiplying there—there is no danger of its accommodations becoming straitened.

Millenarians make very ill-natured and scolding complaints against us, that we condemn their system without examining into its foundations. They berate our ignorance and stupidity. They speak of "deplorable degradation of the ministerial profession;" "wretched superficiality in those who affect to be guides of public opinion;" "not a trace of acquaintance with the laws of philology." They will not hear a word of objection to their doctrines, except what may be made through an examination of their principles of interpretation. They may safely look out and deride and defy through the loop-holes of this retreat; for few, we should hope, will ever think it worth while to drive them out of those unseemly places.

The objection they make to our mode of criticism goes upon the assumption, that the Bible is so different from all other compositions, that, without the application of their peculiar laws of literal interpretation, only a small portion of it can be understood. It will be difficult to convince the pious world that this is just so. We believe that the man with a new heart who can understand the spelling-book, and can read intelligently the history of his country, can understand the greater and most essential portion of the word of God. If so, he can understand quite enough to test millenarianism by. It is as absurd to complain of our criticisms, because we have not gone directly to work to demolish the enginery with which they forge their doctrines—viz: their peculiar system of hermeneutics—as it would be to complain of him who cries out against the cholera as an evil, before he examines into its causes, and understands the laws of its operation; or of him who condemns the Upas tree before he has examined the acorn from which it grows. We answer them, that a tree may sometimes be known by its fruits, as well as its roots.

ART. IV.—*China and California.*

THE discoverers of the American continent in the fifteenth century were entranced, when they landed on its eastern coast, to find here what appeared a land of boundless wealth in the precious metals, and in its agricultural productions; inhabited by a people of gentle, poetic and luxurious manners, only empurpled and enervated by the tropical sun. And scarce less surprised were our brethren that have pushed our empire to the Pacific shores, to be at once met on that opposite extreme by unexpected descendants of the same division of the human family, the emigrant Chinese. The Indian and the Chinaman are and are not the same. The progenitors of our aborigines were doubtless portions of the maritime population of the Asiatic coast, cast hither by the currents and winds of the ocean, some, perhaps, as the Tartar traditions affirm, on cakes of ice; while Long Achick and his celestial companions step ashore in satin shoes with white soles of paper, and float through the

streets of San Francisco in gowns of silk, waving their fans painted with extracts from poets and philosophers more ancient than Chaucer and Pelagius, and erect with the port of intelligence, refinement and enterprise. And now, when the people of California have compared the Chinaman with his brother, the wretched Rootdigger, or the savage Camanche, they have found him as different as the modern Louis Napoleon from the ancient Dumnorix, or as the astronomer Arago from the druid Divitiacus. They have found him a gentleman in his address, a scholar in his own polished and immense literature, every whit as cunning a trader and as acute a diplomatist as the Yankee: in fine he is the "*Yankee of the East*."

The question is asked with wonder, whence came these men? We reply, from an empire as ancient as that of Nineveh, as civilized as that of Egypt, as wealthy and as controlling in the politics of mankind as Great Britain; one that has stood from an early period after the deluge, almost unknown to the fickle history of all the nations with which we have been acquainted, but ever-augmenting, till it is now the most populous that ever existed, and covers an area greater by one half than the whole continent of Europe.

Western nations claim to have discovered America some three hundred and sixty years ago. But there is every reason to believe that it was subjects of the Chinese Empire, either Tartars or Chinese, that first disturbed its vast solitudes with the sounds of the human voice, and who planted on its soil imperishable monuments of human industry. Place the newly-arrived Chinaman and the Indian side by side, and you observe the same complexion. Listen to the tongue of the latter, and while most of the dialects have partaken more of the Tartar original, a Chinese element also may be traced. For instance, the Otonic language, which covered a wider territory than any other but the Aztec among the nations of the Western part of our continent, is said to exhibit a remarkable affinity to the Chinese, both in its monosyllabic structure, and in its general vocabulary.

If it be asked, how the Orientals could have first reached this country, a high American authority [Redfield] says: "A knowledge of the winds and currents of the Pacific Ocean will, I am convinced, serve to remove all mystery and all doubt

from the once vexed question of the first peopling of its islands from the Asiatic continent, and in spite of the long urged objection of the opposition of the trade-winds. A case is still recent where the wreck of a Japanese junk was drifted the entire distance to the Sandwich Islands, with its surviving crew; thus completing nearly half of the great circuit of the winds and currents in the North Pacific. But we shall find an additional means of transport near the Equator, which is afforded in the north-west monsoon of the Indian and Pacific oceans, and which is found, according to my inquiries, to extend at one portion of the year as far eastward as the Society Islands, or more than half the distance from the Indian Ocean to the coast of South America." Indeed, when we consider the countless fleets of vessels, of every description, that checker the Chinese seas, it would be wonderful if some of them, by the frequent storms and the great current which precipitates the Northern Pacific upon the American coast, were not landed here; and equally wonderful if some, by the great counter current and trade-winds of the tropical zone, did not bear back tidings of the new world.

That the Chinese had propagated their race and their characteristics on this shore of the separating ocean, is the opinion of many men of research. Dr. J. Pye Smith quotes with approbation the opinion expressed in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, that "there are traits of resemblance in the manners, laws, arts, and institutions of the Chinese and Peruvians, which in our opinion are too numerous, striking, and peculiar, to be the effect of chance."

The period when this continent was peopled may for ever remain a secret. If solved, it must be from the historic records of the Oriental nations, probably from those of China, which, besides its comparative propinquity, possesses the most ancient and perfect of uninspired traditions. When we examine Chinese history, we discover descriptions of a great land far to the eastward, across the "Great Ocean," which the Jesuits and other interpreters of that difficult literature believe afford proof that California was known to that people for at least a thousand years before its discovery by the Spanish. The following, a short chapter from the *Yuen-kien-lüi-hán*, a Chinese Encyclopedia, is a specimen of the accounts supposed

to refer to America. It is contained on the 44th and 45th pages of the 231st volume:

"FUSANG. The historians of the South mention the country of Fusang. They state, that in the first year of *Wing-yuen* of the *Tsi* dynasty [about A. D. 499, according to the tables of M. Pauthier,] several of its learned Shaman priests arrived at Hing-chau. These men reported that Fusang lies east of Ta-moh, at the distance of twenty thousand *li*. [Ta-moh is described as a nation twelve thousand *li* eastward from Japan.] Their land is east from the middle kingdom [China]. Its territory is great. The name is derived from the *fusang* wood. The leaves of the *fusang* are like those of the *tung*; when first produced they resemble sprouts of bamboo. The inhabitants eat the fruit like pears, and weave its bark into cloth for clothing, and for articles of embroidery. They have no extensive cities [or 'cities with suburbs,' as Medhurst elsewhere translates the same phrase.] They have books, which are written upon the bark of the *fusang*. They possess no armed soldiery, and do not dare to make battle.

"According to the laws of the country there is instituted a northern and a southern prison. Persons guilty of light offences are committed to that at the south: those guilty of the more weighty ones to that at the north. There may be pardon and release from the southern prison, but none from the other. The males and females in it are, however, allowed to intermarry; though their male children are sold into slavery at eight years of age, and their females at nine. The corpses of prisoners are not permitted exit. When a man of rank is guilty of a crime, the men of the nation hold a great council. The offender eats and drinks before them. When condemned they bid him farewell like a dying man, and retire. Then a circle is drawn around him with ashes. Thus, if the crime be of a low grade, himself alone is cut off from intercourse with society: if greater, he and his children and grand-children: if of the highest degree of heinousness, his descendants are included to the seventh generation. The name of the king is *Yih-ki*. The nobility are entitled first, the Tui-lu; second, the inferior Tui-lu; third, the Na-tuh-shá. When the King travels he is attended by preceding and following drums and horns. The royal apparel is changed according to the year.

In every ten, during the first two it is green; during the next two, red; in the third two, yellow; in the fourth two, white; and in the last two, it is black. Carriages are used, with horses, oxen and deer. The people of the country raise deer to ferment spirits out of the milk, [as do the Tartars.] Red pears grow there, which keep sound the year through. Reeds, or watergrass, are abundant; they have peaches also. There is no iron; but they possess copper. They do not esteem gold and silver. When marriage is contemplated, the lover goes to the residence of the lady, erects a cottage near it, and waits, [or, in the Chinese, "sprinkles and sweeps"] for a year. If she be not pleased in that time she drives him off; but if mutually satisfied, the ceremonies are concluded. At an early era Buddhism did not exist in that country; but in the second year of Ta-ming, of the Sung dynasty [about A. D. 459] five pi-keu, or mendicant priests, from Kipin, [in Tartary,] went there and distributed Buddhist tracts and images among the inhabitants. Their customs have in consequence been changed."

The name Fusang is not of Chinese origin. It was probably obtained from the natives of the country, or was given to it by the Japanese, a people, says Bradford, in his valuable work on American Antiquities, whose commerce once extended from the Indian Archipelago to the shores of North America, "with which they were acquainted under the name of *Fou-sang*."

A critical examination of the whole of this remarkable passage reveals but few points of difference between the people of Fusang and what the Toltecs and Aztecs were, or might have been three and a half centuries ago. The Chinese historian depicts a peaceful people, it is true, with few arms; but such were the Toltecs before the rise of the Aztec power. The principal discrepancy is in the assertion that there were wheeled vehicles used with horses, oxen, or deer, since the use of these domestic animals was probably unknown on this continent. Yet on the other hand, the Tartar nations to the north of China cannot be intended, as carriages of any kind were equally unused by them.

The reasons for applying this narrative to the people of ancient Mexico are numerous and weighty. It purports to

have been derived from several Shaman priests, who came to China in the year 499 of the Christian era. The astonishing analogies between the Aztec religion and the Buddhist might justify those who have pronounced them the same. They resembled each other in their primary ideas of the Divine Being, of good and evil spirits, of the depravity of matter, and of the transmigration of the soul; in their general use of monastic forms and discipline; in their penances, ablutions, almsgivings, and public festivals; in the worship of their household gods; in the devotion of the priests to the studies of astrology and astronomy; in the admission of virgin females to the vows and rites of the cloister; in some of the titles and functions of different prominent deities; in the incense, liturgies, and chants of their worship; in their use of charms and amulets; in some of their forms of burial, or burning the dead, and the preservation of the ashes in urns; and in the assumption of the right to educate the youth. So the Chinese might justly have classed the Aztec priesthood with the Buddhist, that before the fifth century had extended their idolatrous toils over all Eastern Asia.

Fusang is described in the Chinese narrative as an extensive country, eastward of Japan, at the distance of about nine thousand miles. Only the Aleutian and Sandwich Islands lie in that direction short of our own continent, which is not far from that number of thousand miles distant; a remarkable approximation to the truth, when we remember the imperfection of the art of navigation in China. The use by the Aztecs of the bark of various trees for cloth and for paper; their possession of a hieroglyphic system of writing, and of a great number of written volumes, so that the Spaniards have testified that "mountains of them" were heaped up and burnt, after the conquest; their skill in embroidery, and the severity of their punishments, are noticed alike by the European and Chinese authors.

There are several additional points which deserve particular observation. First, the abundance of the peach and pear, which do not flourish northward of China on that continent, whose seeds were probably transported hither from China; in the ballads of whose poets they are introduced eleven hundred years before the commencement of our era. Second, there is no feature of our California scenery more noticed by the tour-

ist, than the vast marshes of the *tulé*, or reeds, which line the shores of the Sacramento and Joaquin rivers, and the bays by which they debouch into the ocean. The *tulé* seems to nearly correspond with the Chinese *po*, which is probably the reed or water-grass, of the species *typha*, commonly called reed-mace, or cat-tail. Third: it is specified in the Chinese account, that the criminal on trial eats and drinks in the presence of his judges. Of the Aztecs, the historian Prescott says, "the judges wore an appropriate dress, and attended to business both parts of the day—dining always for the sake of despatch in an apartment of the same building where they held their session; a method of proceeding much commended by the Spanish chroniclers, to whom despatch was not very familiar in their own tribunals." Fourth: the abundance of copper, and the want of iron is mentioned; while it is said, "they did not esteem silver and gold." Here again we notice a strange coincidence. "The use of iron, with which their soil was impregnated, was unknown to them. They found a substitute in an alloy of copper and tin; and, with tools made of this bronze, could cut the hardest metals" and stones. The extraordinary assertion that they "did not esteem silver and gold," meets its parallel in the enumeration of the revenue of the Aztec emperor, where the American historian says: "In this curious medley of the most homely commodities and the elegant superfluities of luxury, it is singular that no mention should be made of silver, the great staple of the country in later times, the use of which was certainly known to the Aztecs." Perhaps a thousand years earlier, gold may have been similarly unnoticed, or uncoveted.

Now, when we sum up all these correspondences of Chinese and Spanish history, does it not seem probable, that the people of the East were acquainted with this antipodal continent at, or previous to, the close of the fifth century; that is, in the days of the emperor Justinian, before the overthrow of the Roman Empire, and ten centuries before the flag of Spain or England was lifted upon it by Christopher Columbus, or Sebastian Cabot?

A final and more complete argument might be presented if time permitted, from a general survey of the Aztec civilization,

and a comparison of it with that of the Chinese. The Spanish priest or soldier who crossed the Pacific from the ancient empire of the East, to its counterpart in the West, when he walked its fields might have beheld the same respect paid to agriculture as a profession, the same dependence of government on the products of the soil chiefly for its revenue, and the payment of taxes in kind; also similar modes of irrigation to increase the yield of the earth, and large public granaries in which the excess of the luxuriant harvest was deposited for years of drought and famine. In the place of trade he would have seen the same association of merchants and mechanics into powerful guilds for the protection of their privileges and their prices. In the street the coolies bore the burthen that belongs to the horse or the ass; and there were no wheeled carriages. The soldier strutted by him in armour of quilted cotton, holding the bow and arrows. In the workshop he would have been delighted by the same dazzling exhibition of fine porcelain, of lacker work in wood, of cotton cloth, and of a species of silk spun from a worm, of precious stones skilfully cut and polished, and of different metals splendidly enchased. About the abodes of wealth he would have wandered in brilliant gardens, containing collections of plants never excelled by any in Europe, adorned by sparkling pools, and airy pavilions, whose graceful pillars were inscribed with poetic or fanciful quotations. Within those abodes he would have witnessed the same regulation of marriage, one proper wife with an unlimited number of inferiors in concubinage; the same jealous separation of males and females at their meals, and the same frivolous employment of highborn females in the arts of embroidery, music, gambling and the toilet. Did he mingle in the social life of the Aztecs, the abundance of sweetmeats at their feasts and the succeeding exhibitions of plays and juggling, the ceremonious gifts, the use of snuff, and the peculiar mode in which the smoke of tobacco was inhaled into the lungs, might have cheated him into the belief that he enjoyed the hospitality of some mandarin of Kwang-tung. Should he converse with a company of students, their attention to astrology, their use of a hieroglyphic and ideographic system of characters in writing, the amazing resemblance of the calendar, and the principle of

the annotation of time, which has been so much remarked by the learned of Europe, nay, even as minute a circumstance as the mode of preserving their books, not in scrolls, but in alternate fanlike folds, would have confirmed his delusion. And how would he have accounted for some things still more confounding, such as that remarkable usage, common to the Chinese and Aztec emperors, of appointing stated days for the public assemblage of their courts to hear something like a hortatory moral discourse addressed to them; or such an institution as the establishment of public literary examinations of prose and poetical compositions, and the bestowment of prizes and rewards to successful candidates?

How can we interpret coincidences so universal, so minute, and so remarkable, save by the presumption of a common origin of the customs, the arts, and the religious institutions, of the Chinese and Aztec nations? And further, is it not probable from this extraordinary retention of the filial form and feelings, that subsequent to the original colonization there were occasional intercommunications between the separated families? And still again, why should it then be thought incredible that the Chinese Fusang is indeed the American California, and that the Oriental discoverers have higher rights and honours, by ten centuries, vested in this soil, than any nation of Europe?

Our attention has been directed to the question of the first peopling and occupation of the American continent, as one of considerable interest; since both the Welsh claims in behalf of their prince Madoc, and the more reliable traditions of the voyages of the Northmen in the eleventh century, may both have to yield the point of honour to that people who long anticipated us in the discoveries of printing, the mariner's compass, and gunpowder, the primary instrumentalities of modern literature, commerce, and war.

Let us turn now, in the second place, to the more practical inquiry, what are *the advantages we may expect to accrue from the influx of this remarkable people?* The tide of emigration across the Pacific is becoming so enormous as to arrest universal attention. In the year 1848, two men and one woman arrived from China. In the months of June and July of the present year, there were landed, 11,025 men, and 15 women. And it

is calculated that at the close of 1852, there was a Chinese population of near 50,000.

There are many that will not welcome the Chinese. It is a serious question, how we shall receive this new element in our republicanism; we are brought so near to empires so ancient and vast, to populations so immense, long civilized, and willing to emigrate; a commerce so valuable; industry so cunning and persistent; and politics and religious sentiments so opposite to ours. It is a question of sublime importance. Mr. Seward's words on this subject are, "Even the discovery of this continent and its islands, and the organization of society and government upon them, grand and important as these events have been, were but conditional, preliminary, and ancillary to the more sublime result, now in the act of consummation—the reunion of the two civilizations, which, parting on the plains of Asia four thousand years ago, and travelling ever afterward in opposite directions around the world, now meet again on the coasts and islands of the Pacific Ocean. Certainly, no mere human event of equal dignity and importance has ever occurred upon the earth. It will be followed by the equalization of the condition of society, and the restoration of the unity of the human family."

In touching at the ports of the populous countries between India and China, and the beautiful islands of the Indian Archipelago, there is nothing the voyager is more impressed with than the superiority of the Chinese to all other races there, save only the Anglo-Saxon. Were the question of encouraging their emigration put to men of intelligence and enlarged views, such as Sir James Brooke, or Sir Henry Pottinger, or the late esteemed American consul at Singapore, Mr. Ballestier, or should we consult the testimonies of such men as Sir Stamford Raffles, or Mr. J. Hunt, it would not long remain without an affirmative. Every one that has marked the course of European colonization in the East, must have remarked the eagerness to secure and increase the influx of Chinese settlers and traffic. The English, especially, have learned the sympathy between a flourishing commerce with China, and the prosperity of their various possessions. Mr. Hunt, for instance, says, "when the Portuguese first visited Borneo, in 1520, the whole island was

in a most flourishing state. The number of Chinese that had settled on her shores was immense. The products of their industry, and an extensive commerce with China, in junks, gave her land and cities a far different aspect from her dreary appearance at this day; and their princes and courts exhibited a splendour and displayed a magnificence which has long since vanished." This is attributed to "the loss of their direct intercourse with China."

Now that the course of events has brought the American people into nearer, easier, cheaper, and more advantageous connection with the Celestial Empire, than England, Holland, Portugal, Spain, or even Russia, can ever hope to enjoy, shall we despise that for which they have made wars, maintained expensive monopolies, and poured out millions of treasure?

First, we need hardly say, *let us encourage Chinese trade.* The possession of the commerce of China and India has enriched the emporiums of Central Western Asia and Egypt from the days of the Pharaohs. Near a hundred millions of dollars' worth of teas, silks and opium, and other articles of traffic are now annually carried, in European bottoms alone, along the China Sea; and an immense trade is carried on, not only by the enterprising Chinese, but by the people of Tungking, Annam, Siam, Corea, Loo-choo, Japan, and other nations. By the Parsee, Arab, and Jewish merchants that resort to Canton and Shanghai, the cloths and toys of China are carried to the very southern extreme of Africa. We may import their manufactures of silk and cotton, their teas, drugs, sugar, spices and sweetmeats; their porcelain, lacker, and cabinet wares; many curious, ingenious, and beautiful works of art; and articles of food and merchandize, used by the people of that country, among us. They may obtain from us minerals, particularly silver, lead, iron, quicksilver and gold; our muslins and other cotton fabrics, broad-cloths, camlets and other woollens, costly furs, and above all, our inventions, some of which they have already introduced and value highly, such as watches, spy-glasses, military weapons, and various kinds of machinery. And the United States is now, it is worth noticing, in a situation more favourable than her European rivals to realize the advantages of the trade with the Chinese, inasmuch as they

themselves are awakened to its importance, and have become the industrious and peaceful agents in its prosecution. The vast results of this commerce, now commencing only, with the east, are utterly beyond all computation or imagination. Mr. Seward, in his recent great speech before the Senate of the United States, inquires—"Who does not see that every year hereafter, European commerce, European politics, European thoughts and European activity, although actually gaining greater force—and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate—will nevertheless ultimately sink in importance; while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter?"

But the question of main social interest is that of the *emigration of the people* of China to our soil. Shall we welcome the ancient sons of Han?

It is to be remembered that the "toiling millions of Europe" that have found their way across the Atlantic to the Eastern States, built our railroads, dug our canals, tunnelled our mountains, macadamized our turnpikes, reared our houses, churches and prisons, carried our burdens, and manned our ships, are barred by mountains and seas from those of this remote West. An equivalent provision for the necessities of our vast, rich, important, but wholly unimproved Pacific shore has been made, however, by Providence, if we read it right, in the mission of these Asiatic multitudes. Our own Atlantic States cannot spare a large continued emigration to California. But by the supervision of foreign labour, American knowledge and energy will in time advance California to an equality with the proudest portions of our land.

The first necessity of California is for *agriculturists*. We believe none that are foreigners can be found superior to the Chinese. With cheap and rude implements at home, they obtain, by assiduous toil, an incredible return from their garden-like fields. The small annual amount of rain in California will bring into operation their ingenious modes of irrigation. They will enrich any country where they settle, by the introduction of many of their own valuable vegetables and delicious fruits. Perhaps the efforts to make ours a tea and silk producing

country may then be realized. The English are now using Chinese skill and industry with great success in the cultivation of tea in their province of Assam. And the cheapness of Chinese labourers is an important consideration. In their own country it is sometimes not above three cents a day; among the emigrants on farms in Malacca it is \$2.75 to \$3 a month. The Spanish are importing thousands of coolies from Amoy to Havana at \$4 per month, for the cultivation of cotton. An American traveller among the wild Padang mountains of Borneo, writes, "This valley is inhabited by Chinese, who are wholly devoted to agriculture, and seem contented to receive the treasures of the soil without tearing up the bowels of the earth in search of golden ore. Their gardens afford a rich supply of vegetables of the most luxurious growth, and their beautifully arranged and well tilled fields of rice, present a pleasing contrast to the utter wildness of nature all round."

We need the Chinese as *mechanics*. Sir James Brooke writes concerning those at his colony of Saráwak, "Wherever the Chinese are, the sound of the axe and the saw is to be heard in the woods as you approach, and all are industriously employed. They have their carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and house builders; while the mass work the antimony ore, or are busy constructing the trench where they find and wash gold. *With such inhabitants a country must get on well if they are allowed fair play.*" Why may we not be enriched by the splendid products of Chinese art? Why may not the costly porcelain of Kiang-si, or Fuh-kien, be manufactured from the Nevada quartz? Or the rich silks of Canton be woven in the factories of Pittsburgh? Or the beautiful gold and silver plate of the Chinese goldsmith, be wrought by them in our own shops? There is a boundless field for the employment of their exquisite and patient handiwork, which has been renowned in Europe since the days of Alexander the Great. And, besides, they are quick to learn new arts. Even that of ship-building has not proved beyond their capacity. There is stationed at Canton a fine man-of-war, built for his own government by a native who had been apprenticed to an American mechanic. And ship-building and repairing are largely carried on by Amun, the architect, among foreigners. You may see lying in the Pearl

River, a small steamboat constructed by a native, after the model of those on the Ohio and Mississippi, which he had visited: though, the enterprising builder had not quite enough knowledge of the scientific principles necessary to make the engine go!

The important *fisheries* on our Pacific coast would give employment to a numerous class, whose fleets now sweep the Chinese seas, and deposit their spoils for immediate use, or to be salted for the supply of their home market. Salt fish has sometimes afforded a handsome remuneration to American merchantmen; but cannot be carried to China in large quantities from the Atlantic ports, on account of its rapid deterioration while passing through the tropics by the route of the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Hunt, speaking of the inhabitants of Borneo, says: "The tillage of the ground and the edible fisheries are often left to the more indefatigable industry of the Chinese. For the exercise of every other useful occupation, also—the mechanic and scientific arts, and the labour of the mines—these indolent savages are indebted solely to the superior industry and cultivation of the Chinamen."

We need the Chinese as *servants*. For patience, docility, readiness to receive instruction, and economy, we are willing to say, emphatically, we have not seen the equals of the Chinese. Yet, without Christian principles, they are not reliable for honesty; but they have still a native sense of honour which makes them trusty in many things. We believe the day is coming, when millions of them, as free hired servants, will have superseded, throughout our country, the use of both Europeans and negroes. It is a grand idea to conceive, that Providence may thus christianize them as the negro race has been christianized amongst us, to go back to the families of China triumphing in the freedom of the sons of God, and joyful possessors and almoners of the riches of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

There are many in the Southern States of this Union now looking to the influx of this remarkable people, with intense interest, as a possible means of relieving themselves from the intolerable burthens of African slavery. We look upon it in its relations to African colonization, as a providential compen-

sation. Prosperous, indeed, would be the day for the South, when the nerveless "sons of Ham" shall be supplanted in the labours of the field, the factory, and the fireside, by the subtle and diligent descendants of the renowned dynasty of the "Han." The South may then expect to cope with the North, in agricultural productiveness, in the manufacture of her cotton, and in wealth.

Finally, we need the Chinese as *miners*. Their difficulties in California have arisen from their success in accumulating the coveted treasures of precious metal. We trust, and believe, that they will be settled satisfactorily to all parties. The Chinese miners in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, long continued to work sites abandoned by others. They will find their place as the sub-workers, or the gleaners, of the golden harvest reaped by our own citizens. In the days of Sir Stamford Raffles, the average remittance to China amounted to probably scarce more than two hundred dollars a year. Yet they obtained about five millions per annum from Borneo alone; of which one-sixth only reached China in treasure. About one million was returned in merchandize, and the same amount found its way to the European markets in India, Java, and other colonies, for piece goods, coarse cloths, tobacco, salt, and other articles. So these economical workers, and this class of consumers and traders, we need as well as the rest of their countrymen.

The Chinese are a heathen, and a peculiar people, as yet to us the objects of ignorant wonder and misapprehension. They will soon be better understood and appreciated. Some of their practices have excited great distrust. They are prone to form troublesome guilds, and unite in a species of masonic fraternization. But this is a natural result of their residence under the tyrannical governments, and among the overwhelming masses of population which they have quitted. Governor Bigler's representation of their employment in companies, as *coolies*, by great capitalists at home, is incorrect, as we have learned from the best authorities in China. But they are wise enough to soon understand their danger and their advantages here; and this very opposition will assist their fusion into the mass of American civilization and progress. We believe they

will keep the promise made in the remarkable letter they addressed to Governor Bigler. "If the privileges of your laws are open to us, some of us will doubtless acquire your habits, your language, your ideas, your feelings, your morals, your forms, and become citizens of your country. Many have already adopted your religion in their own, and we will be good citizens. There are very good Chinamen now in the country; and a better class will, if allowed, come hereafter, men of learning and wealth, bringing their families with them." We believe the intellectual countrymen of Ke-ying and Hwang Antung will, in time, be christianized, and add wisdom and dignity even to our halls of legislature.

Let, then, the United States encourage the influx of this people. The wisest of the European colonists in the East, from the noble Legaspi, who founded a Spanish colony in Mindoro, till now, have warmly invited and favoured a Chinese immigration. Ever since their subjugation to the Tartar yoke in 1650, they have been ready to leave their country in large numbers. Wherever their foot has rested, like the fabulous dragon, painted on their imperial standard, they have been the symbol of prosperity. It were unwise to frown upon them. They are a proud, a timid, a peace-loving race, and we may scare them away. California may learn a lesson from the desolations of once rich and prosperous nations and colonies of the East. "The causes which have eclipsed the prosperity of Borneo, and other former great emporiums of Eastern trade," have been traced justly to "the decay of their commerce," which has chiefly resulted from a barbarous commercial despotism, that put a stop to their direct intercourse with China. This, says an intelligent writer, ended in "first the destruction of extensive branches of home industry," and to the fatal effect of preventing the annual immigration of large bodies of Chinese, who settled on their shores, and exercised their mechanic arts and productive industry; thus keeping up the prosperity of the country by the tillage of the ground, as well as in the commerce of their ports." For the want of this commerce, many of these lands, once wealthy and prosperous, "have run to jungle," while their cities have sunk down, "like Carthage, to be mere nests of banditti."

But let us rise to higher considerations. Let us look with the eyes of philanthropists, of Christians, to the advent of those dark masses of heathenism to our shores. They dimly hear the rush among the nations and join with the multitudes. But this is all the ordering of Divine mercy. We dwell in a Christian land; and we behold in these the throng that swelled after the footsteps of a Saviour and cried with blind outstretched hands, "Jesus of Nazareth, have mercy upon us." If the Chinese have hitherto scorned us, it has not been least of all for our vices; if they have feared us, it has been because of our unscrupulous and tremendous superiority in the arts of destruction; if they have hated us, it has been partly because of that terrible and unrepented injury, the opium traffic, and our enforcement of it in bribery or blood, until this day. How mournfully have we merited the common appellatives which foreigners receive among them, of *fankwei*, "foreign devils," *kwuitsze*, "devil's children," *pilkwei*, "white devils," *ohkwei*, "wicked devils;" which torture the ears of the Christian as they ring after him, like screams from the bottomless pit, even when he ventures forth on some work of holy beneficence. Britain and America have drained, from this vast but severally not rich people, the incredible sum probably of five hundred millions of dollars in specie—last year the traffic produced to us about forty millions—for a consuming poison. Our hearts would break if we should trace its lava track through the glorious provinces it is filling with black and burning desolation, through the myriads of families it is blasting with ruin and death.

But it is those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, whose affectionate sympathies we would earnestly direct to that portion of this great land where Providence is beckoning a Chinese audience to hear the word of life. The poor Chinaman comes to this country, notwithstanding all his native intelligence, a spiritually degraded being; trembling with a thousand horrible or absurd fears and superstitions. As he bends over the toilsome spade, he fancies that demons haunt those hills and watch their treasures, at whose anger, as expressed in the thunder, he is terrified, and would fain appease them with incense and offerings of fruits and cakes. Not a whisper of the wind, nor the

gurgle of a rill, nor the bark of a dog, but has some dark significance to him. As the missionary comes near him to give him the word of life, he will beseech him piteously not to raise up his umbrella, lest the gold shall all be dissolved and washed away in the stream. Let us hasten to set them free from a misery of soul in this life more dreadful than all those tortures of screws, and lamps and cords, with which, in their own country, they sorely wring out a confession from a presumed or pretended culprit; which is worse than forcing a man to keep upright and without sleep, by stabs, and blows, and pistol shots in his ears, till he dies of fatigue; for it is the torture of Satan and of fiends, over the souls of those who are not "prisoners of hope," but bound in the chains of hell.

But what calls for our greatest concern, is their ignorance of God, and judgment, and eternity. They will bring *here* the gods of their own hills, and rivers, and seas, and sky. Deluded by the enemy of souls, they will bow down and worship their wooden and clay images, instead of Him "*who is God over all blessed for ever.*" They will, ere long, build heathen temples on American soil, and set up their stocks and stones, and offer heathen sacrifices, and prostrate themselves in degrading heathen worship, in this free Christian land! All this they *will* do, unless the gospel is speedily preached to them.

The field of missionary labour in California is a most hopeful one in many respects, which will be readily suggested to every reflecting mind. The most interesting consideration is, that amid the heat and pressure of our religious and social institutions, the character of these young and enterprising emigrants from China must be moulded anew: and many will go back qualified to be preachers of the gospel, to that land whose untold multitudes they left slumbering in darkness and the shadow of death, to pour into its dark caverns and abysses the light of Christianity.

In the city of Naples, Matteo Ripa, a returned missionary from China, of the Roman Catholic order called the "Pious Labourers," whose heart was filled with desire for the conversion of the people of that empire, founded a "Chinese College, and congregation," or order of priests. It was opened in 1732; it is said, "with all the solemnities and rejoicings suitable for the

occasion." It stands and prospers there yet, and is described by occasional travellers to that city. Roman Catholic natives of China and India are brought there and educated for the priesthood. Collegians are expected to take five vows: 1, to live in poverty; 2, to obey their superiors; 3, to enter holy orders; 4, to join the missions in the East, according to the disposition of the Propaganda; 5, to serve for life the Roman Catholic church, without ever entering any other community.

A mission, far better than that of the mistaken but devoted Matteo Ripa, is now undertaken in behalf of our Foreign Board in California, the Italy of this continent, by one whose failure of health, after several years residence in the Chinese province of Canton, compelled his return to this country; but who now joyfully engages in the interesting work which Providence has opened before him, upon our own soil, among those who have followed hither. In the conclusion of what we have to say, the object of which has been to awaken a general and hearty interest in the Chinese, as a nation that probably assisted to populate this continent thousands of years ago, and that replenished its races and its arts, centuries before its discovery by Europeans, and further as a people, that may, if their emigration be encouraged, bestow inestimable benefits on every rood of our Pacific shore, let us solicit the prayers of the friends of the missionary enterprise, that the labours now to be commenced may be blessed of God, and owned, not to the raising up of emissaries of Antichrist, but to the conversion of many of those men to Jesus, who may, in this land and by our means, be fitted to be the instruments of establishing his kingdom in the "land of Sinim." And as so many of the young, intelligent, and energetic sons of the church in this region have gone to that land of gold to obtain wealth, may many remember the words of a Roman Catholic missionary, Francis Xavier, who died in China, "Shall it be said that where others ventured for gold and silver, I was afraid to go for souls?" And may our brethren who have been qualified to preach the gospel, mark the words of the devoted Thomason, when about sailing for India, "I consider that what others expose themselves to, for lucre and worldly honours, ministers ought to endure for nobler ends."

ART. V.—*Theology of the Old Testament.*

Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testaments, von Gust. Fr. Oehler, u. s. w. Stuttgart, 1845. 8vo. pp. 95.

THE expression, Theology of the Old Testament, is not a familiar one to English ears. The idea which it represents is perhaps not much more so to English minds. Certainly the thing holds no adequate place, if it have any place at all, in our theological literature. We hardly admit even a Biblical, as distinguished from a systematic, or from a Church Theology; although in regard to the first, and the last, especially, there is a simple and obvious difference, logically at least, even if not practically, in the point of departure and the methods pursued, if not in the results attained, between a theology which shapes itself by the teachings of the Bible, and a theology which takes its form from the faith of the Church. These may, in point of fact, entirely harmonize. The standards deemed regulative of orthodoxy may coincide precisely with the utterances of Holy Writ. And in that case, the theologian who undertakes to exhibit in systematic order the truths of Scripture, would have to go over exactly the same ground, and occupy in all the same position, as he who aims at presenting the belief of the Church. And it might consequently be found more convenient, as well as serve a number of valuable ends, to combine these two things together, rather than to treat them separately. It may be advisable to unfold the Confession of Faith and the Bible in connection, rather than apart, that thus an opportunity may be taken, not only to show what the teachings of each are, but also to show that these are identical, or rather, that the former is simply based upon or drawn from the latter. And yet, whatever may be said in favour of this combination, whatever convenience may attend it, and whatever advantages may follow from it, it is neither necessary nor desirable to forget that they are, in conception at least, distinct. It is an important Protestant principle, that the standards of the Church are her standards, not for their inherent value, but only because they represent the Bible; and that they ought to be her

standards only in so far as they represent the Bible. If they swerve from that, the true and highest norm of faith and duty, their authority is null, and they ought in so far to be discarded. Church dogmas are of worth only in so far as the Church has held fast to the lively oracles of infallible truth; only in so far as the faith of the Church coincides with the faith once delivered to the saints. The standard of her faith, which she has for important reasons framed for herself, may not be put upon a par with the divinely inspired sources of her faith, as though those had, like these, an original underived authority. And for this reason, it may be well that the distinction between Biblical and Church theology should be stated and remembered, even though it may not be practically observed. It is not a matter of course, however, that they should even harmonize, much less coincide. They have not always been harmonious in fact.

The condition of the church here may be a reason why this distinction has not been more insisted on amongst us;—why it has either not been made or has been esteemed unimportant. All diversities of theological belief have their representatives in the numerous denominations of Christians, with their proper symbols, and their well understood distinguishing sentiments. Every man may thus seek his proper affinity in the ranks of those like minded with himself, or failing to discover such, may head an independent sect of his own. Every one may accordingly find in the belief of that branch of the church to which he is attached, the counterpart of what he personally holds to be the teaching of the Bible. Biblical theology and Church theology are thus to him the same, or differ only in the aspect under which the same body of truth is contemplated.

An altered condition of things can, however, be readily conceived, which would naturally and necessarily bring the distinction between these two modes of theology into greater prominence. Suppose, for example, that it should become a matter of doubt and controversy in any communion, what the settled and proper faith of that communion was. Suppose, that the strifes which rose, concerned questions like those now agitating the Episcopal Church, not only in this country, but in Britain, regarding the true intent of the Prayer Book, or like those some

years since, in the bosom of our own communion, touching the tenets of the Presbyterian Church. And if, still farther, as was the case in the Quaker controversy, the denominational creed was to be found, not in definite articles or symbols of faith, but in a great number of voluminous writings belonging to different occasions, different periods, and even different countries, and these ambiguous perhaps, or perhaps contradictory upon the points in dispute; it can be easily seen, that in such a case the distinction must be made. What is the faith of the Bible? What is the faith of the Church? would be totally distinct questions; each would possess an independent importance; and they would of necessity, be treated separately.

Again, suppose a different case. One may be imagined in which the faith of the church was perfectly well understood, and no controversy could be raised upon that ground; but many within her pale, whether constituting a majority or not, whether following one road or not, had departed from her recognized tenets. Now, let it be assumed, either that the church creed was right, or that it was wrong; in either case there will be a juncture which cannot fail to suggest and to bring out the distinction already several times referred to. This case is not a merely imaginary one in either of its aspects. Besides numerous other exemplifications of it, which might be named, the period of the Reformation is an instance of the former; the counter revolution in Europe in the last century, in which a shallow rationalism took the place of the Reformers' faith, though still retaining the Reformers' symbols, affords an instance of the latter. And this last was really the occasion and the time which gave birth to Biblical Theology in its present sense, and as a study to be separately pursued.

It does not, however, fall within the limits of the theme suggested by the treatise before us, to discuss the subject of Biblical Theology generally, nor even to raise the question with regard to its desirableness; accordingly, we pass this by, and advance nearer to our proper theme, by remarking, that if Biblical and dogmatic Theology have thus to so great an extent coalesced amongst us, it was scarcely to be expected that any clear separation would have been effected between the different branches of Biblical Theology itself. A salutary fear of mar-

ring the unity of the sacred volume, may have had something to do with restraining the formation of an Old Testament, as distinguished from a New Testament, Theology, and within the latter again of further subdivisions, such as a Petrine or Pauline Theology, or that of the beloved disciple. We must not be understood to sanction either the principles or the methods of many of those who have admitted these distinctions, and who have undertaken to carry them out. We have neither fellowship nor sympathy with those who would sunder the real and intimate bond of union between all the sacred writers, by ignoring or denying the directing influences of the Holy Spirit, by whom all were moved. Regarding merely their human origin, they entirely isolate the books of Scripture, as the work of independent thinkers; or esteem them to have had no more connection with each other than that they are occupied with the same or similar subjects, and were the products of the same age, and of a similar congeries of influences. This is to overlook the very thing which makes the Bible what it is; the very thing which gives to it its chief value for us and for the world. The Bible is a unit; not, however, as a uniform undistinguishable mass is a unit; but as a system combining many and various parts, yet all constructed and arranged under the guidance of one master mind, and all harmonizing, all governed by one pervading principle; all conspiring to one grand and worthy result. A machine has unity in spite of its complication; or rather the sense of unity, which beholding it produces, is heightened by reason of the very complication of its parts; its wheels moving upon wheels with their various velocities and directions, yet no interference, no jarring, all necessary to the end of its formation. A tree has unity, with its roots, its trunk, its branches, its leaves, diverse, yet the same. The pure ray of light, as it comes to us direct from heaven, is one; and yet it has all the prismatic colours beautifully blended within it.

While investigations into the varied exhibitions of truth, to be met with in different parts of the sacred volume, may be so conducted as to interfere with the unity of the whole, they need not be. Nor does a just regard for the divine character and inspiration of the sacred volume, require that these should

be overlooked, or thrust into a corner as insignificant and unimportant. There is no impropriety in the admission that there are peculiarities of style and diction belonging to each of the sacred writers; and no harm is done by investigating what these are. On the contrary, they have a place and an importance which every critical student of the Scriptures knows. Neither is there any more impropriety in admitting peculiarities, not barely in the mode of conceiving and presenting truth, but in the truths themselves presented, whether as to the degree of clearness with which they are set forth, or the position which they occupy in the scheme of revelation. Only our admissions must not outrun the reality, and our investigations must be conducted fairly and on sound and sober principles, not for the sake of inventing or proving a theory, but of discovering the facts as they exist. That mechanical view of the nature of inspiration which would take offence at such investigations, or be alarmed at their results, finds no warrant in the teachings of Scripture, and no support in the phenomena which it exhibits.

If the Spirit of truth, in communicating to the world the way of salvation, chose to make use of not one man as his organ, but many, and those in different ages, from different ranks of life, trained under different circumstances, and with different mental constitutions and habits, had he not a design in all this? Or by what principle of faith or of religion can we be required to shut our eyes upon it if he had? If Holy Scripture, instead of presenting a dead level, contains the most grandly beautiful diversities of scenery, why may we not delight our eyes with beholding, whilst we are busying ourselves with gathering the rich grain from its surface, or with digging the precious ores from its bosom? Or rather, if there is not only a beauty which may please but a heavenly meaning in all this; if there is here a confirmation of the divine original of the Bible, and valuable suggestions as to the true character and intent of the Bible, why must we be denied the instruction no less than the gratification hence afforded?

If the wondrous constitution of the Bible is such as of itself to evidence, from first to last, one guiding superintending mind, acting above and through the human instruments; if it can be

shown that there was a mind engaged in framing the earlier portions of the sacred record, and in conducting the earlier portions of the sacred history, who was all the while intimately and profoundly conscious of the whole that was to come after, though not unfolded for centuries upon centuries; is not this a fact to be observed and pondered? If this can be shown not only in a prediction here and there which lies upon the surface, but if it has penetrated the framework of the whole, and the proofs become more marked and multiplied the farther and the deeper we push our investigations; if even what at first sight seemed random and unconcerted, perhaps conflicting, is upon renewed examination perceived to fall in exactly with a regular and consistent plan; and it is seen at the close more clearly than it could possibly be discovered before, that all has been driving towards one issue, evidently designed from the first and aimed at throughout, though the human actors could have had but a faint anticipation of it, even if any whatever, then here is a proof which none can controvert of divine superintendence and guidance. Now if all this be in the Scriptures, or any thing approaching or resembling it, which is the more culpable, he who searches it out, or he who refuses to see it himself and hinders those who would?

To confine ourselves, however, to the Old Testament, the advantages are evident and unquestionable which would be derived from a thorough and systematic exhibition of its contents distinctly and by themselves, whether taken as a whole or considered in their gradual development from the patriarchal germs. Such a careful tracing out of all the facts and a presentation of them in their mutual relations and their ulterior bearings is necessary to a proper comprehension of the Old Testament, of the religion which it embodies, and the connection between it and the revelations of the New. In fact, if we would rightly understand the whole scheme of revelation, we must first get clear and definite conceptions of its opening stage. By some it may be imagined that the character of the former dispensation is sufficiently obvious without the need of any deep investigation. But such a thought only betrays the shallowness of their acquaintance with the subject, who are capable of cherishing it. There is room for the most elaborate and

profound inquiry: and this will be amply repaid by discoveries not only interesting and unexpected, but valuable in the highest degree. It is in this case as in that of many other works of God. The superficial observer passes them by as undeserving of attention; but the profound student tarries long, and the longer he examines, the more cause he sees to wonder and adore. If now a clear and succinct account of the religion of the Old Testament be asked for, which shall be at once comprehensive and minute, embodying the facts and revelations of the former dispensation in systematic or generic order, and without any foreign elements, those acquainted with English and American Theology will know how many works there are within the range of our literature in which it can be found. They will know whether there is a single one which even undertakes to present such an account, or once grapples fairly with the questions which it involves, however imperfectly or inadequately the task may be performed.

But apart from the dearth of comprehensive and systematic exhibitions of the theology and religion of the former dispensation, the elucidation of individual points, where that has been attempted, has not been all that could be desired. This is in fact what might have been expected. The want of a just conception of the whole must lead to erroneous or defective views of the several parts. Besides, the points examined have been superficially and incidentally touched upon, rather than thoroughly and *ex professo* investigated. Or when a more elaborate attention has been bestowed upon them, as for example, upon the Mosaic doctrine of atonement, it has been more for the purpose of gathering arguments for a New Testament doctrine, than with the view of an independent inquiry into the ideas, which the old economy bodied forth.

The thing complained of is not that the Old Testament has not been studied, nor that it has been left out of sight in our theology; but that one particular method of study has been overlooked which might be applied to it with eminent advantage—advantage both to our theology in general, and to our understanding of that large portion of the Scriptures in particular. It has been too little studied in itself. Sufficient attention has not been paid to its significance and its value to those who

lived while the former dispensation still lasted. It has not been regarded enough exactly in that light in which it chiefly presents itself as an earnest and a type of good things to come. Some sunder completely the connection of the two dispensations, others almost identify them. And where in general statements the true religion is admitted, this is lost sight of again in the details. The business of an expositor is simply to deal with the materials which he finds before him, to unfold, elucidate and arrange them. Instead of this, we too often find in the expositions of this part of Scripture, foreign ideas brought in from other quarters and intermingled with the instructions of Moses and the prophets, if not actually substituted for them. Those who have undertaken to handle the Jewish Scriptures, have been wont for the most part to tend toward one of two extremes, the precise opposites of each other in spirit and aims, and including between them a multitude of subordinate forms as they are variously modified and combined. These may be characterized as belonging respectively to the unbelieving and to the believing interpreter. The first empties the text of its meaning; the second overloads it. The first would make all shallow enough to be fathomed by the human understanding and to be explained from natural causes. The second would make the seed contain not the germ of the tree, but the tree itself, and would obliterate all that divides the inception from the consummation. The first would degrade the Old Testament by striking out of it all that distinguishes it as a supernatural revelation. The second would exalt it unduly by striking out all that marks it as an incomplete revelation, each then filling after its own fashion the void thus arbitrarily created.

The method of unbelief deals with the religion of Israel as it does with those of the heathen world. In its earlier phases it assumed all to be alike downright impostures, in which an ignorant people were the dupes of crafty priests, or designing rulers. And here, as has but too frequently been the case in the history of religious opinion, the friends of truth, by the lameness of their defences, played into the hands of its foes, and supplied them with weapons and arguments from their own magazine. The case of sacrifices must have been deemed almost desperate,

when their very unreasonableness and absurdity could be made, by Shuckford, the gist of their defence; and it could be argued that, inasmuch as no rational ground of their institution existed or was conceivable, they must have been of divine origin. The legislation of Moses must have been in straits, when Bishop Warburton could adduce in proof of his divine legation, the inferiority of his enactments—contending that the state he founded must have been under extraordinary divine protection, or it could never have held together. It would be better, with Spencer, to regard these institutions as yielded in accommodation to an ignorant and superstitious people; or, with Michaelis, to give them at least the praise of political sagacity and legislative skill, notwithstanding the meager flatness of his views, and the puerile length to which he carried them.

This purely rationalistic form of opposition, by which the half of man's nature is ignored, and all that is religious in religion is denied, has passed away; we may hope, for ever. Even the religions of the heathen are not explicable as priestcraft, or as political contrivance. No intelligent account can be given of them which leaves out of sight the fact that man's spirit has cravings and needs, which must in some way, appointed or self-devised, seek or find a fanciful or real satisfaction. The ground of unbelief is consequently so far shifted, as to claim that Judaism, like pagan forms of belief and worship, was a simple outgrowth of natural religious feelings; the form in which they were developed being in each case modified or determined by the circumstances in which they found their exercise. Judaism, like paganism, had its temple, its altars, its priesthood, its mythology.

Acting on the sound principle, "*fas est et ab hoste doceri*," we cheerfully admit, that distorted and false as this view is, it nevertheless encloses an element of truth which we must take into our theory, if we would have it perfectly adjusted to the facts. The religious nature and the religious necessities of the Hebrew and the pagan were the very same. The instinct of the latter led him on to grope darkly after a satisfaction of those very wants and longings, which were fully met in the revelation granted to the former. The religion of the Old

Testament did not present, even in its types, mere shadowy forms of coming good, empty and unsubstantial for the present. It was not an aggregate of arbitrary institutions, established for the bare purpose of imaging forth what lay in the far distant future. While it pointed onward, it had a value and a reality for the present too. It was designed for, and it was adapted to the then pressing wants of those to whom it was given. It was set to awaken and express religious emotions; to open afresh the interrupted intercourse with God; to restore his lost favour to them by whom it had been forfeited: and to body forth the sentiments that were felt, or should be felt, of homage, and thanksgiving, and self-consecration. Though not the spontaneous growth of man's religious feelings, it was precisely accordant with them, or rather, with what those feelings ought to be. There is an intimate correspondence between the religion of the Old Testament and man's spiritual nature. What our Saviour declares regarding one institution, was true of the whole; all was made for man. This relation of correspondence, existing between the nature of man and Judaism, is not so aptly represented by that of the seal to the wax upon which it has impressed its own image, as by that of the lock to the key which threads its intricacies and moves its bolts, because it has been fitted to it by the maker of them both.

The prime error of this theory, however, and that which necessarily vitiates all its conclusions, is, that it overlooks entirely, or denies both the supernatural character and the objective truth of the Jewish religion. These are just what distinguish it from the religions of the heathen, and *toto celo* prevent its being ranked upon an equality with them. The same necessities and wants lie at the basis of both. This constitutes all that is real and striking in their resemblance. In the one, but not in the other, God has revealed the remedy, and that not fictitious or imaginary, but real. This constitutes the heaven-wide divergence. The error is the same, whether a revelation of God to Israel is denied, or is asserted as part of a universal and continuous revelation to or in all nations, and running through all time. The peculiarity of this religion, by

which it is absolutely sundered from all contemporaneous systems, is in either case destroyed.

A second error attaching to this theory, and the only additional one which will be named here, is that of assuming an identity on the mere ground of a resemblance in outward forms, without regard to the spirit embodied in them. This is, as though an etymologist were to make similarity of sound his sole test of community of origin between words, and to pay no regard either to their meaning or to their history. Spencer's derivation, not only from similar, but from opposite forms, is wider still of the mark, and has even less to recommend it than "lucus a non lucendo." Nothing is more common than for scattered sentences, here and there, to be culled from the writings of Confucius, for example, and set over against similar expressions in the Bible; and the inference is tacitly suggested or openly drawn, that the Chinese philosopher has fallen but little behind the revelation of God. The language of the Greek respecting Zeus, or the inscription on the Isis temple at Sais,* is quoted as parallel with the doctrine of Jehovah's eternity and unsearchableness. The rites of pagan worship are, on the ground of the slightest external similitude, held up as identical with those of the Mosaic ceremonial. The fragment torn from its connection may be dressed up to assume quite a different appearance from that which belongs to it in the scheme of which it is part, and from which, if it is to be estimated aright, it must not be sundered. The canon insisted upon by Bähr, in regard to the Levitical symbols, is the only sensible one in that and in all similar cases. "The symbolic worship in general and in particular, must represent such ideas and truths as agree with the acknowledged and clearly uttered principles of the Mosaic religion. Conceptions and ideas foreign and opposed to the spirit of this religion, or expressly rejected by it, to which there is never an allusion nor a reference, cannot possibly be signified by its symbols." No canon can be more self-evident than this, and yet none has been more frequently and grossly

* Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be.—*Pausan.*

I am all that has been, and is, and shall be; and my robe no mortal has ever uncovered.—*Plut. in Is. et Osir.*

violated. To all proper understanding of any ancient system of religion, and above all, of Judaism, it is obviously essential that this rule be rigidly adhered to. And if it be, it will destroy this equalizing of the heathen and Jewish religions, root and branch.

Before turning away from the phases of unbelief, it will be well to take a view of the attitude assumed by the modern philosophy of Germany toward the Old Testament. We are glad here to have the brief but interesting sketch furnished by our author, which as coming from a native we presume may be safely followed. The work which led the way in this field was Kant's "*Religion within the bounds of Reason.*" Kant there maintained the relative necessity of a positive religion. The categorical imperative of the moral law that the radically evil must be overcome with good, can only be realized in mankind as a whole by the establishment of an ethical commonwealth, in which the moral law shall be the ruling principle. Such an ethical commonwealth can only be established by means of religion, which must take on a statutory form, since men always need the confirmation of sense for the truths of reason. This statutory law must be prescribed under divine authority; by it as a vehicle of the religion of reason, men must train themselves to free morality. Kant was not, however, so favourably inclined towards the Old Testament, as these principles might seem to indicate. He had a strong antipathy against it on account of its restrictions, and because it did not teach the doctrine of immortality, and against the Mosaic law in particular, because its enactments were political rather than moral, and were not based on moral motives.

According to the system of Hegel, there are three stages in the progress of religion: nature-worship—the religion of subjectivity, or spiritual individuality, in which the divinity is conceived of as free, self-determining, and pursuing definite ends—and finally the absolute religion. The second of these stages includes three forms, represented respectively by the Jewish, Greek, and Roman religions. In each of these, the religious idea is developed in one particular direction. They mutually supply each other's deficiencies, and from their combination and mutual action results Christianity, which is the absolute

religion. Judaism, therefore, stands related to Christianity, and is preparatory to it, but no more so, nor in fact so much as the religions of the Greek and Roman; for it is lower in the scale than either of these. Judaism put an irreconcilable breach between God and nature. Its God is an infinite and independent spirit, on whom all that is natural and finite is simply and absolutely dependent. This God reveals himself in nature, but is superior to the manifestation of himself in the natural world and distinct from it. The breach here created is in a measure filled up in the religion of the Greek, which looks upon the natural as the sign of the spiritual, and clothes the divine in a multitude of human forms; thus standing more nearly related than Judaism to the incarnation of Christianity. It fails however to gather these up again into the proper unity, linking them only outwardly by subjecting all to inexorable fate. Judaism again gave to its infinite Deity aims, which in their realization at least were restricted and local, and by this contradiction wrought its own destruction. The religion of Rome strode after universal empire. By the might of arms and the favour of its gods, it annihilated or incorporated within itself the local deities of other nations, and over the ruins of the ancient world prepared the way for the advent of the absolute religion.

It is useless to argue with a thing so airy and intangible as a German philosophy: and it would carry us too far from our purpose to attempt restoring every thing to its true place after all has been thus confusedly whirled topsy-turvy. We shall only allow ourselves to say a few words in reply to the statements more distinctly put forth in the above summary.

With all the Jew's immeasurable superiority above the Greek, he is not one whit behind him, even in the point in which they are here compared. The Greek, instead of having attained to the knowledge of the infinite separation between the divine and the human, and advanced beyond that to some imperfect conception of the reconciliation and union of the two, which was to be effected in the person of Christ, had not yet risen to the conception of a God distinct from, and supreme above, the powers and objects of nature. And when its rising systems of philosophy exposed the fallacies and

absurdities of the popular superstition, the Greek religion staggered to its fall, from its inability to grasp and to present that most elementary of all conceptions of the true God, which Judaism had carried in its bosom from its origin.

Nor was the Jew behind the Roman. Judaism was from the first, and through all its course as unrestricted in its ultimate aims touching the spiritual reign of righteousness, which it was sent to introduce, as Rome was in its unhallowed lust of worldly power. And the frustration of Rome's ambition stands in signal contrast with the accomplished, or at least accomplishing design of the religion of the patriarchs and the prophets, to whose enlargement it is the highest glory of the temporary successes of the imperial city to have been subsidiary.

Nor do these several religions stand in any thing like a co-ordinate relation to Christianity. This is, and always has announced itself, not the resultant of the various religious forces previously existing in the world, but the legitimate offspring of Judaism alone. Its God is the God of Abraham, its faith the faith of Abraham, its believing adherents the children of Abraham, its inheritance the promises made to Abraham. The Gentiles so far from possessing a religion related to Christianity as was that of the Jews, are declared to have had no hope and to have been without God in the world. And the fact that the gospel found even more adherents from Greeks than Jews, instead of proving the larger antecedent riches of the former, proves rather their deeper destitution and their keener sense of poverty.

Some disciples of the Hegelian school have undertaken to apply the principles of their master to the Old Testament in detail. Vatke in his book, by a singular misnomer called *Biblical Theology*, distinctly announces it to have been his method, first, to determine speculatively what ideas must have unfolded themselves in the history, and in what order—to determine, *e. g.*, what the history ought to say as to the progress of religion, and with this settled beforehand to advance to the exposition. Here his aim is not to verify his theory nor to correct it by the facts, but to correct the facts by it. The strangest perversions are of course the consequence, and that

not in theology alone, but in criticism. These ever mutually corroborate or pervert each other. A correct theology is a staunch friend to a sound criticism. And a false theology is apt to betray its unsoundness by the necessity under which it lies of tampering with the truth of the history or with the genuineness of the record. The extravagancies of Vatke find a fitting refutation in a kindred work from the same school, Bruno Bauer's *Religion of the Old Testament*. This is throughout polemical against Vatke, and is equally baseless and destructive with that which it opposes. They are well illustrated by the chemical phenomenon of two poisons equally malignant, acting as the antidotes of each other.

But we have dwelt long enough in the region of unbelief. It is sufficiently apparent that it is vain to look there for a correct estimate of the religion and the theology of the Old Testament. By an easy, though not a necessary reaction from the error of those who would empty the first half of the Bible of its meaning, believing interpreters have gone to the opposite extreme, which though incomparably less injurious and offensive than the other, is still an extreme, and as such aside from the results of a just exposition, and needing to be corrected.

As was already intimated in the outset, the usual method of theology is to reduce the entire Scriptures to one uniform homogeneous mass, from the whole of which thus blended, the system of truth is drawn. The Old Testament and the New are ranged precisely upon a level, and proof-texts are taken indifferently from one or from the other. No clear distinction is drawn and maintained between their teachings, as to their relative perfection or the clearness of their announcement. Such a distinction is admitted to exist theoretically, and in the general; but practically, and in the details, it is neglected or lost sight of. No adequate conception is gained of the truths of the former economy, as a body, in their relation to the more fully unfolded, or more plainly established truths of the New. The result is, that instead of being gainers, we are really the losers by this method, even in regard to the defence of our Christian theology. Where the germ of a truth lay in the earlier Scriptures, and this meets its legitimate expansion in those that come after, a just and systematic conception of the Old Tes-

tament would lead at once to the detection of that germ, however undeveloped or remote in appearance from the form which it was afterwards to assume; and the argument could be pressed directly and forcibly from that to the unfolded flower, and the ripened fruit, while it could be shown, from the system in which it was found, why that truth in particular was in its germinal, rather than in its unfolded state. On the method which overlooks the distinction between the Testaments, and throws all together as a common repertory of theological truth, we would in the case supposed, be obliged, in proving our doctrine, either to force a meaning upon texts which they do not bear, or to admit that the proof is partial and defective, when we might and ought to claim that it is real and complete, all that could be expected or need be desired.

It is to confound the nature of the two dispensations to attempt to bring every thing into the old, with the same fulness and distinctness as in the new. Thus there are plain intimations in the Old Testament, of a trinity of persons in the Godhead, and the deity of the Messiah is very largely taught; and yet the attempt to make these fundamental doctrines of Christianity equally prominent in Judaism, must lead to the forcing of texts, and to resting upon insecure arguments. The immortality of the soul was a part of the creed of ancient saints, but there is no need of assuming that they knew all which Christ and his Apostles have taught us. And while, no doubt, Moses and the patriarchs knew far more of religious truth, and of the plan of mercy, than many are disposed to allow, still this does not justify the extravagant lengths to which others have gone in their ideas of the extent of revelation made beyond that which has been left on record; so much so, indeed, that it is hard to see how they would defend themselves against traditionists who claim this very thing in regard to the New Testament. Similar extravagant assumptions have been made with regard to their acquaintance with scientific and all other truth, as though Moses must have known as much about the origin and constitution of the universe as that Being who commissioned him, or as though dishonour were put upon our first father, by supposing him ignorant of steam or of the electric telegraph.

It is an error not to recognize the seeds of New Testament doctrine in the very earliest portions of the Old Testament; but then it is also an error to confound those seeds with the perfect growth which sprang from them. There is, in this, no approach to Manichean or to Gnostic depreciation of the Jewish Scriptures. These emanated from the same divine source with the writings of the Apostles. They are equals of the latter in inspiration; and in their spirit and essence they are of the same universal and perpetual obligation. There was that about them, however, which was temporary. Their revelations of truth, however clear and glorious in themselves, were, as compared with those which have succeeded them, partial and imperfect, designedly so; and it casts no imputation upon the wisdom or the goodness of their divine author that they were so. It is from failing to recognize this, that the types have been made in many hands to teach all the mysteries of the Christian faith; and the prophecies have been found so full and explicit as almost to render the gospels superfluous. A just idea of the relation of the two economies will save us from all temptation to allegorize, to multiply our assumption of double senses to a needless and unprofitable extent, or to employ any of that variety of means and applications which have been adopted to bring out meanings from the text which evidently are not there, to the neglect too often of the meaning no less important and far more obvious in its bearing upon Christian truth which really is there. From these and the like errors on the part of interpreters, it has happened many a time that the arguments drawn from the former dispensation to the present, even where there is abundant room for them to be strongly built, and on independent foundations, are vitiated by a needless and unworthy *petitio principii*.

The little treatise which has suggested this train of remark is not a Theology of the Old Testament, but simply Prolegomena, in which the writer's views are given as to the outline of such a work, and the principles upon which it should be conducted. It is written with not a little ability; but some of the sentiments which it betrays cannot be regarded as unexceptionable, at least by American theologians. Oehler is a strenuous defender of the supernatural character of the Old Testament,

and of its intimate connection with the New. And from occasional glimpses of his sentiments, we are led to infer that upon many important theological questions he would be found to be right. But the development theory which he has adopted, and seems disposed to carry out in the most rigid manner, has vitiated his views of inspiration, and leads him not infrequently to an undue depreciation of the Old Testament. Nevertheless, we shall be pleased to see his promised work, whenever it appears; for whatever its deficiencies or its errors, we hardly think that it can fail to prove a valuable contribution to a much neglected branch of theological literature.

He divides Old Testament theology into three portions, as found respectively in the books of Moses, in the writings of the prophets, including both the prophecies properly so called, and the theocratic history, and in the writings of the sacred poets. The system of religion, as revealed through Moses, lies at the foundation, and includes within itself both the patriarchal and the ante-patriarchal revelations. These being presented in Genesis, under the aspect of a preparation for, or an introduction to, the covenant of God with Israel, belong properly to the Mosaic system itself, as a constituent of its religious faith, as the account which it gives of its own origin.

This Mosaic system was farther enlarged, on the one hand, by the providential leadings of God in the history of his people, and by the inspired communications of the prophets. This falls under the second division. Then the third shows how it was again enlarged on the other hand, by the struggles and questionings which it occasioned in the minds and hearts of holy men, as they strove to fulfil its tasks, to master its principles, and to solve its problems. What he says under this head, looks very much as though he meant to deny any other influence of the Spirit of God in this part of Scripture, than that exerted in the sanctification of the writers. The lyric poetry of the Psalms is the domain of religious feeling, striving to reconcile existing contrarieties between the idea and the outward manifestation, not by pointing to a future realization which is the method of the prophets, but by seeking a realization in their own experience, and by faith already appropriating the blessings of a salvation yet to be achieved. The didactic poetry of other

books is the domain of reflection. In Proverbs, the enigmas and contradictions of the present state are almost lost from sight, in the contemplation of the divine order which has been established and now exists in the world. And the realization of the divine purpose, by an active conformity to the will of God, is presented as at once the duty and the wisdom of man. In the book of Job, these enigmas have forced themselves upon the soul with all their formidable difficulties, and in the struggle after their solution which ensues, anxious questionings are awakened as to the truth of the Old Testament idea of God, or the reality of his providential government. The book, though not without some presentiments of a higher solution, takes refuge at last in the mysteries of the divine wisdom, and then falls back again into the view of the matter from which it had set out as confirmed by the events at their close. In Ecclesiastes there has been the same struggle, and it has been fought through; but the result is not the solution, but despair of it. The highest wisdom is placed in resignation; man is to use the things of this vain world as he best can, committing all to the sovereign pleasure of a sovereign God. A conviction is thus reached, of the insufficiency of the Old Testament stand point, and a negative preparation is thus furnished for the clearer revelations of the New, the positive preparation being given in the writings of the prophets.

In conclusion, we only add, for the information of such of our readers as may feel an interest in the subject, a few words respecting the better class of German works in this department. We pass by all those in silence, which are vitiated by rationalistic sentiments, or even worse. The Lectures on the Theology of the Old Testament, by Steudel, (1840), and those by Hävernick, (1848), both of them posthumous publications, stand on believing and evangelical ground, although allowance must be made in both cases for peculiarities of individual views. The essays by Hengstenberg on the theology of the books of Moses, in his *Authentic des Pentateuchs*, and on the theology of the Psalms, at the close of his Commentary, are among the most valuable contributions to these portions of the general subject.

ART. VI.—*The Ventilation of Churches.*

The Uses and Abuses of Air; showing its influence in sustaining Life, and producing Disease; with remarks on the ventilation of houses, and the best methods of securing a pure and wholesome atmosphere inside of dwellings, churches, court-rooms, workshops, and buildings of all kinds. Three parts in one. New York: J. S. Redfield, 1849.

THE subject of this treatise is justly exciting great and increasing attention. But there are few who yet appreciate its great importance. It needs and it is destined to be urged upon the public mind in popular treatises, tracts and lectures, before it will command the consideration it merits. We welcome this volume, of which Mr. Griscom, of New York, is understood to be the author, as a valuable contribution to this important object. The main positions of his book have, of course, been long familiar to scientific men. His aim is to popularize them, to make them understood and felt by the people. And we think the effort is timely, judicious, and successful. He sets before the reader an array of well-selected facts and illustrations, which cannot fail to enlighten and impress the dullest mind.

People have displayed a singular apathy in regard to the evils and mischiefs of bad air; and whoever now undertakes to introduce the subject to those who have never examined it, confronts an incredulity, which is as obstinate as it is discouraging. There is a reason for this. The air is an impalpable substance, and its qualities, whether salubrious or malignant, are ordinarily imperceptible to those who inhale it. Those, indeed, who pass from the pure outer air to an ill-ventilated or crowded room, will unavoidably perceive the difference. But those who have been constantly breathing vitiated air, are insensible to it, except as they suffer a certain indescribable languor and depression caused by it. Not only so; but the diseases induced by bad air, are gradual, stealthy, and insidious in their progress. They do not attract notice till they are rooted, too often incurably, in the system; and when they are thus fastened upon us, their real cause is seldom suspected.

Men are slow to believe that any poison lies hidden in the air they breathe, or that any artificial appliances are necessary to improve the atmosphere. It is true, that the air in its normal state, in which God has supplied it to us in boundless profusion, cannot be improved. All that is needed is, that we secure a bountiful supply of this pure element for the use of our own lungs, and that we provide sufficient means for displacing, or cleansing, such as has been corrupted from its original purity.

This subject deserves a place in our Journal, not only because educated men, such as constitute the bulk of our readers, must be the first to appreciate and begin all salutary reforms, but because in various ways clergymen have a special interest in the subject. All persons of sedentary and in-door pursuits, suffer great injury from occupying ill-ventilated apartments, in which the air is close, murky, and dead. We believe that it frequently happens, that the languor, debility, and indigestion, of which the clergy so often complain, is due, in a great measure, to the foul air which they constantly breathe in a tight, narrow room, heated by a close stove or drum, without any means of ventilation. Whoever passes from the fresh atmosphere into such a room, quickly suffers oppression and stupefaction. A still greater number, as we believe, have suffered still more severely, from conducting evening services in school-rooms and basements, in which what little air is contained between the low ceilings and floors, is quickly respired again and again by the assembly, who, aided by the lamps and fires, rapidly use up its oxygen, or vitalizing element. There is little doubt that preaching, and taxing the vocal organs, in such an atmosphere, and then exposing them in this excited and inflamed state, to the damp cold air of the night, have been a prolific cause of that scourge of ministers, the bronchitis. Not only so, but every preacher has often had painful experience of the debilitating effect of a close, dead atmosphere upon his hearers. He has seen them dull and drowsy under the most instructive discourses, the most impassioned and eloquent appeals. He has found this invincible stupor assailing and overpowering his most devout hearers in spite of themselves. He has known that the cause of this

apathy lay more in the lifeless air, than in his discourse, or the minds and hearts of his people. Bad air thus becomes a most formidable obstacle to the success of his labours and the edification of his flock. Still further, the clergy are leading friends and promoters of education. They justly take the deepest interest in schools. We believe that the bad air of nine-tenths of the school-rooms in this country works fearful injury to teachers and pupils, in body and mind, in their health, studies, manners, and morals.

In the views which we shall now submit, we shall do little more than condense some of the reasonings, statements, and facts, adduced by our author, hoping that our readers will be induced to examine for themselves, this or some similar treatise.

The first question that arises is, whether impurities in the atmosphere, perceptible or imperceptible, are noxious or harmless to those who inhale them. General facts, familiar to all, sufficiently answer. They show, beyond all doubt, that the atmosphere is often loaded with poisons impalpable to the senses, known only in the fatal consequences to those who inhale it. Ship-fever, jail-fever, yellow-fever, are most clearly owing to the state of the air in which they always originate and spread. It would be easy to show that the same is largely true of the typhus, puerperal, and all the worst fevers which scourge our race. The best safe-guard against them is good air and regular habits; the most effective antidote to their power and contagion is a reasonable ventilation of the rooms of the patients. The same is true of any epidemic or contagious disease, every kind of plague or pestilence. We know that their contagiousness is immensely aggravated in filthy localities, and unventilated apartments; that their ravages are slight among well-regulated people, and in clean, salubrious localities; that the most efficacious sanitary measures adopted to guard against them, consist in the removal of all deposits of filth, all stagnant waters, and in disinfecting the air of all miasms generated by decaying animal and vegetable matter. This is about the only antidote to the cholera in which medical practitioners are as yet agreed. Not to dwell at length on this branch of the subject, the comparative salubrity of coun-

try and city in summer, when the high temperature evolves in greater abundance and energy the noxious gases which in other circumstances lie dormant in the accumulated filth of cities, proves conclusively that a polluted atmosphere is a prolific cause of disease and death. When we see the pale and sickly children of the metropolis at once made hale, ruddy, and buoyant, by passing a few weeks in the country, the necessity of a pure unadulterated atmosphere to health and vigour is put beyond all dispute.

The next question that presents itself is, whether air is vitiated, or deprived of its salubrious properties, by being repeatedly respired. Here the evidence is more palpable, although less regarded, than in the cases of malaria and infection to which we have already alluded. It is only necessary to enter a room unventilated, which has been for any time occupied by a number of persons, or a dormitory before the air has been changed in the morning, to have the evidence of our senses that the atmosphere is deadened, and unfit for respiration. No possible cause for this can be assigned, but that it has been breathed over till its vivifying properties have been exhausted. And here our senses simply corroborate the results of the most rigid scientific analysis.

It is not our intention to go into any scientific disquisition on this subject, further than to present some of those first rudiments which are requisite to any just practical view of the subject.

Common air is well known to be a compound gas, made up one-fifth of oxygen and four-fifths of nitrogen. Of these, so far as is yet known, nitrogen possesses no decidedly active qualities, and serves principally as a diluent of the oxygen, which is the great vitalizing element taken into the lungs in respiration. This is a most powerful agent. If it be inspired in larger or smaller proportions than it has in common air, it produces derangement of the animal functions. If there be a lack of it, the result is languor, lassitude, and nervous irritability, such as are induced by the atmosphere of a crowded room. If there be an excess of it, it stimulates the pulse, the lungs, the brain, all the animal functions, to a preternatural activity. An illustration of this is found in the strange and

hazardous exhilaration caused by inhaling nitrous oxide gas, which contains one proportion more of oxygen than the atmosphere. This then is shown to be the great sustainer of life, since, in the proportion in which it is found in the atmosphere, it keeps the vital functions in equable and healthful operation; while by any excess of it they are over-driven and over-worked; in the lack of it, they languish; and in the utter absence of it, they die.

The manner in which the oxygen of the air vitalizes the system is, by combining with the carbon of the blood, which it meets on entering the lungs. This carbon it thus detaches, and, by combination with it, forms a new gas, which is expired by the lungs in place of the oxygen they inhaled. The gas thus formed and thrown out is carbonic acid gas, one of the most poisonous and deadly in nature. It is precisely the same which is produced by burning charcoal, the carbon of which combines with the oxygen of the air, in order to its combustion. It is the same which is often found in long closed wells. Its deadly character, in these cases, all understand. It will instantly extinguish a lighted lamp, and with equal certainty, if not quite as quickly, the lamp of life. An easy experiment to test what we have said is, to invert a glass jar in a pail of water, taking care that the jar is itself filled, and through a curved tube, to breathe into the jar, thus expelling the water by the air ejected from the lungs; then closing the mouth of the jar, let it be turned up. If a lighted candle be at once let down into it, it will go out. We have seen popular assemblies convinced by this simple experiment, as to the poisonous state of the air exhaled from the lungs, when nothing less than such ocular demonstration appeared to impress them. If it be objected, that people after all live in such air, and that this fact is a refutation of such ideas, we answer, that in all such cases, the carbonic acid gas is diluted, and so mitigated in its effects, by the common air into which it is thrown. This does not prove that it has not a deadly tendency and influence, although it be not sufficiently concentrated to kill outright. That it has not been fatal in many instances, has been due rather to crevices, and key-holes, and broken panes of glass, letting in some stray currents of fresh air, than to any intelligent provision

to ward off its baneful effects. Beside the carbonic acid gas exhaled from the lungs, a watery vapour is also ejected by them, which readily displays itself when we breathe out of doors in a dry cold morning, or as it is condensed in wind instruments, or on the windows of a crowded room. Whatever may be the cause of this aqueous exhalation, the fact that it is made, proves that it is important to the health of the lungs, that they encounter no obstruction which prevents their relieving themselves of it. For this purpose, it is requisite that the atmosphere we breathe should have its natural, normal dryness. If it be damp, it carries as much moisture to the lungs as it should remove from them. This accounts for the oppression which we ordinarily suffer from undue dampness in the air. The like oppression is experienced when air from the frequent respiration of it becomes unduly saturated with moisture. From these causes combined, air that has been repeatedly breathed over, becomes in the highest degree deleterious to health.

In regard to the amount of air requisite for the healthy working of the human functions, we quote the following from Mr. Griscom:

“The amount of air required by a human being, varies according to circumstances; the mature and robust requiring more than the weak, infant, or aged—the male more than the female. Also, under all circumstances, more is used during the day than at night—in health than in sickness—in a high temperature than a low—during muscular exercise than at rest—after a meal than when hungry—when the attention of the person experimented upon is drawn to the function of respiration, than when he is unconscious of its performance. These modifying circumstances, lately discovered by Prout, Edwards, and others, were, altogether or in part, overlooked by Black, Priestley, Lavoisier, Davy, and the earlier experimentalists, on this important point; and hence the discrepancy in their calculations, and the difficulty of coming to correct results at the present day. The point of greatest practical utility is not, however, disputed: when air contains above one-half per cent. of carbonic acid, it may not be immediately, or rather palpably, injurious to the organism, but it is eventually so; while,

on the other hand, if it contains above seven or eight per cent., it will prove suddenly fatal. According to some, three or four feet of pure air per minute is sufficient for a proper aeration of the blood. Others, though they admit that this quantity might possibly be endured for a considerable time, without any well-defined deterioration of constitution, contend that this circumstance is no proof of its sufficiency, and advise at least ten cubic feet per minute for each individual. It was observed in the British House of Commons, that any less than ten feet was soon noticeable on the health of the members; and they even expressed feelings of discomfort, in a high temperature, with any less than forty or fifty. According to the most reliable experiments and calculations, it is found that ten cubic feet is a fair standard to test the sufficiency of an atmosphere inhaled: as no smaller quantity is capable of removing all doubts as to the latent and eventual evils of a deficiency.

“Let us suppose the case of a school-room, containing 10,000 cubic feet ($50 \times 20 \times 10$) of perfectly pure air (if such there be,) with two hundred pupils. To each of them will be allowed ten cubic feet of air per minute. To avoid every chance of exaggeration, and to adapt the calculation to age and size, no deduction will be made for the pupils themselves, or for their seats, desks, furniture, books, &c., all of which substances do displace an equal bulk of air, and by so much reduce the quantity actually in the room.

“According to these premises, there would be fifty feet for each pupil; and supposing that there existed no communication with the external air (which would generally be the case if the doors and windows were closely shut), the air of the room would be rendered unfit for respiration by the carbonic acid alone, without including the other exhalations, *in just five minutes*. Or in other words, the pupils would, at the end of five minutes, begin to inhale, again and again, the excrementitious matter from their own and one another's bodies. Again, suppose, with Liebig, that ten ounces of solid carbon would be excreted from each of their bodies in twenty-four hours—at the end of one hour, eighty-four ounces, or seven pounds troy, of this poison, would be held in solution in the air of the room, and be constantly going the round of the circulation, sowing

the seeds of death. These seven pounds of carbon would, in an hour, form one hundred and seventy-six cubic feet of carbonic acid, which implies the removal of one hundred and eighty feet of oxygen. And as the oxygen originally amounted to (as $80 : 20 :: 10,000 : 2500$) twenty-five hundred cubic feet, this gas would (supposing the circumstances favourable for its combination with carbon) be entirely exhausted in fourteen or fifteen hours. But as the accumulation of carbon in the atmosphere of the room, impedes the excretion of more from the beginning, and as this substance is as fatal to life when retained as when inhaled, many of the pupils would not be living, a long time before the entire removal of the oxygen.

“It may be objected that cases such as the above seldom occur. Admitted; but this depends upon the fact, that there are generally broken panes,* keyholes, or crevices of some kind, through which there is an ingress for the fresh, and an exit for the impure air; and it is true, that when there is a certain amount of ventilation, there is a limit to the concentration of carbonic acid. This circumstance, however, instead of divesting impure air of its terrors, in reality enhances them, as the inmates are thus lulled into a false security, whose deceptiveness is only discovered, if it ever is, when the seeds of disease which have thus been sown, germinate and ripen into fatal maturity.” pp. 66-68.

In order to illustrate principles, especially to the conviction of the incredulous and indifferent, it is often necessary to take strong and rare examples. In proof of the injurious and destructive effects of breathing over the air of an apartment, which allows of no renovation of it by fresh supplies from without, it is barely necessary to refer to the horrible mortality which prevails in slave ships, and which sweeps away a large proportion of the wretched creatures who are crowded into the unventilated holds of vessels, in the prosecution of this infamous traffic. There are few who have not heard of “the memorable tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta, into which were thrust a garrison of one hundred and forty-six persons, one hundred

* How many lives have broken panes been the means of saving, as well as destroying!

and twenty-three of whom perished miserably in a few hours, being suffocated by the confined air."

The following passage, which we extract, displays not only the deadly character of the gas exhaled in respiration, but a degree of ignorance on the subject at the present time, in enlightened nations, which must be dispelled, before we can expect entire immunity from similar horrors:

"The steamer Londonderry, Captain Johnston, left Sligo, at four o'clock on Friday evening, December 22, 1848, for Liverpool, with about one hundred and ninety steerage passengers—emigrants—on their way, via Liverpool, to America, and two or three cabin passengers. As she proceeded on her voyage, the weather became exceedingly foul, and after midnight, the wind rose to a perfect gale. About one o'clock that night, or rather Sunday morning, it was deemed expedient to put the steerage passengers below, and the order was executed, not, we understand, without some resistance on the part of many of them.

"Most of our readers are probably acquainted with the dimensions of a steerage cabin of an ordinary steamer—a compartment rarely more than eighteen feet long, by ten or twelve in width, and in height about seven feet. Into this space, ventilated only by one opening, the companion, one hundred and fifty human beings, as we have been informed, were packed together. The steerage being thus occupied, it was next, as we alleged, feared lest the water should get admission through the companion, and this—the only vent by which air could be admitted to the sufferers below—was closed, and a tarpaulin nailed over it, thus hermetically sealing the aperture, and preventing the possibility of any renewal of the exhausted atmosphere.

"The steamer went on her way, gallantly braving the winds and waves, unconscious of the awful work which death was meanwhile doing within her. In the darkness and heat and loathsomeness of their airless prison, its wretched inmates shrieked for aid; and there were none to hear their cries amid the boisterousness of the storm, or if they were heard, none sagacious enough to interpret the dreadful meaning they meant to convey. At length, one man—the last, it is said, who had

been put down, contrived to effect an opening through the tarpaulin of the companion, and pushing himself out, communicated to the mate that the people in the steerage were dying for the want of air. The mate instantly became alarmed, and obtaining a lantern, went down to render assistance. Such, however, was the foul state of the air in the cabin, that the light was immediately extinguished. A second was obtained, and it too was extinguished.

“At length the tarpaulin was completely removed, and a free access of air admitted. When the crew went below, they were appalled by the discovery that the floor was covered by dead bodies to the depth of some feet. Men, women, and children were huddled together, blackened with suffocation, distorted by convulsion, bruised and bleeding from the desperate struggle for existence, which preceded the moment when exhausted nature resigned the strife. After some time, the living were separated from the dead, and it was then found that the latter amounted to nearly one half of the entire number. Seventy-two dead bodies of men, women, and children, lay piled indiscriminately over each other, four deep, all presenting the ghastly appearance of persons who had died in the agonies of suffocation. Very many of them were covered with blood, which had gushed from the mouth and nose, or had flowed from wounds inflicted by the tramping of nail-studded brogans, and by the frantic violence of those who struggled for escape. It was evident that, in the struggle, the poor creatures had torn the clothes off each other’s backs, and even the flesh from each other’s limbs. Nearly all of the steerage passengers were poor farmers, from the neighbourhood of Sligo and Ballina, with their families, and many of the dead were naked from poverty.

“An inquest was held on one of the bodies, and the jury returned the following verdict:

“‘We find that death was caused by suffocation, in consequence of the gross negligence and total want of the usual and necessary caution on the part of the captain, Alexander Johnston, Richard Hughes, first mate, and Ninian Crawford, second mate; and we therefore find them guilty of manslaughter; and we further consider it our duty to express, in the strongest terms, our abhorrence of the inhuman conduct of

the remainder of the seamen on board on the melancholy occasion, and the jury beg to call the attention of proprietors of steamboats to the urgent necessity of introducing some more effectual mode of ventilation in the steerage, and also affording better accommodations to the poorer class of passengers.'" pp. 169-171.

While this illustrates both the deadly quality of the gases thrown out in respiration, and the dangerous ignorance which prevails in relation to the subject, it is of course seldom that the poison exists in so concentrated a form as to be immediately fatal. If such occurrences were common, they would be their own cure. Yet it is certain that such a poison cannot be constantly inhaled in smaller than fatal proportions, any more than arsenic can be taken in less than fatal doses, without most deleterious consequences. And there is often a much nearer approach to the point of suffocation in the deteriorated air of a crowded room, than is commonly supposed. An eminent chemist of Scotland, took away a bottle of the air in a church when it had been filled with a crowded assembly during a religious service of the usual length. He found that a fly immersed in it could scarcely live. The Hon. Ira Mayhew, superintendent of public instruction in the State of Michigan, relates, that an evening meeting held in a school-house in that State was broken up before the regular conclusion of the services, because, as the people said, "we all began to feel sick, and the lights went almost out." He adds, they little suspected that the light of life was as nearly extinct as that of the candles.

The injurious effect of breathing air vitiated by carbonic acid gas, in proportions not immediately fatal, is gradually to impair the vital functions, corrupt the blood, and ultimately to induce disease, either chronic or acute, according to the predisposition of the patient. Our author shows by a large induction of well authenticated facts, that it is a powerful cause of some of the direst distempers to which our race is subject. As it acts immediately on the lungs and blood, it must of course tend strongly to generate all diseases connected with the respiratory, circulative, and digestive functions. And what diseases are not connected with them? We should be

glad, if we had space, to present the well concatenated array of facts and arguments by which a large proportion of the consumption, scrofula, and indigestion which afflict men, are traced to this source in this treatise. This indeed is not always, perhaps not generally, the only cause of these and other diseases to which it contributes. But, beyond all doubt, it accelerates and aggravates the action of other causes.

If these views are not wholly erroneous, they open up a wide sphere for sanatory reform in the construction, or at least in the prevalent arrangements for supplying pure air to churches, halls, lecture-rooms, school-houses, manufactories, ships, steam-boats, barracks, railway cars, omnibuses, sick-rooms, hospitals, nurseries, dormitories, the cellars, shanties and garrets, which are so often the only abodes of the poor, to say nothing of ordinary dwellings. And we have no doubt that the subject is destined to command the attention of philanthropists, artizans, and men of science, until the evil in question is greatly abated, if not wholly removed: and the awkward, and often impracticable, expedients for ventilation, now in use, give place to those which are so cheap, tasteful, and effective, as to ensure general acceptance and adoption.

We cannot forbear to quote from our author a passage showing the disastrous effects of the prevailing practice of muffling, not to say smothering, infants.

“In a hospital in Dublin, between the years 1781 and 1785, no less than 2,944 children out of 7,650 died within a fortnight after their birth. This was more than one in three. Dr. Clark, the physician, suspecting the cause to be a want of air, contrived to introduce a full supply of this important element, by means of pipes, six inches in diameter, into all the apartments. The consequence was, that during the three succeeding years only 165 out of 4,243 children died within the first two weeks, or less than one in twenty-five. What a surprising difference! Is there a doubt that of the first number of deaths we have mentioned, about 2,650 died for want of pure air?”

He argues that these facts warrant the conclusion that some 50,000 children under five years of age die annually in the United States, in consequence of being deprived of the pure, unadulterated air of heaven!

The following is a specimen of a large number of cases cited in the book, mostly gathered from the testimony of eminent English physicians to the Commissioners for inquiring into the state of large towns and populous districts in England.

“Many instances are on record where the progress of an epidemic has been suddenly stopped by ventilation. ‘When I visited Glasgow,’ says Dr. Arnott, ‘with Mr. Chadwick, there was described to us one vast lodging house, in connection with a manufactory there, in which formerly fever constantly prevailed, but where, by making an opening from the top of each room through a channel of communication to an air-pump, common to all the channels, the disease had disappeared altogether. The supply of pure air obtained by that mode of ventilation, was sufficient to dilute the cause of the disease, so that it became powerless.’ ” pp. 81, 2.

The physical evils, however, vast and deplorable as they are, which result from breathing corrupt air, are of small moment in comparison with the moral and mental degeneracy induced by it. Such are the mysterious reciprocal influence and sympathy of mind and body, that all influences which permanently depress the one, almost necessarily injure both. This is especially true of air vitiated by repeated respiration. By deteriorating the blood, it of course assails the brain, which is supposed to receive about one-fifth of the blood of the whole body, and is therefore dependent upon the healthy condition of that blood for its own healthy action. It of course tends to disturb and vitiate those mental operations which, in their turn, are mysteriously connected with and dependent upon the brain. Indeed the first ill effects of vitiated air, of which we are ordinarily sensible are, a certain languor, laziness, and insuperable inertness of our mental faculties. Of this our readers have all had some experience in schools, churches, court-rooms, and in close, small, unventilated studies, which shows conclusively that the brain suffers at once from inspiring the poison of foul air. If then such air be constantly inhaled through life, must it not tend to debase the moral and intellectual man? Moreover, if the mind requires good air in order to any healthy vigour and activity, it needs it most when it is most severely tasked with labour. In hours of study, thought and medita

tion the brain needs a supply of blood most perfectly aerated and decarbonized. We are prepared then to see at least presumptive evidence of the justice of the author's positions, when he tells us that vitiated air often gives birth to, or stimulates the growth of the following hideous progeny. 1. Inaptitude for study and therefore ignorance. 2. A perversion of the judgment. 3. Intemperance in the use of intoxicating drinks. 4. It encourages vice. 5. Also pusillanimity and cowardice. 6. It produces deformity, imbecility and idiocy. We think that all careful observers must have detected some of these results, and that none will remain sceptical after pondering the facts and reasonings adduced by Mr. Griscom. No competent inspector of schools will deny that the following representation is as just and important as it is graphic. pp. 68, 9.

"Among the effects produced by remaining in an impure atmosphere, there is an almost immediate one to which the attention of teachers, and all concerned in the care of schools, should be constantly drawn; it is that condition of listlessness, languor, and irritability, so often observed in both pupils and teachers. Irritability of the nervous system, as well as dullness of the intellect, is unquestionably the direct result of a want of pure air. The vital energies of the pupil are more or less prostrated by it—he becomes restless and indisposed to attend to his books and rules—his mind wanders from his studies—and he unavoidably seeks relief for the natural appetite for air, in disorderly actions which call for reprimand from his teacher, who, from the same cause, is perhaps in the same irritable and unhealthy condition of mind and body, which must also find a vent somehow and upon something. Thus irritability grows to irritation, until it becomes a question of serious import, how far, as a corrective, or rather, preventive, of this evil, pure air would serve in substitution for the ferule, and whether the natural stimulation of oxygen would not be more easy of application and more sure of effect, than the artificial sedative of the strap.

"It has fallen to the lot of the writer to see many instances of the injurious influence of the foul air of school-rooms, both private and public, on the health of pupils, even to fatal terminations. He has seen children grow pale and thin, and gradu-

ally droop and sicken, without any cause visible to the parents, who, in their grief, have attributed all to the dispensation of an inscrutable Providence, without a thought of the true source of the calamity, until it has been (alas, too late!) pointed out to them. It were easy to cite, from actual experience, cases of sickness and death of pupils, the commencements of which were undoubtedly laid in the places, which, of all others, should be least obnoxious to the charge; the most unhappy feature of which is, that the teachers themselves are, in too many instances, ignorant of the true merits of pure air, and unwilling to admit the humiliating fact, so easily demonstrated, that the atmosphere of their school-rooms is offensive and dangerous."

There are few clergymen who will not appreciate the following extract:

"The pulpit orator, too, finds that his midnight lucubrations, manufactured while he is cooped up within the precincts of a study which is small, ill-ventilated, and hampered with books and manuscripts, will often fail to charm his audience, especially when they are nodding under the influence of the densely-carbonized atmosphere of an ill-ventilated church.

"An anecdote very illustrative of this, is related of an old Scottish pulpit orator, of a standing above mediocrity for eminence and ability, who was so mortified and annoyed at the unaccountable apathy, inattention, and drowsiness of his hearers, that he deemed it expedient to preach a series of sermons on "*The sin and shame o' sleepin' in kirkes.*" This resolution was carried out with an extraordinary fervour and force of argument, but without any appreciable effect. His lions and angels neither roused the fears, nor excited the admiration of his seemingly lukewarm flock, and the flowers of his eloquence only "lost their sweetness on the [poisoned] air." There one sat yawning with his eyes half-closed, his face flushed, head aching, and languor and mental inactivity evident on his countenance, which also indicated a partial unconsciousness of his own existence. Here another, in the corner, with his forehead lazily resting on the back of the pew before him, enjoying a rather comfortable nap, interrupted though it was by his having occasionally to raise his head, to show the pastor and those around him, that he was not absolutely sleeping.

"At last, a thought fortunately crossed the preacher's mind, that a mouthful or two of fresh air might possibly have some beneficial effect, in stimulating the mental appetite, and keeping up attention. The sexton was accordingly ordered to throw the windows partially open during the hours of service. The experiment was attended with complete success, and tended greatly to improve the understanding between the pastor and his flock." pp. 149-50.

If by this time our readers are convinced that air repeatedly respired is unfit for further respiration; that in all cases fresh air ought to be introduced in its place by some effective process of ventilation; and that the consequences of neglecting such ventilation are deplorable and alarming, our main object will have been accomplished. If they are sufficiently aroused to undertake to effect it, where it is needed, in the various spheres in which they move, they will doubtless obtain better information from other sources, as to the best means of doing it, than we have room to give, if we had the requisite knowledge. For this purpose we can safely refer them to the treatise under review, taking due care to protest, however, that as it is beyond our province to recommend this or that man's patents, so we think our author would have shown his wisdom, had he used a little more caution in one or more instances of this sort. We are sorry that a book of so much real merit and adaptation to popular wants, should weaken its own influence and circumscribe its own usefulness, by affording even a pretext for the suspicion, that it was any part of the writer's object to puff any man's wares. We will, however, offer one or two brief suggestions relative to the general principles bearing upon the subject.

All ventilation is accomplished by means of currents of fresh air passing through the apartments to be purified, which sweep out, and take the place of, the foul air. In factories, vessels, and other structures, in which steam or any powerful motor is employed to propel machinery, this motor may be attached to an apparatus for exciting currents of air, which shall produce adequate ventilation. In rooms which, like most, admit of no such fixtures, during the warm season, the windows and doors, unless they are very deficient, may usually be opened

with safety so as to replenish the atmosphere by fresh supplies from without. The great difficulty is during the cold season, when the external air is too cold to be admitted with safety unless previously warmed. It is sure that an open grate or fire-place, with a good draught, will not draw off the foul air, and so make a vacuum, which the fresh air will rush in to fill, with sufficient rapidity to keep the atmosphere in a good degree salubrious, in a room occupied by but few persons, as in an ordinary dwelling. Of old, the great fire-place did good service of this sort in school-rooms. It will not, however, adequately warm the tender youth of this more effeminate age. Moreover, on grounds of economy and convenience, the close stove, whose greatest recommendation is to be *air-tight*, has generally supplanted all other modes of warming, in kitchens, parlours, school-rooms, and churches. Of this, it is safe to say, that it allows no adequate ventilation for public, and rarely for private rooms. Every one knows the difference between the atmosphere produced by it, and that produced by an open fire or a hot-air furnace. Moreover, no open fire-place is, of itself, at all sufficient for cleansing out the impurities of the air in a crowded room. The only means yet discovered, of procuring a bountiful supply of salubrious air, of the right temperature, is to warm the room by a furnace or stove which brings in heated air from without. With this should be united some effective apparatus for withdrawing the foul air from the building. It is of little use for this purpose, merely to have an opening into the attic. That merely enlarges slightly the volume of air to be respired in the room, and so makes only a slight and momentary improvement of its quality. Nor is it of any avail merely to cool the air by letting the fire go down. Cold air (contrary to the common idea) is just as liable to be foul, as if it were hot. There should be a free entrance of warmed fresh air in one part of the room, with ejecting ventilating ducts, so disposed in other parts, that this fresh air, before reaching them to make its exit, will sweep through the apartment. Thus, if the hot-air stove or furnace register be at one end, or side, or corner, the ejecting flue should be at the opposite end, side, or corner. If one of these be at the centre, the other should be at the sides or corners. The ejecting ducts

should start from the floor, and pass out above the apex of the roof. They should be controlled by registers at the top and bottom of the room, to be used as circumstances require. They may be made of wood, with an ejecting ventilator at their top, and then they will be sure to act efficiently when the wind blows. But they will be more reliable, in a still atmosphere, if they are made of brick, like large chimney flues, and have the pipe of the stove or furnace carried up through them, thus, by means of heat, creating a positive upward current, under all circumstances. Without these arrangements for the exit of the foul air, the mere process of warming, by the introduction of heated air from without, is a vast improvement upon close stoves. With these, or substantially similar arrangements, we believe that the atmosphere of our public rooms would be purged of its noxious ingredients, and become balmy and salubrious. We commend the subject to our readers, as one having not only a physical, but a high intellectual, moral, and even religious importance.

SHORT NOTICES.

Robert and Harold; or the Young Marooners on the Florida Coast. By F. R. Goulding. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1852. 16mo. pp. 422.

There is in this little volume for the young, a singular blending of fact with fiction, of curious and useful information with exciting adventure; such as almost tempts us to set it apart as a new species of juvenile literature. The adventures of the young Marooners are nearly as wild and exciting as Robinson Crusoe; and yet we understand the author to say, they are substantially true. The incidents of the story are adroitly arranged to bring into view a great variety of curious information, much of which is as useful as it is novel and stirring. Without, for example, once suspecting any such utilitarian or unromantic design, the young reader is led by the interest of the story, to master the best methods of treating an animal struck with lightning, or securing the accidental wound of an artery, and other such like things; to say nothing of the know-

ledge of geographical localities, and the curious habits and instincts of animals. By the way, the story of the "devil-fish," taking up the anchor of a little boat, and rushing out to sea with the youthful crew on board, their efforts to disengage the monster, and what befel them on their extraordinary cruise, however thrilling, well told, and even morally impressive the marvellous story may be, is yet a sore trial to our faith in the actual truth of at least that portion of the book. Altogether, we do not hesitate to say that it is a remarkable little book; and will undoubtedly become a great favourite with the young, as it well deserves the confidence and favour of parents.

Select British Eloquence: embracing the best Speeches entire, of the most eminent Orators of Great Britain for the last two centuries; with sketches of their Lives, an estimate of their Genius, and notes critical and explanatory. By Chauncey A. Goodrich, D.D., Professor in Yale College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 8vo. pp. 947.

The work thus fully described by its title, forms the most elaborate contribution to the history of British eloquence, which has issued from the American press. It is unquestionably true, that "he who would teach eloquence, must do it chiefly by examples." This sentiment is the key to the book. It is a study of examples; the best that our language affords. The original matter of the author, for the most part, is judicious and valuable. The history of a country is so identified with the history of its great men, and especially of its great statesmen, that in the sketches of their lives, besides the primary object of the author—to illustrate the principles of eloquence—he has really given a continuous, though of course slender, history of England, and, to some extent also, of France and the Continent, during the stirring period of modern history which is covered by the volume. The sketches of the lives of the great orators, whose eloquence constitutes the study of the volume, are, in our judgment, unequal in execution. The copiousness of the materials, and the narrow limits to which the author was restricted, have in some cases produced a remarkable effect, in the way of impression. The introductions to the several speeches, reciting the occasion of their delivery, explaining the bearing of their arguments upon the facts, and presenting the points at issue in the debate, are the most important feature of the work. What the author calls "an analysis," as given in the side-notes, and which he says was intended to show the divisions and sub-divisions of the thought, with a view of making apparent the connection and bearings of the several parts, strikes us as far the most imperfectly executed portion of his plan. The side-notes are not, in

any proper sense of the word, an analysis at all. They are little else than marginal indexes to the subject matter of the several paragraphs. What the work most needs, in our judgment, is a good, brief, but complete analysis, forming a part of the author's introduction to each speech, showing clearly the plan of the speech as it lay in the mind of the speaker, disclosing incidentally, if not formally, the reasons of the plan adopted, and the grounds of its force, as springing out of its subject matter, or its relation to the parties addressed, together with the connection of the several parts, and then the bearing of the whole upon the main conclusion—in a word, a simple but comprehensive exposé of the rhetorical mechanism of each speech, regarded as a work of art. This, we repeat, strikes us as the great desideratum of the volume. The historical and illustrative matter is comparatively full, but the artistic criticism is, to say the least, very disproportioned; if, indeed, it may not be said to be entirely wanting.

Baconianism and the Bible. An Address delivered before the Eumenean and Philanthropic Societies of Davidson College, N. C. By the Rev. B. M. Palmer, of Columbia, S. C. Columbia, S. C.: A. S. Johnston. 1852.

The perusal of this address has impressed us strongly with the value of such occasions, as a means of usefulness. The discourse of Mr. Palmer strikes us as a model of its kind. It is as keen and polished in its rhetoric, as it is timely and effective in argument.

The Scots Worthies: Containing a brief historical account of the most eminent noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and others, who testified or suffered for the cause of Reformation in Scotland, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the year 1688. By John Howie, of Lochgoin. Illustrated. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853.

The Scots Worthies has been a household classic for three-quarters of a century. Written by a moorland farmer, it has done an incalculable service, in connection with its great predecessor, and probably its model—Fox's Book of Martyrs—in the education of the English race, in the doctrines of religious and civil liberty, and in training those heroes and martyrs of truth and freedom, to whom, under God, the world is indebted for countless and untold blessings.

Daily Commentary. A Practical Exposition of Select Portions of Scripture, for every Morning and Evening throughout the year. Being a Companion to "Family Worship." By one hundred and eighty Clergymen of Scotland. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853. 8vo. pp. 968.

This volume, as its title imports, is complementary to the large and useful work, entitled "Family Worship," noticed in

a late issue of our Journal. We welcome with peculiar pleasure anything which tends to popularize the expository reading of the word of God, in connection with the daily devotional exercises of our numerous Christian families:—the more especially as the expository treatment of the Scriptures has so notoriously yielded its former place in the pulpit, to the topical and hortatory method now almost universally in use. We venture to suggest to such Christian families, as are visited by our Journal, to take up the Daily Commentary on trial, or if the domestic arrangements of the family render it more convenient, for the morning or the evening worship alone, with a view of determining how far it would contribute to the interest and impression of the occasion. The advantages peculiar to the Daily Commentary for this purpose, are: 1. that the several portions of Scripture are selected with special reference to their practical and devotional uses. 2. The expositions are brief and to the point, resembling in this respect, the well known Exercises of Jay; while yet they are properly expository, which Jay is not:—and 3. The great number and variety of the contributors, can hardly fail to keep up a degree of freshness and variety in their contributions.

Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane, of Airthrey, and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane. By Alexander Haldane, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1852. 8vo. 604.

We are happy to announce an American Edition of this Memoir, of two men so full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and so honoured of God as instruments in the great revival of the spirit and power of evangelical religion, both in England, and on the continent. As the work in the foreign edition, was reviewed *in extenso* in our last No., we have only to express our hope, that as it is now accessible to American Christians in the reprint before us, it may be the means of transfusing a large measure of the lofty faith, and heroic zeal of these remarkable men, into the ministers and churches of our land.

Footsteps of our Forefathers: What they suffered, and what they sought. Describing Localities, and portraying Personages and Events in the struggles for Religious Liberty. By James G. Miall. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1852. pp. 352. 12mo.

We do not think this cumbrous title page is happy or descriptive. The book is really a historical argument against religious and civil intolerance; and an essay towards a juster appreciation of the value of that civil and religious freedom, which has cost the world so much blood and treasure. The author calls to his aid the associations and impulses of the

heart; under the conviction, which is doubtless well founded, that the instincts and feelings of men are much more likely to be right than their logical judgments; and that it is easier, as well as more effectual, to draw over the former to the side of truth, than to carry the latter by dint of argument. The details of the volume seem to be authentic, as they are certainly curious and minute; and the portraits and panoramas of which it is made up, are generally well drawn. The author displays, also, a good degree of analytic and descriptive power, in seizing upon the ultimate principles on which the various phases of the great conflict for human freedom have turned; and dragging them into the light of those truer intuitions, on which he relies for the right settlement of the questions in dispute.

The Three Great Temptations of Young Men: With several Lectures addressed to Business and Professional Men. By Samuel W. Fisher. Cincinnati: Moore & Anderson, Publishers, 1852.

A searching and thorough *exposé* of the seductions and perils of the wine-cup, the card-table, and the play-house: together with a series of faithful, earnest and weighty suggestions to men absorbed in the various secular pursuits of life.

Daily Readings. Passages of Scripture, selected for Social Reading, with Applications. By Caroline Fry. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

In addition to the selections from the Scriptures, there is appended to each, a brief train of reflections or thoughts, such as would be likely to arise in a cultivated and devotional mind. They are characterized chiefly by their easy simplicity and freshness. There is no attempt at elaboration, and scarcely any at formal exposition of the passage. There is less of the naïveté and antithetic point so inimitably characteristic of Jay; but in lieu of it we have, on each occasion, a complete passage of the word of God, instead of a single text, or phrase, or word.

The Faded Hope. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1853. pp. 264. 12mo.

The fine poetic spirit of Mrs. Sigourney which effloresces in the very title of this touching memorial of a mother to her gifted son, breathes its fragrance through every paragraph of the sad record of this brief but beautiful biography.

Elegy Written in a Country Church Yard, and other Poems. By Thomas Gray. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1853. pp. 106. 8vo.

One seldom sees anything more beautiful or effective, than the fine wood engravings, with one of which, each separate stanza of this well known lyric is adorned. The typography is faultless, and the paper in keeping.

The Practical Man, an Address delivered before the Diognothian and Goethean Societies of Marshall College, at the annual commencement, September 7, 1852. By Hon. Washington McCartney. Philadelphia: Crissy and Markley, Library street. 1852.

This fugitive address is deeply marked by that sterling practical wisdom, and liberal scholarship, for which the author is held in high esteem by all who know him.

1. *A Forest Flower*. By the Rev. James Drummond, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, Madras. pp. 74.
2. *Grandmother's Parable*, or the Young Pilgrims. pp. 71.
3. *The Waterloo Soldier*, or the Early Life and Closing Days of Farquhar Mackay. By Collin A. Mackenzie, with an Introduction by W. M. Hetherington, LL.D. 16 mo. pp. 144.
4. *The Youth's Gleaner*, or Ripe Fruits of early Piety Gathered and Garnered, for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. pp. 250.
5. *My Own Hymn Book*. Illustrated with fourteen engravings. pp. 71.
6. *Evidences for Heaven*. Written in the year 1650. By Mrs. Thomasen Head, for the benefit of her Children. pp. 101.
7. *The Bible the Book of the Lord*, or the Divine Authority of the Sacred Scriptures. Addressed especially to the Young. pp. 48.
8. *Patience*. By James W. Alexander, D.D. pp. 40.
9. *A Manual on the Christian Sabbath*. By John Holmes Agnew. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. S. Miller, D.D. pp. 198.

We announce for the information of our readers the foregoing list of small books, all of them designed especially for the young, except the last two, added since our last notices, to the growing catalogue of the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

"A Forest Flower" is a simple, touching memorial of a boy, refined and sublimated in the furnace of affliction, and who died in his fourteenth year.

"Grandmother's Parable" is a beautiful little allegory, of the Bunyan school.

"The Waterloo Soldier" is a true biography, interesting and instructive as an illustration of the power of grace in first rescuing the subject of it, from the most unpromising circumstances; and then lifting him into a sphere of usefulness, still farther illustrating and honouring the same grace, by results due to the power of simple goodness under the blessing of the Holy Spirit. We could wish this unpretending volume were deposited in every Christian family in the land, to teach us all, and especially the poor among God's people, what a work the most lowly piety may achieve, and how God delights to honour and reward those who are faithful in their efforts to glorify him.

"The Youth's Gleaner" is a collection chiefly of striking biographical notices of persons from various walks in life, remarkable for early piety.

The remaining books of the list, sufficiently explain themselves by their titles; and need no endorsement from us.

The Book of Poetry; Illustrated with engravings on wood, from original designs. By Darley, Doepler, Oertel, and Schuessele. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 8vo. pp. 256.

This beautiful volume contains a very varied selection from the minor poems contributed to our later Christian literature, by the most gifted of our sons of song. The illustrations are very fine, and some of them extremely beautiful. Those who are seeking gift-books that will be useful as well as acceptable, will be glad to know of its existence.

The Sinner's Progress; or, the Life and Death of Mr. Badman; also, Review of Anti-Christ. By John Bunyan. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. pp. 198 and 112.

Help to Zion's Travellers: being an attempt to remove various stumbling blocks out of the way, relating to doctrinal, experimental, and practical religion. Rev. Robert Hall, of Ainsby. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 118 Arch street. pp. 247.

These are standard works among our Baptist brethren. The author of the latter is not so generally known among other denominations as he perhaps ought to be. He has been eclipsed in the brightness of his celebrated son, who inherited his name. The work, we hope, will prove specially useful in counteracting some doctrinal tendencies to which a portion of the Baptist churches in this country are said to be more or less exposed.

A Defence of Restricted Communion. Revised and enlarged. By Rev. S. Remington, A. M., author of "Reasons for becoming a Baptist." Twenty-second thousand. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. pp. 72.

The question here discussed is included in very narrow limits. If baptism is an indispensable condition of church communion, and if immersion is essential to baptism, then the Baptists are right. If either of the above principles is unscriptural, they are wrong. Neither of the above principles, however, is recognized in our standards. The conditions for church communion laid down in the Westminster symbols, are knowledge, faith, and holy living. The Church has no right to debar from her fellowship those who possess these qualifications. If anything is in its own nature preposterous, it is that men should refuse to receive those whom Christ has received. It is a clear scriptural principle, often violated indeed by particular denominations, but sanctioned by the general voice of the people of God, that nothing is necessary, or can be rightfully demanded as a condition of church fellowship, which is

not necessary to salvation. If, therefore, baptism be not necessary to salvation, it is not indispensable to communion.

It is a great misfortune when any denomination is distinguished from their fellow Christians by some outward peculiarity. To that peculiarity they owe their name, and their existence. It becomes therefore their life. It gives them their distinctive character, and controls their action. Hence it cannot fail to become of undue importance. The Baptists think more, write more, preach more about the mode of baptism, than all the rest of Christendom together. Their existence depends on the meaning of a word. If baptize means to *wash*, as well as to *immerse*, they are effectually submerged. They have, therefore, to devote a great part of their zeal and time to make good their narrow foot-hold. The same remark is in a measure applicable to other denominations. If bishops are not *jure divino* a distinct order from presbyters, Episcopalians lose their vantage ground. Hence, they must devote, and have in all ages devoted, a great part of their strength to make good that position. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that our church is called the "Presbyterian." That presbyters are the highest permanent officers in the church, of divine appointment, is a common Protestant doctrine. It is not peculiar to us; it belongs to the whole Protestant world, except the Church of England. It is, therefore, not our life, and should not be made so prominent in our title. The Church of Scotland, the Church of Holland, the German Reformed Church, and other bodies, are presbyterian as well as ourselves. There is, however, not much in the mere name. It is because nothing external, ritual, or ceremonial is essential to our denominational existence, that it has always been characteristic of the Reformed Churches that TRUTH, and not forms, has been with them the great object of interest.

A Eulogy pronounced on Daniel Webster, before the citizens of Burlington, N. J., at the Lyceum, on November 4th, 1852. By Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, a minister of the Presbyterian Church, and an Elector of Burlington Township. Published by request. Burlington, 1852.

A Discourse occasioned by the death of Daniel Webster. Preached October 31. Repeated November 14, 1852. By E. L. Cleaveland, Pastor of the Third Congregational Church, New Haven.

A Discourse on the Life and Character of Daniel Webster. By H. A. Boardman, D. D. Philadelphia: 1852.

We have seen it stated, that about one hundred and twenty or thirty sermons have already been preached and printed, relating to the death of Mr. Webster. Few, if any of the number, we presume, are of higher order than those above

mentioned. That by Dr. Boardman, we have heard characterized, by those who enjoyed the advantage of its oral delivery, as one of the happiest of his efforts. The death of such a man as Webster is a national event, and properly called for a general and formal expression of the national feeling. We confess, however, we regard with concern the New England practice of "preaching to the occasion" making such progress in our church. The burning of a steamer, a railroad disaster, the arrival of a Hungarian, anything in short, which for the time excites public attention, is often made a theme for the pulpit. This custom may have its advantages, but we fear its tendency is to degrade the house of God, and to supersede the Gospel. Paul says he determined to know nothing but Christ and him crucified, and that his commission was to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. We are well aware that Paul's own example shows how wide a range of subjects, moral and religious, is embraced within the circle, of which the above doctrines are the centre. But nevertheless we think the practice of many of our ministers, especially in New England, greatly exceeds the limits of apostolic example, and of sound discretion.

Africa's Redemption. A Discourse on African Colonization, in its missionary aspects, and in its relation to Slavery and Abolition. By William H. Ruffner, Pastor of the Seventh Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1852. pp. 48.

This is an earnest and vigorous argument in behalf of one of the greatest enterprises of the age. That Africa must be civilized and christianized by Africans, is a conclusion in which the wise and good in England and America are generally agreed. But that the black race are, in their present state of advancement, competent to this work without the aid of white missionaries, is a very doubtful point. It is certain that unless the colonists who settle among a barbarous people are themselves educated and religious, they will sink to the level of the savages around them, instead of elevating the savages. It is much to be feared that in Jamaica, and other of the West India Islands, the self-sustaining point was not reached by the blacks before they were emancipated, and therefore, the danger is they will relapse into barbarism. There is in all human probability, no help for them but in the presence of white, or at least fully civilized missionaries of the Gospel. Two very important conclusions in reference to Africa follow from this principle. The one is, that our missionary societies must for years to come supply white men to form and guide the rising communities in that benighted land; and the other is, that

the colonists sent thither should themselves be civilized, and religious men, at least in such proportion as to give character to the colonies. These are matters which deserve more attention than they have hitherto received.

Justification by Faith. A Sermon delivered before the Synod of New York and New Jersey, Oct. 20th, 1852. By Rev. Jonathan F. Stearns, D. D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J. New York: 1852. pp. 36.

Justification is here defined, in the language of an old Lutheran divine, to be "an act whereby God, as judge, pronounces man, who is a sinner, and thereby chargeable with fault, and obnoxious to punishment, a righteous man." In this definition, all the points are included in which the Protestant doctrine differs, on the one hand, from the Romish doctrine, which makes justification an onward or subjective change; and, on the other, from the views of those who make it the act of a sovereign, dispensing with the law, and consisting simply in pardon and restoration to favour.

As to the ground of justification, this sermon teaches that it is the righteousness of Christ, that his righteousness includes his obedience, as well as his expiatory sufferings, and that this righteousness is imputed. The ground of this imputation is declared to be our union with Christ; "we are *his*, we are *one* with him; therefore are we accepted for his sake."

The sermon further teaches, that we are justified by faith, as including knowledge, assent and confidence. "It is an act in which the whole soul concentrates itself, and may be described as its abandonment of all other dependences—implying, therefore, conviction of guilt, of need, and of helplessness—and its surrender of the whole man, heart, intellect and will, to the Saviour's disposal, withal accepting him in return, and resting on him with loving confidence."

In reading this sermon, we did not notice a single sentiment in which we do not concur. It presents, in a clear and devout manner, the common doctrine of Protestants on this vital subject. It furnishes evidence not only of a clear and strong mind, but of one whose field of view is not confined to the theological writings of the last half century, or of our country.

A Contrast, between the Erroneous Assertions of Prof. Schaf, and the Testimony of credible Ecclesiastical Historians, in regard to the state of the Church in the Middle Ages. By J. J. Janeway, D. D. New Brunswick, N. J. 1852.

It is the fashion of the day to turn from Puritan simplicity to the pomp and symbolizations of the middle ages, to mistake æsthetical for spiritual excellence, and to make beauty cover a

multitude of sins. The middle ages doubtless had their wonders of art and intellect, and also of piety, but as a period of the Church, they are the last to be held up for admiration or imitation. Dr. Janeway's pamphlet, we hope, will do good, by presenting moral deformities of an age, upon which philosophers and young ladies, in illustration of the adage that extremes meet, unite in doting.

A Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church in the City of New Brunswick; read before the Historical Society of New Jersey, September 8th, 1852. By Robert Davidson, D. D., Pastor of said Church. Published by request. New Brunswick: 1852. pp. 52.

This is a valuable contribution to the history of the Church and of religion in New Jersey.

The Revelation of St. John, expounded for those who search the Scriptures. By E. W. Hengstenberg, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the original, by the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, author of the "Typology of Scripture," &c. Vol. I. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway, 1852. pp. 581.

Having already expressed at large our opinion of this important work, we need only say that we rejoice in its being rendered accessible to a larger class of readers, by being translated into English and re-published in this country.

The Mine Explored; or Help to the Reading of the Bible. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1853. pp. 382.

This work was written by the late Benjamin Elliot Nichols, M. A., of Queen's College, Cambridge, (England.) It treats of the authority, interpretation, antiquities, and contents of the Bible. It is in fact an introduction to the Scriptures. It is the product of great labour, in a very condensed form.

Parables of Spring. By Gaussen. Translated from the French, by the Rev. Philip Berry. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. pp. 103.

This is a beautiful little book by an evangelical writer whose reputation is established in America as well as in Europe. It is designed to make the phenomena of Spring vehicles of religious instruction.

Churches of the Valley: or an Historical Sketch of the Old Presbyterian Congregations of Cumberland and Franklin counties, in Pennsylvania. By the Rev. Alfred Nevin, of the Presbytery of Carlisle. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 288 Chesnut street. 1852. pp. 338.

This is a handsome volume, relating to one of the most interesting portions of our ecclesiastical field. We think the Church is under great obligations to Mr. Nevin, for the research and skill expended in the collection and exhibition of the facts here placed on record. It is a work which, we hope,

will not only prove successful, but suggestive, exciting others to similar enterprises.

Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits: addressed to a Student in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. By Samuel Miller, D.D. A new edition revised. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

A work highly prized, not only for its intrinsic value, but for the sake of its venerated author, whose memory is dear to thousands.

Heaven Opened: or a Brief and Plain Discovery of the Riches of God's Covenant of Grace. By Rev. Richard Alleine. A.D. 1665. Revised and somewhat abridged. Published by the American Tract Society. pp. 388.

Another standard spiritual work of the seventeenth century. The theme, as the title imports, is the riches of the blessings given by God to his people in his covenant of grace. He gives himself, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the earth, the kingdom of glory, a new heart, a heart to know, love, fear, and obey the Lord. The book contains two glowing chapters from Rev. Joseph Alleine, author of the *Alarm to the Unconverted*, on the exceeding great and precious promises, and the believer's triumph therein, and closes with a solemn appeal to the unconverted, and to the people of God.

Bible Companion: designed for the assistance of Bible Classes, Families, and Young Students of the Scriptures. With an Introduction. By Stephen Tyng, D.D., Rector of St George's Church, New York. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853. pp. 149.

Another compact introduction to the study of the Scriptures.

The Morning Watches and Night Watches. By the author of "The Faithful Promiser." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853. pp. 130.

A series of meditations for the morning and evening, designed as aids to private devotion.

Romanism as it is. An Oration delivered by the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., of London. With an Appendix by the Editor. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

An Address to Students. By Rev. James Hamilton, London. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

May I go to the Theatre? By the late Rev. John McDonald, A.M., Missionary Minister, Calcutta. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

These are three tracts, published by our Board, written by men of the highest reputation, on subjects specially calling for attention.

The Spring-time of life; or Advice to Youth. By David Magie, Elizabethtown, N. J., published by Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, pp. 328.

A truly valuable book; written in a style simple, chaste, and well adapted to the object of the writer. The lessons it inculcates are lessons of great practical wisdom; and the youth that gives heed to them, will never regret the time he has bestowed upon the careful perusal of this volume. Parents, too, will find it suggestive of many useful hints for the right training of youth. The topics discussed are—The season of youth.—Young men in danger.—Power of habit.—Company, its influence.—Error, its causes and consequences.—Caution and encouragement.—Truth between man and man.—Bible honesty.—Industry the road to success.—The value of good principles.—Courtesy.—Mental improvement.—Mental impressions indelible.—Manliness in youth.—The Bible the young man's book.—Christ an example to young men.—Religion the principal thing. These matters are handled with the sobriety and judgment for which the author is distinguished. The tendency of the volume is, what it professes to be, the best good of the young; and the author has breathed upon its pages his own benevolent spirit.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

It is very interesting to observe the shifts resorted to, to obviate the difficulties and disabilities laid upon the rising intellect of the lower and labouring classes, by the social institutions of the country. There is an agitation afoot for the relief of knowledge, which is steadily advancing. The cost of publications is so great, that Circulating Libraries have been pressed into new and curious uses. We notice one, Mudie's, that advertises 300 copies of Thackeray's "Esmond." The subscription fee is a guinea, and for this the books are brought to the subscribers, and changed anywhere within four miles of London. This Library has 5,000 volumes.

There are also large collections of recent works where they may be bought second-hand, at a low rate. The Book Societies, which are innumerable, furnish another way of overcoming the difficulties placed in the way of intelligence. Still another is

brought to view in the following advertisement: "A clean copy of the Times, posted the day after publication for 13d. per quarter."

We notice the establishment of a new Retrospective Review, on the model of the former, which ceased some years ago; and, which is so important to the student of English literature. It will be devoted to essays on past literature, English and Foreign, accounts of rare and curious books, beauties of forgotten authors, the knowledge and opinions of other days. There will be copious criticisms, and analyses of interesting old books. Living authors are to be excluded. Besides this, a division will contain "Anecdota Literaria," or short MSS., reprinted from the stores of the British Museum, the Bodleian, and other Libraries; also, a department for correspondence. Our readers can gain some notion of this publication, from the table of contents of No. 1.

1. Mrs. Behn's Dramatic Writings.
2. The Travels of Boulaye de Gouz.
3. Increase Mather's "Remarkable Providences of the Earlier Days of American Civilization."
4. Eburne's "Plaine Pathway to Plantations."
5. Bishop Berkly on Tar Water.
6. French Pictures of the English in the Last Century.
7. The First Edition of Shakspeare.
8. Anecdota Literaria—"Unpublished Diary of a Dorsetshire Gentleman, 1697-1702"—Our Old Public Libraries.

The publisher is John Russel Smith, 36 Soho Square.

Alison's History of Europe from 1815 to 1852, is to be in five volumes. The first volume is a disquisition on politics and philosophy, social, economical and moral. The whole applied to determine the true relations and future destinies of Europe. He holds that the nations are essentially in the same situation as the Roman Empire at the moment of its dissolution. That the energies at work are destructive, and that the future of Europe rests with the Czar.

"The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth," by W. Stirling, M. P.

Ranke's Work on the Civil Wars and Monarchy in France, in the sixteenth century, is issued simultaneously in Berlin and London.

"A Narrative of the Attempted Escape of King Charles I. from Carisbrook Castle, and of his detention in the Isle of Wight from November 1647, to the seizure of his person by the army at Newport, November 16, 1648: including the letters from the King to Colonel Titus, now first deciphered and print-

ed from the originals, by George Hillier." Mr. Hillier is an enthusiastic admirer of Charles, his narrative must therefore be received with allowance. It shows however, the hand of a scholar. The letters, before inaccessible to the ordinary student, are valuable, and throw a strong light on an interesting portion of history.

"Revelations of Siberia," by the Lady Eve Felinska. This lady was banished to the extreme limits of the convict territory, Bereson, 600 miles beyond Tobolsk; and possessing an observant eye, and good powers of description, has presented a lively and graphic picture of the country, its natural phenomena, and the manners and customs of the semi-barbarous aborigines of these frozen solitudes. The book is interesting to the naturalist and ethnologist, and also to the statesman, exhibiting as it does, the economy of the terra incognita of Russian despotism.

"Travels in European Turkey, through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Roumelia, Albania and Epirus, with a Tour through Hungary and the Slavonian Provinces of Austria," by Edmund Spencer, Esq., Author of "Travels in Circassia," illustrated, and with a valuable map.

"Monuments of Nineveh," second series, consisting of sculptures, vases and bronzes, recently discovered, chiefly illustrative of the wars of Sennacherib.

"The Stowe Papers," being the concluding volumes of the Granville correspondence, edited with notes, elucidating the authorship.

"My Home in Tasmania, during a residence of Ten Years." By Mrs. Charles Meredith, author of *Sketches in New South Wales*.

"A Naval and Military Dictionary of Technical Words and Phrases; English and French, and French and English." By Lieut. Col. Burn, Assistant Inspector of Artillery.

The press sounds the note of preparation for the struggle between the two opposing principles in the English Church. We notice "The Convocations of the two Provinces, their Origin, Constitution, and Forms of Procedure; with a chapter on their Revival." By George Trevor, M. A., Canon of York and Proctor for the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of York. Also, "Synodalia," a monthly journal, setting forth the progress of the present movements, and collecting all the information on the subject.

The following are reprints of works by Prof. Blackie:

1. "Classical Literature in Relation to the Nineteenth Century, and Scottish University Education. An Inaugural Lecture, delivered in the University of Edinburgh."

2. "The Pronunciation of Greek; Accent and Quantity." A philological inquiry.

3. "On the Rhythmical Declamation of the Ancients."

4. "On the Studying and Teaching of Languages."

"Turner and his Works:" illustrated by examples from his pictures, and critical remarks on his principles of painting. By John Burnet, author of Rembrandt and his Works. With a memoir by P. Cunningham. 4to. £1 11s. 6d.

"The Commercial Tariff of all Countries," collected and arranged by the Prussian Government. Carefully translated. Edited by C. N. Newdegate, M. P. This work is by Herr Otto Hübner, the greatest statist in the world. With indefatigable perseverance, he has established relations with the heads of departments of all the civilized governments, and now can obtain more accurate and quicker information than governments can receive through diplomatic sources. This he freely imparts, and in return, governments find it to their interest to afford him every facility. The English Board of Trade have furnished him with several valuable papers. Besides the above work, he publishes the "Statistical Annuary," and a sheet, "The Statistical Survey."

"The Parsees, or Modern Zerdusthians." A sketch, by H. George Briggs, author of the Cities of Gufarashtra.

Oliver & Boyd, of Edinburgh, announce the fifth volume of "D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation," embracing the Reformation in England.

"Kaffraria and the Kaffirs." By Rev. Francis P. Fleming, Military Chaplain, King William's Town. With illustrations.

"The Tea Countries of India and China." By Robert Fortune. With maps and wood-cuts.

Latham has issued three new works:—

1. "Ethnology of Europe."

2. "Ethnology of the British Islands."

3. "Ethnology of the British Colonies and Dependencies."

The object of the first work is to ascertain the extent to which what is called race is the result of circumstances, or whether circumstances be the result of race. The second discusses the extent to which difference of what is called race is an element of national dislikes, predilections, or antipathies. The conclusions he comes to are that pedigree and nationality rarely coincide; that there is rarely any approach; that the most powerful nations in Europe are heterogeneous; and yet that the benefits of mixture are doubtful, and have been exaggerated. "To attribute national aptitudes and inaptitudes, or national predilections or antipathies, to the unknown influences of blood,

as long as the patent facts of history and external circumstances remain unexhausted, is to cut the Gordian knot, rather than to untie it. That there is something in pedigree is probable, but in the mind of a scientific ethnologist, this something is much nearer to nothing, than to every thing."

It is said that a debating society has been established among the Tutors and Masters of Oxford University, for the purpose of discussing University Reform.

Five interesting Hebrew works, in manuscript, have been lately discovered:

1. "Mantle of Elijah;" a commentary on the Pentateuch, by Rabbi Jacob Elijah, written about the time of Charles II.

2. "The Gleanings of Paradise;" a collection of cabalistic pieces, explanations of difficult passages in the Hebrew SS., moral aphorisms, illustrated by allegories, and a treatise on Hebrew Grammar.

3. Eight MSS. works by the late Rabbi Natta Ellinger, of Hamburg.

4. Three volumes of a work called "Great Understanding;" being a commentary on the obscure passages in the Medrash Rabba, with an explanation of all foreign words, not in the Rabbinical Lexicon, "Aaruch."

5. "A Book of Names," by R. Solomon Ben Aaron, in 1676, being an analysis of the Cabala, with an illustration of the Cabalistic alphabet.

GERMANY.

It is understood that Prof. Schaf's Church History is translating into English under the author's supervision.

A Commentary by Hengstenberg is announced upon the Song of Solomon.

Caspari's expository treatise on Micah the Morasthite has been completed. 8vo. pp. 458.

This work is divided into three chapters. The first treats of the form and signification of the name of the prophet, of his birth place (Moreseth-Gath) and native land (Kingdom of Judah), of the period of his ministry, the date of his book, and the truth and genuineness of its title (both which it defends). The second chapter, which composes the body of the work, contains the exposition of the prophecy in a full continuous paraphrase, with foot-notes discussing all questions of criticism and interpretation, followed by a dissertation on the spirit of the prophet, and his peculiarities of style and language. The third chapter is devoted to the consideration of the relation between the book of Micah and the previous books of the Old

Testament, the contemporary book of Isaiah (Mic. iv. 1—3. Is. ii. 2—4, is original with Micah, not Isaiah), the succeeding books of the Old Testament and those of the New. The author is already known to our readers as an able and believing commentator. The prolixity of this book and its wonderful love for *minutiae* make it often dull. The paraphrase is for the most part clear and good, although there will naturally be a difference of opinion as to some of his results. The critical matter has been thrown into a very unfortunate form for purposes of consultation; and no pains have been taken, whether by an index or by numbers in the margin, to relieve the difficulty, so that it requires not a little labour and patience to find what one may be in quest of.

W. Neumann has in press at Leipsic, if it has not already appeared, a work in 2 vols. 8vo. entitled Jeremiah of Anathoth, his Prophecies and Lamentations expounded according to the Masoretic text.

Neumann is one of the contributors to Rudelbach and Guericke's Zeitschrift, and belongs to that school of theology which it represents.

A. Klöpffer, De origine epistolarum ad Ephesios et Colossenses, a criticis Tubingensibus e gnosi Valentiniana deducta. 8vo. pp. 55.

J. van Gilse, Disputation concerning the most ancient catalogue of the sacred books of the New Testament, commonly called the Fragment of Muratori. 4to. pp. 31.

This is a "gratulations-schrift" by a professor in the Baptist Seminary at Amsterdam on the 25th anniversary of the induction of an older colleague. The most recent investigations of importance on this subject were by Credner in his history of the Canon 1847, and by Wieseler in the Studien und Kritiken of the same year, the former of whom chiefly regarded the explanation, the latter the restoration of the text. Their differing so much as they did in the details of their views led to a renewed examination on the part of the author of this treatise. It contains a brief view of the literature of the Fragment, an attempt at the correction of the text, and remarks upon its probable age (which, like his predecessors, he fixes at about A. D. 170), its original language (Greek), its author, and the books of the New Testament included or omitted.

M. Jochram, Moral Theology, or the doctrine of the Christian life according to the maxims of the Catholic Church. Part I. 8vo. pp. 592.

F. C. Baur, The Epochs of Ecclesiastical Historiography. Tübingen. 8vo. pp. 269. He distinguishes six epochs: 1.

The old Catholic represented by Eusebius and others on through the middle ages. 2. The old Protestant represented by Flacius and the Magdeburg Centuriators. 3. The opposition to the Centuriators, on the Catholic side by Baronius, on the Protestant by Arnold. 4. The gradual transition from the dualistic view of the world to the idea of historical development, Mosheim, Walch and others. 5. The pragmatic method, Planch, Henke &c. 6. The striving after an objective view of history characterizes the most recent church historians, Marheinecke, Neander, Gieseler, Hase and others. The consideration of these is followed by a seventh section containing the results, and hints upon the idea of the Church, the periods of church history, its arrangement, and the relation of general to special church history.

H. W. Thiersch, *History of the ancient Christian Church. Part I.*, containing an account of the Church in the apostolic age, and of the origin of the New Testament writings. 8vo. pp. 372.

The author is known as an antagonist of Baur, and his work is dated one month later than the preceding. The introduction is divided into 3 chapters: 1. Heathenism. 2. The old covenant and Judaism. 3. Christ and the Church. The rest of the volume contains the first book of the projected history, and likewise falls into three parts; 1. the period of the ministry of Peter, 2. of Paul, 3. of John.

A. Tholuck, *The Spirit of the Lutheran Theologians of Wittenberg in the course of the 17th century*, partly from MS. sources. 8vo. pp. 434.

In a notice in Zanke's *Literarisches Centralblatt* this work is said to contain "a rich mine of materials not only for the history of the Lutheran theologians of Wittenberg, but for the history of the numerous controversies within the Lutheran Church at that period."

C. A. Cornelius (Privatdoc. in the university at Breslau). *The share of East Friesland in the Reformation up to the year 1535.* 8vo. pp. 66.

The author claims for this apparently unimportant district of Holland no mean influence upon the course of the Reformation, especially during what he calls its second period, that between the time when it was a contest between the learned, and the time when its cause was espoused by governments. In the appendix are given a letter from the Count of East Friesland to the landgrave Philip dated 1530, and an Anabaptist document in Low Dutch.

H. Heppé, *History of German Protestantism in the years*

1555—1581. Vol. I. conducting the history as far as 1562. 8vo. pp. 665.

Large use has been made of original sources, especially of those furnished by the archives at Cassel.

E. Cunitz, *A Ritual of the Cathari*. 8vo. pp. 88. It is stated in the preface that Dr. Cunitz found the MS. now first published in the library at Lyons. It consisted of 13 pages appended to a New Testament in the Romansh language. The registrar of the Rhone department took it for a Waldensian or Albigenian work. The author and Dr. Gieseler both regard it as a remnant of the formularies and the rituals of the Cathari, belonging to the 13th or 14th century, and in the language of the Troubadours of that time. It consists of three parts, viz. a formulary for confession, for introduction into the first grade of church communion, and for introduction into the number of true Christians. If his supposition is correct, this is the first of the writings of that people ever published. Hitherto they have been judged solely by the testimony of their enemies. A German translation is given with the text, and this is followed by a critical dissertation upon their life and doctrine.

J. Fessler, *Institutiones patrologicæ*. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 1071.

F. Lücke, *Attempt at a complete Introduction to the Revelation of John, and to the Apocalyptic Literature in general*. 2d Lieferung. Part 2. 8vo. pp. 567—1074.

F. W. Hassenkamp, *Hessian Church History from the time of the Reformation*. Vol. I. Nos. 1—5. 8vo. pp. 790.

The corrupt Influence of the Hegelian Philosophy. By the author of "Antibarbarus logicus." 8vo. pp. 71. This was mainly written in justification of the Austrian Ministry of Instruction for having deposed a professor from his office in the university of Prague for holding Hegelian sentiments.

Swedenborg, *Adversaria in libros Veteris Testamenti*. From an autograph MS. now first published. Vol. IV. Part I. pp. 364.

R. J. Wunderbar, *Brief Exposition of the usages of the Israelitish worship*. From the *Shulhan Aruch*. Course I. contains the Ritual for prayers and holidays. 8vo. pp. 43.

Wunderbar, *Biblico-Talmudical medicine, or pragmatic exhibition of the healing art among the ancient Israelites, from Abraham to the conclusion of the Babylonish Talmud*. Part 2. 8vo. pp. 64. Part 3. pp. 68.

What Fassel has done for the legal science of the Talmud, Hirschfeld for the Talmudic mode of expounding the Bible, and Fürst for the Talmudic schools in Asia, Wunderbar here

attempts for its medical science. The introduction treats of 1. the history of Israelitish medicine up to A. D. 500; 2. the weights, measures, instruments and apparatus employed; 3. the literature of Israelitish medicine. Then follows the body of the work treating separately of *Materia Medica*, *Pharmacology*, *Macrobotics*, *Dietetics*, *Pathology* and *Chirurgy*.

J. Fürst, *Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary of the Old Testament*, with an Introduction containing a short history of Hebrew lexicography. Nos. 1 and 2. 8vo. pp. 352.

Fallmerayer, *Memoir upon Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, 4to. pp. 48. From the *Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences*.

Schimper, *Accounts from and about Abyssinia*. 8vo. pp. 15. Vienna. Roy. Acad. of Science.

R. Zimmermann, *Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus as the forerunner of Leibnitz*. 8vo. pp. 25. R. A. of S.

Lepsius, *Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia*. Nos. 25—32. Imp. fol. 80. lith. plates.

A. Weber, *Academical Lectures on the History of Hindoo Literature*, delivered in the winter semester of 1851—2. 8vo. pp. 285. Few men living are better acquainted with this subject than Weber.

Bopp, *Comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Old Slavic, Gothic, and German*. Part VI. 4to. pp. 1157—1511.

Several papers of Pfizmaier on the Aino-language, and the Japanese poetry, have been printed separately at Vienna from the *Transactions of the R. A. of S*.

A third volume 4to. pp. 985, has been published of Hammer-Purgstall's *Literary History of the Arabs*. This volume goes over a period of 100 years, from the year of the Hejira 132 to 232. A paper of his on the Moslem doctrine of Spirits, fol. pp. 42 has been reprinted at Vienna from the R. A. of S.

Poem of Mor Yaquub on the faithful king, Aleksandrus, and on the gate which he made against Ogug and Mogug. A contribution to the history of the traditions respecting Alexander in the East. 8vo. pp. 35.

Ibn Akil's *Commentary on the Alfyya of Ibn Malik for the first time translated from the Arabic*, by F. Dieterici. 8vo. pp. 408.

Annales regum et legatorum Dei. Ex. cod. ms. Arabice ed. et in lat. transtulit J. G. Rosengarten. Vol. III. 4to. pp. 251.

M. Rapp, *Outline of the Grammar of the Indo-European family of languages*. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 256.

Epistolae Novi Testamenti Coptice: ed. P. Boetticher. 8vo. pp. 281.

J. Spitzer, *Mythology of the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Germans, and northern nations*. Part II. 8vo. pp. 139.

C. Bötticher, *The Tectonics of the Hellenes*. Vol. II. Part 2d. 24 copper plates.

E. von Lasaulx, *History and Philosophy of Marriage among the Greeks*. 4to. pp. 108. R. Bav. Ac. of S.

E. Zeller, *Philosophy of the Greeks*. Part III. second Half. 8vo. pp. 453—983.

Wachsmuth's *Universal History of Culture* has been completed by the publication of Vol. III. 8vo. pp. 558. This volume contains the history of modern culture. It is divided into four books. 1. Formation of the Christian-European Culture. 2. Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Judicial Constitution. 3. Natural Science, Material Interests, War. 4. Mental and Moral Culture. This last book is subdivided, thus: (1.) Education, Learning, Scientific Culture generally. (2.) Spoken Language, Writing, Printing, Popular Literature. (3.) Philology, Antiquities, Palæography. (4.) History. (5.) Philosophy. (6.) Doctrines of Religion, Piety, Morality. (7.) Poetry, elegant Prose. (8.) Painting, Statuary, Architecture. (9.) Music, Dancing, the Drama.

H. Ewald's *Annual of Biblical Science for 1851—2* has appeared. 8vo. pp. 230. This is the fourth of the series.

W. Grimm, *The History of Rhyme*. 4to. pp. 193. R. A. of S. A very elaborate discussion of the origin and history of the various kinds of rhyme used in poetic composition.

A. A. E. Schleiermacher, *Bibliographical System of the entire body of Science, with an Introduction upon the arranging of libraries, engravings, music, scientific and business papers*. 2 parts. 8vo. pp. 1661.

Wigand's *Conversations-Lexicon*, Vol. XIV. 8vo. pp. 764. *Technik—Wahrheit*.

E. Kluge, *Position and Significance of the Apocrypha*. 8vo. pp. 79. This received the second of the prizes offered in the Grand Duchy of Baden, for the best treatises against the reception of the Apocrypha in the editions of the Bible. It is in dialogue form, and discusses the subject in a popular way. That of Keerl (see last No., p. 712) took the first prize, and is a scientific investigation of the claims of the Apocrypha.

J. E. Cellérier, *Manuel d'herméneutique biblique*. 8vo. pp. 383. Geneva.

Ernest Fr. Leopold, (Lic. Theol. & Ph. Dr.), died March 7, 1852, at Bautzen, in Saxony, where he was connected with the

gymnasium. He was born at Chemnitz, Dec. 3, 1804. His small Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon is widely and favourably known. Besides some other publications, he edited the works of Tertullian in Gersdorf's *Bibliotheca Patrum eccles. Lat.*

Eugene Burnouf, Professor of the Sanscrit language and literature, in the College of France, and one of the most distinguished Orientalists of the present day, died at Paris, May 28, 1852. He was born in the same city, April 12, 1801. His principal writings are, *An Essay on the Pali, or Sacred Language, &c.*, 1826; *French India, the divinities, temples, customs, &c., of the Hindoos who inhabit the French possessions in India, 1827-'35*; *Vendidad Sade, one of the books of Zoroaster, published with a commentary, translation, &c.*, 1829-'32; *Commentary on the Yacna, one of the religious books of the Parsees, 2 vols.*, 1833-'39; *Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions found near Hamadan, 1836*; *The Bhâgavata Purâna, or a poetic history of Krishna, 2 vols.*, 1840-'44; *Introduction to the History of Buddhism, 2 vols.*, 1844-'52, &c., &c.

Rudelbach & Guericke's *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, for the year 1852.

Number First.—Flörke on the Doctrine of the Church and its Office; Münchmeyer—The Office of the N. T.; Ströbel—The Threatening danger of a Protestant Papacy, 2d article; Mehlhorn—Transactions of the Lutheran Conference held at Leipsic, on the 27th and 28th August, 1851; Besser—On Church Discipline; Notices of Recent Literature.

Number Second.—Rudelbach—*Staatskirchentum und Religions-freiheit*, 7th section; Drechsler—The Servant of Jehovah, with an addition by Delitzsch; Neumann—What a Protestant Saw and Did at Rome, article 1st; Ströbel—Letter respecting the Leipsic Lutheran Conference; Recent Literature.

Number Third.—Rudelbach—*Staatskirchentum und Religions-freiheit*, (conclusion); Guericke—Conciliatory or Burning Church Questions of the Time, art. 1; Caspari—On the Exposition of Micah; Diehl—The Present so-called Spiritual Estate of the Clergy; Recent Literature.

Number Fourth.—Besser—Studies in John, (John xii. 44-50); Gademann—John the Baptist; Karrer—History of the Lutheran Church in the Principality of Oettingen, section 1; Ströbel—The Evangel. *Kirchenzeitung* for 1852. Recent Literature.

Ullmann and Umbreit's *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for 1852:

Number First.—Ullman, The Times considered. Schenkel, The Task of Biblical Theology. Tièle, Remarks on Kurtz's

Unity of Genesis. Pfeiffer, Time of the Composition of the Epistle of James. Hamberger, The Present Indifference to every Philosophical tendency. Reviews: Perthes, Life of Frederick Perthes, rev. by Umbreit. Thibaut on purity of Music, rev. by Umbreit. Thenius, Books of Kings, rev. by Rüetschi. Valuable Remains of the Theologian Löser. Ecclesiastical: Schenkel, Import of the Ministerial Calling. West, On the Lawfulness and Import of the Christian oath.

Number Second.—Bleek on the age of Zechariah, chap. ix-xiv. Luthardt, *ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ* and *πίστις*. Umbreit, Change of the name Saul to Paul. Ullman, A Word from France. Reviews: Martensen, Christian Dogmatics, rev. by Schieberlein. Vinet, *Théologie pastorale ou théorie du ministère évangélique*, rev. by Kienlen. Ecclesiastical, Kling, der vierte evangel. Kirchentag. Miscellanies.

Number Third.—Ullmann, The Essence of Christianity and Mysticism. Lange, A Word on the contemplation of Nature from the Christological point of view. Rinck, On the origin of evil, and the possibility of avoiding the fall. Von Gumpach, The Taxing. Reviews: König and Gelzer, Dr. Martin Luther, the German Reformer, rev. by Umbreit. Lechler, The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic age, rev. by Auberlen. Poggi, J. Joubert's Thoughts, Essays and Maxims, rev. by Hamberger. Ecclesiastical: Kling, der vierte evangel. Kirchentag, part 2.

Number Fourth.—Dörtenbach, The method of the History of Doctrine. Staib, The Act of Creation, and the Image of God. Ullmann, What is reformatory and speculative in the mode of thinking of the Author of "Deutsche Theologie." Köster, How is the Revelation of God in Scripture related to the free mental action of the Sacred Writers? Reviews: Delitzsch, The Song of Solomon, rev. by Umbreit. Ritschl, Origin of the old Catholic church, rev. by Redepenning. Jacobi, Life of Nature and Life of Spirit, rev. by Wächter. Ecclesiastical: Süsskina, Examination of the Claim recently raised of Auricular Confession before the Lord's Supper.

Number First for the year 1853.—Schwarz, Melancthon and his Pupils as Moralists. Creuzer, Josephus and his Greek and Hellenist leaders. Vierordt, Folding of the hands in prayer. Heidenheim, On the Synagoga magna. Reviews: Hofmann, Scripture-proof, rev. by Auberlen. Ewald, Antiquities of the people Israel, rev. by Mezger. Ecclesiastical: Ullmann, Considerations on the occasion of a recent occurrence in the Catholic church. Miscellany: Umbreit, Recollections of J. G. Eichhorn.

We have thought that the following statistics of the German

Universities and Churches would be interesting to our readers, as presenting in brief and clear view, the relative condition of learning and religion in Germany at the present moment.

University.	Founded.	Religion.	Ord. Prof.	Extr. Prof.	Priv. Doc.	Tutors.
Berlin,	1810	Prot.	57	44	55	10
Bonn,	1818	Mixed	48	15	18	5
Breslau,	1702	Mixed	39	11	20	12
Erlangen,	1743	Prot.	24	13	4	—
Freiburg,	1454	Cath.	26	2	10	1
Giessen,	1607	Mixed	34	17	8	2
Göttingen,	1734	Prot.	48	16	23	10
Grätz,	1586	Cath.	33	4	5	5
renewed 1827	1827					
Greifswald,	1456	Prot.	24	8	3	4
Halle,	1694	Prot.	36	13	23	6
Heidelberg,	1386	Prot.	32	12	23	15
Innsbruck,	1672	Cath.	18	—	2	4
ren. 1792 and 1826	1826					
Jena,	1548	Prot.	34	24	9	11
Kiel,	1665	Prot.	21	10	11	6
Königsberg,	1544	Prot.	29	8	19	—
Leipsic,	1409	Prot.	44	27	26	3
Marburg,	1527	Prot.	28	13	12	7
Munich,	1826	Cath.	59	18	18	2
Olmütz, 1581 ren.	1827	Cath.	22	2	—	—
Prague,	1348	Cath.	40	15	21	—
Rostock,	1419	Prot.	22	4	9	2
ren. 1789	1789					
Tubingen,	1477	Mixed	29	20	16	6
Vienna, 1365, ren.	1756	Cath.	57	13	—	—
Würzburg,	1403	Cath.	32	5	5	9
ren. 1582	1582					

The numbers of students as far as given, omitting what may be found in the last number of the Repertory, p. 716, is as follows, viz:

University.	Whole No.	Theology.	Law.	Medicine.	Philosophy.
Berlin,	2171	169	620	275	345
Bonn,	1012	267	350	111	256
Giessen,	411	56	127	82	37
Göttingen,	677	110	231	185	151
Halle,	670	361	156	71	50
Königsberg,	346	39	165	72	70
Tubingen,	774	321	181	133	103

Of the students of Theology given above, 196 at Bonn, and

157 at Tübingen are Catholics; the rest are Protestants. The statistics given of Königsberg, are for the winter semester of 1851-2; those of the other Universities for the summer semester of 1852.

The Evangelical church has in

Baden, 330 pastoral charges.

Brunswick, 253 ministers.

Hanover, 1164 pastors.

Electorate of Hesse, 1244 congregations with 460 pastors.

Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 296 congregations with 327 pastors
and 470 churches.

Austria, 150 congregations with 165 ministers.

Oldenburg, 117 ministers.

Prussia, 5820 preachers and 6712 churches.

Saxony, 1190 ministers.

Wurtemberg, 947 ministers and 1165 churches.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

APRIL, 1853.

No. II.

ARTICLE I.—*Œuvres divers de Fénelon*.—Paris: Chez Le-
févre, 1844.

WE are no friends to Popery; to its doctrines, institutions, and ceremonies; and hesitate not to regard it as the great scheme of the evil one for frustrating the leading objects of Revelation. We repel with indignation her claims to infallibility; we abhor her despotism and tyranny; we regard as mere Paganized Christianity many of her rites and observances; we esteem, as unscriptural and irrational, much of her theology as consecrated by the Council of Trent. We have embraced all proper opportunities to oppose its errors and corruptions, its false doctrines and evil practices; and shall continue to do it as long as we have power to "contend for the faith once delivered to the saints."

But while we thus bear our decided testimony against the Church of Rome, does it imply an excision of *all* the members of its communion? Should there not be a distinction between the dogmas of a church viewed in its corporate authority, and the character of its members considered in their private capacity? Adopting the test which our Saviour gives, "by their fruits ye shall know them," we are bound to admit that many in that community have "brought forth the fruits of the Spirit,"

and exhibited the best attributes of Christians; that Christianity, even under Papal corruption, has put forth a divine and celestial power that has enlightened and purified; that in that church there have been men who have adorned the sanctuary of God, and been shining lights in the days of darkness; that from its bosom have gone forth missionaries to distant parts of the earth, whose sacrifices and martyrdom have resembled those of the Apostolic age; that books have been written by its members, and have come down to us, the study of which refreshes and strengthens our piety. Some thus distinguished, remained in the Papal Church, who failed not deeply to lament its errors; and others gave such a construction as satisfied their minds, to doctrines which we would interpret as unscriptural and dangerous. It is not for us to say how far individuals thus united to Christ, might be unsuspectingly fettered in their adherence to the communion in which they were educated, by the force of early prepossessions; by respect to ecclesiastical authority; by their views of Christian unity; and by their sense of the dangers of open separation. It is not for us to say how the Holy Spirit, by such instances of piety, might indicate the inefficacy of all human modifications of the gospel, and teach us that at times he chooses to be independent of the best or the worst instruments.

While, therefore, we firmly oppose the abominations of the Romish Church, and exclaim, "O! my soul, come not thou into its secret; unto its assembly, mine honour, be not thou united," let us avoid that unmeasured and undistinguished sentence of reprobation which proscribes *all* its members. While we behold men there making eminent progress in the most sacred of all human pursuits; while we listen to the devout aspirations of a Kempis, prostrate at the foot of the Saviour's cross; while we imbibe the solemn and saintly morality of Nicole, breathing the most heavenly lessons of purity, charity, self-denial, and devotion; while we hear the voice of Pascal, now uttering with authority, the existence and attributes of God, and then in measures awful and piercing as the lamentations of a prophet, mourning over the corruption and miseries of man, we should tremble to pronounce an indiscriminate sentence against all the members even of a corrupt community, lest haply we be found

to "curse whom God hath not cursed, and to defy whom the Lord hath not defied."

To these may be added the name of FENELON; a man who to the highest order of talents, and an inimitable grace of expression in his writings, added much spiritual and ardent piety; a man in whom the gospel liberally diffused its graces, and displayed its triumphs; a man to whom Christianity would have been much indebted, if any mortal homage could have increased her native dignity and loveliness.

We shall first briefly present the events of his life, and then consider him in the different relations which he sustained.

Francis de Salignac de Lamoignon-Fenelon was born of an ancient and illustrious family, at Périgord, in France, on the 6th of August, 1651—was called to preach the gospel at an early age, and as Abbé, spent twelve years in presiding over the institution of "New-Catholics." In 1682, he was employed in the distant province of Poitou, as missionary; in 1689, appointed as preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy—then was engaged in a warm controversy on the subject of Quietism; and was removed by death on the 6th of January, 1715.

In considering his *education*, we learn that Marquis de Fenelon, his uncle, a man of accomplished mind and acknowledged piety, bore all its expenses, having virtually adopted his nephew, in the place of an only son, who was killed at the siege of Candia. Having remained under the paternal roof until the age of twelve, he entered the University of Cahors, at that time in a flourishing state, affording to its pupils the highest advantages. Nothing is especially related of his proficiency, except a profound knowledge in the Latin and Greek languages, far beyond the ordinary attainments of youth at that age. It is to his enthusiasm for classical literature, and his assiduous study of the best models of Athens and Rome, that he was indebted for that perfection of style which he reached; that simplicity and grace, that perspicuity and elegance, that indescribable charm, which, by universal assent, pervade his writings. It is related, that in the study of Homer, to which he was devoted, he preferred the *Odyssey* to the *Iliad*. While he acknowledged that there might be higher sublimity in the latter, in the description of battles, gods, and heroes, in the

tumult and terror which perpetually reign; yet he regarded the former as exhibiting the finest lessons of morality, the most pleasing variety of events, the most natural pictures of domestic life, the truest representations of the manners and customs of antiquity: while he admired the moral of the *Iliad*, which displayed the dire effects of discord among rulers, and the best means of rectifying the conduct of princes, he found in the *Odyssey* the patience, prudence, wisdom, temperance, and fortitude of the hero, affording a model, not confined to courts and palaces, but extending its influence to common life and daily practice; he saw (what was so congenial with his disposition) universal benevolence inculcated with elegance and force. "Since it is delightful," he says, "to see in one of Titian's landscapes, the goat climbing up a hanging rock, or to behold in one of Tenier's pieces, a rural feast of rustic dances, it is no wonder that we are pleased with such natural descriptions as we find in the *Odyssey*. This simplicity of manners seems to recall the golden age." This sentiment is connected with that work which he afterwards composed, and on which his reputation so much rests.

After remaining at the University until he had finished his course of literature and philosophy, he was sent to Paris, and entered the college of Plessis. There he continued his studies of philosophy; and as his early piety had led him to choose the sacred ministry as his profession, there he commenced the study of theology; there made rapid progress in scholarship and religion; and there gave indications of that celebrity which he ultimately attained. At an early age, he was admitted to orders, and at the altar, gave a solemn pledge of his determination to devote his whole life to the service of that religion which he professed. On this occasion he was animated with all the ardour of devout sincerity; he went through the ceremony like a man in earnest; and implored God with tears that he might be so far honoured as to become, if necessary, a martyr for the sake of religion.

In considering Fenelon as a *preacher*, it may not be improper to inquire, *What was the state of religion at that time in France?* It was not in a stagnant state, treated with indifference and apathy; it was so examined and agitated that it every

where excited attention. The discussions, able and animated, between the Jansenists and the Jesuits; the controversy between the Romanists and the Protestants, conducted by men of the ablest talents and the greatest learning—the works on this subject which were continually issuing from the press—the institutions for instruction which were rapidly multiplied, and in which youth were educated in the peculiar tenets of their founders—the interest felt in the work of foreign missions, extending to the most remote parts of the world—the unwearied labours of bishops and other ecclesiastics, “in season and out of season”—all kept the subject of religion continually before the public mind—carried it to the army, to the court, to schools and seminaries, to poets, and philosophers, and men of science. A Condé could pray in the field of battle; a Turanne ascribe all the victory to God; a Racine find his reputation as the author of *Athalie* and *Esther*, kindled at the altar of God, and the odour of his fancy and delight arising from the sacred incense. Besides, the Roman Catholic Church, at that period, was in a very different state from what it now is. Its clergy had elevated thoughts, and an evident desire to rid it of its gross superstitions; they took pains to acquire solid and extensive knowledge; they opposed some of its absurdities; omitted many of its ridiculous ceremonies; and endeavoured to render Catholicism more rational and intelligent, more scriptural and pious. We doubt not that France, at that period, had many true followers of the Saviour; some in elevated situations, whose virtues shone like the reflection of the sun from the lofty mountain—and more of God’s “hidden ones,” hidden by the obscurity of their condition, the restriction of their circumstances, and the mass of their superstitions. We doubt not that at that time, multitudes whom God had chosen to wear his image, to maintain his cause, and to be employed in his service, went up from that country, day by day, to join “the great multitude that no man can number.”

Fenelon was no sooner in the priesthood than he manifested the most benevolent zeal for the cause of his Master, willing to “spend and be spent” in his service. As some of his companions in study had gone as missionaries to Canada, at that time a French province, he was anxious to follow them, willing

to endure hardships and difficulties in the dreary and uncultivated wilds of America, and to spend his life in the instruction of ignorant savages in the way of life. It was thought that the rigour of the climate would be unfavourable to his delicate constitution, and he was persuaded to abandon his design. He next directed his attention to a mission established in the Levant, and desired to go to Greece, the country endeared to him by such classical recollections; and to Palestine, connected with so many interesting events of sacred history. The letter which he wrote on that occasion to a friend in Paris, shows his youthful enthusiasm, his brilliant imagination, his capacity to present, in lively and animated colours, the impression that was made, and the hope which was cherished.

“My Dear Sir:

“Several trivial events have hitherto prevented my return to Paris; but I shall at length set out, and instead of delaying, shall almost fly to the city. But, compared with this journey, I meditate one far greater and more important. The whole of Greece opens before me, and the Sultan flies in terror—the Peloponnesus is again breathing in liberty, and the Church of Corinth shall once more flourish—the voice of the Apostle shall again be heard there, proclaiming the truth. I seem to be transported among those enchanting places, and those inestimable ruins, where, while I collect the most curious relics of antiquity, I imbibe also its spirit. I seek for the Areopagus, where St. Paul proclaimed to the sages of the world the ‘unknown God.’ I kneel down, O! happy Patmos, upon thy earth, and kiss the steps of the ‘beloved disciple;’ and shall almost believe that the heavens are opened to my sight. After a night of such long darkness, lo! the dayspring dawns in Asia! I behold the land which was sanctified by the footsteps of the Redeemer, and crimsoned with his sacred blood; I see it delivered from its profaneness, and clothed anew in glory. The children of Abraham are assembling together from the four quarters of the earth, over which they have been scattered, to acknowledge the Messiah whom they had pierced; and to show forth his resurrection even to the end of time.”

But in this design, also, he was disappointed; Providence

had a work for him to do in his native land; and there he was detained. For twelve years he presided over the institution of the "New Catholics," and occupied a situation which until then had been confided to persons only of long and much experience. But at the early age of twenty-seven, he was found to combine all those qualities which fitted him for the employment; distinguished talents and education, amiable manners, unusual prudence and discretion, and above all, much love to God and great benevolence to man. Here, in comparative obscurity, he cultivated those qualities which fitted him for a higher sphere and greater usefulness; he acquired that constancy of meditation which continued all his life; gained that habit of reflecting and judging so necessary to restrain an imagination naturally errant and excursive; and had full time to become a philosopher, long before he knew that he was born a poet.

About this time he became intimately acquainted with Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, confessedly the head of the Gallican Church; a man who had acquired the most splendid reputation by his intellectual powers, his varied erudition, his sublime eloquence, and his skill in reasoning. He took the deepest interest in the young Abbé, directed him in his studies, often invited him to his residence at Meaux, and made him one of the small number of his select acquaintance that met at his house for the purpose of discoursing on the sacred volume. Each individual contributed the result of his observations and inquiries, and Bossuet summed up the whole at the close.

Having referred to the labours of Fenelon, at the institution of the "New Catholics," in imparting religious instruction, both in public and private, it is the proper place to consider *the character of his preaching*. One of his sermons, composed with care, and designed for a great occasion—the consecration of Joseph Clement, of Bavaria, as Bishop of Liege, Ratisbon, and Hildesheim, was published in 1707. It is truly an eloquent production—the first part written with the elevation and energy of Bossuet, and the second with all the tenderness and sensibility of Massillon. But this was not in general, the character of his preaching; he had not the reputation of an *orator*, in the sense ordinarily attached to the expression; he

never aspired after such distinction. His views on the subject of preaching may be learned from his "Dialogues on Sacred Eloquence;" an excellent work, founded on nature and good sense, and well calculated to guard youth against a vitiated taste; to lead them to avoid those gaudy ornaments which serve only to amuse; and to cultivate those higher and solid beauties which make their way to the mind, and at once captivate the heart. The maxims there contained he exemplified by his own practice. A volume has been published containing the sermons which he wrote when he entered upon the ministry, and which, before delivery, he committed to memory; but soon afterwards he ceased writing, and, as we learn from his "Dialogues," recommended it to others. He had such astonishing facility in collecting and expressing his thoughts, that he needed not a means which others find not only useful, but indispensable. These sermons may be read with advantage. There is in them a sublimity of sentiment, a clearness of thought, a closeness of appeal, a pathos of address, and a copiousness of Scriptural language, which will repay an attentive reader, and which, when spoken, must have won the hearts of the hearers.

An event occurred in 1686, which had the effect of removing Fenelon from his retired situation, and in some degree, changing his destiny. In that year, Louis XIV. was prevailed upon to revoke the edict of Nantz—an edict that was issued by Henry IV. for the purpose of toleration, and which had long afforded a degree of protection to the French Protestants. The revocation of this edict was an intolerant and wicked act; it was, too, most impolitic, and disastrous to the kingdom. By that act, France deprived herself of a million of her most industrious subjects; of a people whose conscientious piety arrested the growing corruption of the times; of a number of pastors whose piety, zeal, and learning, were a continued stimulus to the national clergy. But when the Protestants were no longer tolerated, the corruptions of the clergy increased, the impiety of the people spread, the abuses of the Church augmented, until infidelity and atheism prevailed, and brought ruin upon the nation. It is said that Louis, on his death-bed, lamented to his grandson that he had engaged so

much in war, and that many of his national victories had tended to the injury of his kingdom. If he could then have foreseen the remote and immediate effects which resulted from the decree which suppressed his Protestant subjects, which tended at last to the subversion of the government; and the ruin of the nation, with how much keener regret would he have lamented that cruel and unrighteous act!

After the edict of Nantz was revoked, severe measures were employed to bring the Protestants to subjection, and to lead them to change their religion; fetters were prepared—the sword was drawn—blood was shed—but all was in vain. The king, bent upon establishing uniformity through his dominions, wished to add to the arguments of the sword the milder measure of persuasion, and to send among them religious teachers, distinguished for their intelligence, mildness, prudence, and piety. In these circumstances, he fixed his eye on the Abbé Fenelon, as one well calculated for the work, and sent him a commission, designating the field and nature of his labours. We cannot justify Fenelon in the course which he took, the spirit which he manifested, the opinion which he expressed of the persecuted Huguenots; (he knew them only by their controversial writings)—yet we admire the means which he suggested, as indicating the benevolence of his nature and the soundness of his judgment. He consented to undertake the embassy upon one condition—that the armed force should be removed from the place where he was to labour, and military coercion entirely cease. When he arrived at the province of Poitou, one of the first letters which he wrote expressed the desire to have sent to him the New Testament, in large numbers, and in a clear type, to be diffused among the people, as one of the best means of convincing and enlightening them. The request was no doubt complied with, and this book, simply explained and solemnly enforced, was the means employed to bring the “heretics” to apostolic truth. Who would object to such a mode of converting Protestants? Who would not rejoice to see such agency in every nation under heaven? How different is the Popery of the present day, which takes away the Scriptures from the people, and imprisons men and women for reading them!

For three years Fenelon was thus employed. We learn not what effect was produced in advancing Romanism; but we have reason to think that something was effected in promoting the cause of Christ; such labours, by such a man, could not have been in vain. To himself, these missionary toils and struggles were no doubt useful—the humble theatre of his zeal and self-denial became the instructive school of his genius and usefulness.

Soon after his return to Paris, he published his *Traité de l'éducation des filles*—his treatise on the education of daughters—a work which he never intended to print, (it was a simple homage of friendship to a female relative) but which his friends urged him to make public. It gained him much reputation at the time, was long a manual of wives and mothers, and to this day is admired and quoted. Though a small treatise, it embodies many valuable and useful thoughts on the education of youth of both sexes, from the earliest childhood to greater maturity, and though originally written for a particular family, is well fitted for all families, all ages, and all places. Those who have since written on the subject, have borrowed so much from this little work, that it has ceased to be original.*

This work had an influence upon an important appointment which he received not long after it was published. An event, to him entirely unexpected, suddenly brought him to the Court, changed his destiny, and elevated him to a station on which seemed dependent the hopes and happiness of his country. Louis XIV. perceiving that the time had arrived when his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, required the care of a governor, made choice of the Duke of Beauvilliers. A better selection could not have been made. The Duke was a man who, under great simplicity of manner, concealed the rarest virtues—an enemy to pomp, hostile to ambition, not unduly attached to riches, sedate, disinterested, liberal and courteous. Peculiarly considerate and regular in every thing which he undertook, he was well qualified to govern men. As a minister of state, all knew that the basis of his politics was the love of justice; this they

* It was in much repute in the time of Addison, and is referred to in the Spectator, in an article from the pen of Steele.

had observed as the reigning virtue of all his conduct; to this they had seen him sacrificing his inclinations and feelings, his personal friends, even the interests of his own family. These qualities received a lustre and perfection from an eminent piety, which caused him to look to God, as the end to which all things were to be directed. No sooner did he receive the appointment as governor of the young prince, than he nominated Fenelon as his preceptor—a nomination that was confirmed by the king, commended by Bossuet, applauded by France. The royal grandsire said, “we give to you a son,” and the whole nation added, “return to us a father.”

Fenelon deeply felt the responsible office to which he was called; from the letters which he wrote on the occasion, we learn how fully sensible he was of the fearful undertaking; of his need of a judgment for distinguishing, and an authority for controlling, which few possess; of a patience and a perseverance which he was never before called to exercise. His pupil, in his moral qualities, was far from being promising. He was proud and capricious, tyrannical to his inferiors, and disobedient to all who would control him; furiously impatient and incapable of enduring the least opposition; at times so intemperate in his rage, that it was feared he might expire under the paroxysm of passion. With such unhappy traits of disposition were united astonishing powers of intellect, and such extent of knowledge as had never before been seen in one of his age. Such was the youth that was the heir-apparent to the crown, and expected to reign over a great and enlightened people; such was the youth committed to Fenelon, to be trained, corrected, and reformed. Any other preceptor would have been discouraged, but he despaired not. He brought to the undertaking, great intellectual powers, a finished education, unusual wisdom and prudence, and above all, the graces of a decided Christian. It would be interesting, had we time, to enter into details; to show what care, attention, and patience, were employed; what skill was exerted; what varied and delicate means were used in the education of this child—this prince—this heir of the throne of France. The more we examine his method of forming the mind and heart, the more are we convinced that it is a model of a perfect education.

It is generally known how the child was treated, when he broke forth into intemperate rage. All observed a profound silence—his governor, his preceptor, the officers and domestics; they asked no question—they gave him no answer—they carefully removed every thing by which he might injure himself or others—they looked upon him with tender pity, as upon one whose reason was alienated—and thus left him alone to his own reflections, regrets, and remorse. In these circumstances, he would return to himself, and see and feel his folly and his crime. By the use of all these means happily combined; by the continual exercise of the authority of the tutor, mingled with all the tenderness of a father, Fenelon succeeded in gradually subduing his pupil, and calming his impetuous passions.

One means he employed with great success. Knowing the liveliness of children's imagination, and the peculiar vivacity of that of his pupil, he laid hold of it as the instrument of affecting the heart; assured that the images there imprinted would be far more effective than the clearest or most forcible reasoning. Those interesting *FABLES*, still in existence, he composed for this purpose; written with a natural elegance that is agreeable to the ear and taste of a child, and with a moral not vague nor indeterminate, but so particular, that the youngest reader can make the application. Who can read the "Young Prince and Somnus," "Bacchus and the Satyr," "The Nightingale and the Linnet," "The Bees and the Silkworms," "The Medal," "The Fantásque," and others, without perceiving some folly which the prince had committed, or some virtue which he particularly needed; without recognizing the mirror in which he looked and saw his deformity, and from which he turned away with aversion and disgust. It was by such means—by conversing familiarly with him—by appealing to his honour—by engaging at times in his innocent sports, and converting his amusements into study—by seizing the favourable moment to make an impression on a mind that could easily understand, and a heart that could sensibly feel, that he obtained over his pupil a complete ascendancy, and implanted within him the principles of virtue.

In instructing his mind, a mind of uncommon clearness and strength, he was equally judicious and persevering. Here he

had everything to encourage him; for his pupil had as much avidity to possess knowledge, as a capacity to receive it; he had an eager curiosity to know everything, and a desire to be profound in everything that he learned. He instructed him thoroughly in the Greek and Latin classics, explained the authors which they read together, showed, when there were difficulties, how they could be overcome, drew his attention to the beauties continually occurring, the delicacy of the expression, the vivacity of the narrative, the force of the imagery. As the mind of the scholar expanded, and his heart aspired after greater knowledge, he opened to his view the eloquence of Cicero, the power of Demosthenes, the grace and tenderness of Virgil, the expressive delicacy of Horace, the rapid excursions of Pindar; and he was delighted to see his youthful disciple improving in the delicacy and correctness of his taste, and able in a little time to appreciate these inimitable charms of antiquity. He himself tells us. In his letter to the French Academy, he says:—"I have seen a prince at the age of eight years, overcome with grief at the view of the young Joash, and impatient because the high priest concealed from him his name and his birth.* I have seen him tenderly moved and melted into tears, by hearing these pathetic lines of Virgil:—

‘Ah! miseram Eurydicen anima fugiente vocabat.
Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripæ.’”

Another means which he employed with his pupil, was writing letters to him in Latin, and receiving answers in the same language—several of them have been preserved.†—Under such

* Referring to Racine's *Athalie*.

† We insert one of these letters, from the pen of Fenelon, on the death of La Fontaine, an author whose Fables he and his young friend often read together; and who, in the latter part of his life, received a pension from the Duke.

“Heu! fuit vir ille facetus, Æsopus alter, nugarum laude Phædro superior, per quem brutæ animantes, vocales factæ, humanum genus edocuerunt sapientiam. Heu! FONTANUS interiit. Proh dolor! interiire simul joci dicaces, lascivi risus, gratiæ decentes, doctæ camænæ. Lugete, o quibus cordi est ingenuus lepos, natura nuda et simplex, incompta et sine fūco elegantia. Illi, illi uni per omnes doctos licuit esse negligentem. Politiori stilo quantum præstitit aurea negligentia! Tam caro capiti quantum debetur desiderium! Lugete, musarum alumni; vivunt tamen, æternumque vivent carmini jocoso commissæ veneres, dulces nugæ, sales Attici, suadela blanda atque parabilis; neque FONTANUM recentioribus juxta tem-

instruction, the young prince made astonishing progress; such as is seldom seen in any country, or in any age.

As he advanced in life, and was instructed in history and philosophy, Fenelon prepared other works for him. Among these, was *DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD*—written with the ease and grace that characterize his other works—in which are introduced all the distinguished characters of ancient and modern times, who, by their rank and actions, have influenced the destiny of nations, or by their talents and learning, have left a name celebrated and distinguished. The principal object of the writer is to show that we should not judge of the characters of men from that kind of eclat which they received on earth; to dissipate that illusion so common among youth, which leads them inordinately to admire those who have been favoured with success; whose names have resounded from age to age, and are indelibly inscribed on the records of fame. The work shows the most accurate knowledge of history, politics, literature and philosophy; possesses that delicate perception, and those shades of colour, which mark the peculiar character of every speaker; and has that variety of diction which is suited to the several ages and personages—sometimes, the seriousness of Plato, and sometimes the poignant humour of Lucian. When the author draws back the curtain, and admits us to a familiar interview with the distinguished men of other times, we overhear the conversation, conducted in the recesses of privacy, with an entire freedom of heart and speech; we become intimately acquainted, and intensely interested; and before we are aware, the illusion is so great that all is life and reality. We love to hear Plato and Aristotle, Socrates and Timon, Herodotus and Lucian, Cæsar and Alexander, Horace and Virgil, thus conversing—we especially love, as exhibiting the nature of true eloquence, the comparison between Cicero and Demosthenes. The author represents the former as deeply concerned for the safety of the republic, but never forgetting that he is

porum scriem, sed antiquis, ob amœnitates ingenii adscribimus. Tu verò, lector, si fidem deneges, codicem aperi. Quid sentis?—Mores hominum atque ingenia fabulis, Terentius ad vivum depingit; Maronis molle et facetum spirat hoc in opusculo. Heu! quandonam mercuriales viri quadrupedum facundiam æquiparabunt."

an orator; the latter so transported as to have nothing in view but his country—the former seeking and attaining beauties of the highest order; the latter, naturally possessing them, without desire or search—the former using speech for ornament; the latter employing it for the mere purpose of covering his thoughts. He represents the auditors as differently affected. Those who listen to Cicero are charmed and delighted by the words which he utters—those who hear Demosthenes are affected only by the things that are to be done. The former continually interrupt their speaker by loud applauses—the latter, under the speaking of their orator, are sad and silent. When Cicero concludes, the Roman Senate and people exclaim, “What an orator!” When Demosthenes finishes, the Athenians cry out, “Come, let us march against Philip!”

As the young prince advanced to manhood, other works were prepared for his benefit—among them, though not published till several years afterwards, was *TELEMACHUS*. It is somewhat remarkable, that many of those works which have attained the highest reputation, were composed in the abodes of royalty. Plato wrote his *Dialogues* in the palace of Syracuse—Aristotle, his *Treatise on Morals*, in the tent of Alexander—More, his *Utopia*, in one of the towers of royal residence, under the eyes of Henry—and Fenelon, his *Telemaque*, in the court of Louis. It is not necessary to dwell long upon a book so well known, and marked by so singular a destiny; which was composed only for the instruction of an heir to the throne, but which has long been the charm of every condition and period of life; which is one of the first books put into the hands of youth, and which is re-read and enjoyed in the season of age. It has justly been regarded as an epic poem; and though not written in verse, the author gives to prose the colour, the melody, the accent, the very soul of poetry.

Written for the instruction of one who was expecting a throne, the several parts of the story are appropriate to his character, and have regard to his duties; the best political and moral maxims are placed before his eyes, animated with life, and heightened by action. The author shows that the glory of a prince is to govern men in such a manner as to make them good and happy; that his authority is never so firmly estab-

lished as in the love of his people; that the true riches and prosperity of a state consist in taking away what ministers to general luxury, and in being content with innocent and simple pleasures.

The author has made a beautiful use of antiquity, and from that treasure, and the source of his own imagination, brings descriptions truly rich and touching—sometimes, the sublime grandeur of great and astonishing events, but more frequently, an inimitable sweetness and tenderness, in calmer and more quiet scenes. We can never be fatigued in reading his description of Elysium, that abode of happiness, innocence, and peace, where the immortals dwell. There is employed the same mythology that was used by Homer and Virgil, but refined by the knowledge of Divine Revelation, and adorned by a certain tincture of Christianity that runs easily through the whole relation. The description of that pure and gentle light which overflows these happy regions, and clothes the spirits of the virtuous, is exquisitely beautiful:

“The rays of the sun are darkness in comparison with this light, which rather deserves the name of glory than that of light. It pierces the thickest bodies in the same manner as the sunbeams pass through the crystal. It strengthens the sight, instead of dazzling it; and nourishes, in the most inward recesses of the mind, a perpetual serenity that is not to be expressed. It enters and incorporates with the very substance of the soul; the spirits of the blessed feel it in all their senses, and in all their perceptions. It produces a certain degree of peace and joy that arises in them, for ever running through all the faculties, and refreshing all the desires of the soul. External pleasures and delights, with all their charms and allurements, are regarded with the utmost indifference and neglect by these happy spirits, who have this great principle of pleasure within them, drawing the whole mind to itself, calling off their attention from the most delightful objects, and giving them all the transports of inebriation, without any of its confusion or folly.”

We can almost fancy that we hear an angel saying to Paul, when he “was caught up to the third heavens,” what was described to the youthful hero:—“From those seats of tranquillity

which the blessed occupy, all evils fly to a remote distance: death, disease, poverty, and pain; regret and remorse; fear, and even hope, which is sometimes not less painful than fear itself; animosity, disgust, and resentment, are for ever denied access. The lofty mountains might sooner be overturned from their foundations, though deep as the centre, than the peace of these happy beings be interrupted for a moment. They are indeed touched with pity at the miseries of life; but it is a soothing and tender passion, that takes nothing from their happiness. Their countenances shine with a glory all divine; with the bloom of unfading youth, the brightness of eternal joy; of joy, which, superior to the wanton levity of mirth, is calm, silent, and solemn—the sublime fruition of truth and virtue. They feel every moment what a mother feels at the return of an only son, whom she believes to be dead; but the pleasure which in the breast of the mother is transient, is permanent in theirs; it can neither languish nor cease; they converse together concerning what they see and what they enjoy; they enjoy the remembrance of their difficulties and distress, during the short period in which, to maintain their integrity, it was necessary they should strive, not only against others, but against themselves; and they acknowledge the Divine guidance and protection, that conducted them in safety through so many dangers, with gratitude and admiration. They see, they *feel*, that they are happy; and are secretly conscious that they shall be happy for ever. They sing the Divine praises as with one voice: in the whole assembly there is but one mind, and one heart; and the same stream of Divine felicity circulates through every breast. In this sacred and supreme delight, whole ages glide away unperceived, and seem shorter than the happiest hours upon earth; but gliding ages still leave their happiness entire. They reign together, for crowns of glory are placed upon their heads, the symbols and the pledge of happiness and immortality.”*—What man of genius desires not to write in this manner? What man of virtuous sensibility wishes not such a writer as his *friend*?

But during this period, was the *religious* education of the

* Telem. Tom. ii. Liv. xix.

royal pupil neglected? No! To this Fenelon directed great zeal and attention, preached frequently before him, and in conversation, often dwelt upon a subject which he felt was useful for kings, as well as for subjects. Besides these advantages, the Prince was required to study his preceptor's "Treatise on the Existence of God," a work which had been published for some years, and which was originally prepared for the Duke of Orleans; but which was now put into the hands of another Prince for his instruction in religious truth. It is a work that presents a convincing argument in favour of the existence and perfections of a Supreme Being, derived from the knowledge of the material world, and in part, from the knowledge of man; a work, in which the author thoroughly searches the argument, and maintains it upon principles of the most exact philosophy, while at the same time, he lowers and adapts it to the most ordinary capacity; a work that shows us, in every part of the universe, design—uniformity—a workman wise and almighty—a providence that rules over all. The book must have been familiar to Paley, and probably suggested his great work on the same subject.

Besides this treatise, the Prince was required to study the choice letters of Jerome, Augustin, Cyprian, and Ambrose; and above all, the Sacred Scriptures, which, as Fenelon writes to the Abbé Fleury, "had better be explained as they are read."

While the preceptor was thus assiduously labouring for his beloved pupil; while he desired him to ascend the throne of France, with all the virtues of Christianity, and all the knowledge necessary for the government of a great people, he was not disappointed; the most signal and striking results attended his method of instruction; the Prince became completely changed in character and conduct; he became mild, benevolent, kind and courteous; more than this—he became truly pious.

About this period, in 1605, Fenelon was appointed *Archbishop of Cambray*, with the privilege of still remaining preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy, and to two other grandchildren of the King; and of spending three months in the year at Versailles. We have a letter to his friend Abbé Fleury,

written soon after he entered upon his diocese:—"I have commenced my duties, and preached twice with some prospect of success. I endeavour to inculcate just views of truth, of which I fear the people have been sadly deprived. I am acquiring authority which I hope will not be abused, but be properly exercised. I give to the preachers an example of avoiding all subtilty in their sermons, and of speaking directly to the point, so as to do good. Pray for me, my dear friend, that I may not be as 'sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.'"

We have now arrived at the period when the *controversy between Fenelon and Bossuet took place*. The connection that had been formed between these two eminent men had grown into an intimacy, notwithstanding the difference in their ages and dispositions, and had lasted for years without any abatement. Fenelon was continually gaining fresh stores of knowledge from his familiar communication with Bossuet; and Bossuet was acquiring spiritual improvement from the temper and manners of Fenelon. But now an event occurred, which interrupted their friendly intercourse, and at last led to one of the fiercest controversies of the age. It will be necessary to give some account of the person who originated the difference, and may be said to be the cause of it.

Madam Guyon was born in 1648, of a respectable family; was married when quite young, and from an early period of life was distinguished for her piety and elevated devotion. Left a widow at the early age of twenty-eight, with three children, possessed of great wealth, with a high reputation for intelligence, and with refined culture of manners, which fitted her to move in the leading circles of society, she came to Paris. From her autobiography, her "Short and Easy Method of Prayer," and her "Exposition of the Song of Solomon," we can learn her religious opinions. Judging by these works, we perceive her piety, though sincere, mixed with much that was enthusiastic; we see her too often drawn away by a fervid imagination, and deriving her ideas of religion from the mere feelings of her own heart. Her system was like the Quietism of Molinos, somewhat modified, making true and acceptable devotion to consist far too exclusively in the musings of solitude; in the raptures of silent contemplation; in a total abstraction of

the thoughts from external objects; in such a seraphic love to God, as has reference only to himself and his perfections, without any personal considerations of hope or fear. She chose for her spiritual director, the Abbé La Combe, a member of the order of Barnabites, who, though pious, and willing to suffer, as he did, for the cause of Christ, was not adapted to rectify her errors, but rather fitted to encourage and increase her extravagance. But with all her mistaken notions, she led a pious life, and maintained the essential truths of religion. Although her views of the doctrine of justification by faith were imperfect and obscure, yet what she expressed in her last hours were no doubt the sentiments of her whole life—"I rely for my salvation, not on any good works in myself, but on thy mercies, O! God, and on the merits and sufferings of my Lord Jesus Christ." She maintained the necessity of the Holy Spirit to renew and sanctify the heart—read the Scriptures much, and urged others to study them. She evidently encouraged not the invocation of saints and angels. She says of herself, (and in this as in everything else, she would be an example to her friends) "The deep and profound sense which I had of God absorbed everything. I could not see the saints, nor discern the Holy Virgin out of him; in him I beheld them, and could scarcely distinguish them in any other manner. I tenderly love certain saints, as St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Magdalen, St. Theresa, and all who are really spiritual; yet I could not form any sensible idea of them nor invoke them out of God." She had no faith in the doctrine of Transubstantiation. In one of her letters she says: "As to what you ask me, if the body and blood of our Lord are in the bread and wine which are given at the Supper, *I do not believe it*—but it would be too long a discussion to tell you where it really is."

Believing that she was destined by God for some extraordinary ministry, she had frequent conferences at her own house of persons of both sexes, and laboured with assiduity to bring them to her views. Nor was she satisfied with confining her labours to Paris—she went abroad, fulfilling her ministry, contrary to the wishes of many of her friends, who were pained that she was leading a life that interfered with her duties as a mother. She visited Geneva, Lyons, Grenoble, Turin, and

other cities, where she had her meetings, where she was attended by persons of all ages and classes, by ecclesiastics as well as the laity, and where, according to her own account, she gained many proselytes to her opinions. After an absence of five years, she returned to Paris, and persisted in the propagation of her principles, without any abatement of zeal or dread of consequences. She was soon silenced by Harlai, Archbishop of Paris—her writings were condemned at a Conference of Bishops; and she herself was treated most cruelly; confined in a convent—afterwards imprisoned at Versailles, and at length sent to the Bastile. But under all her sufferings, she maintained her principles, and lived to convince her enemies of the purity of her life, and the sincerity of her piety.

Fenelon met Madam Guyon for the first time at the house of the Duchess of Charost. Having heard much of her character, and the excellence of her morals, he was prepared to be interested; he was attracted by the sprightliness of her conversation; pleased with her spiritual piety; and deeply affected by the persecutions which had assailed her. Not that he gave credit to the visions and revelations which her too elevated imagination had indulged—he was possessed of too much discernment and vigour of understanding for this; not that he embraced all the peculiar doctrines found in her works—some of them he rejected as irrational and unscriptural;* not that he approved of her public ministrations—he advised her to retire to a convent, where she could be more useful, in privately instructing those of her own sex. But he regarded it as a harsh and cruel proceeding, to treat with such cruelty an amiable and pious female, whom her worst enemies could only consider in the light of a visionary, labouring under the influence of a heated and impetuous imagination. He did more than thus defend her; a man of his warm and elevated devotion, would naturally feel attracted towards one who cultivated to such a

* He united with Bossuet and the Bishop of Chalons, in signing the Articles of Issy, that condemned several of her opinions. In a letter to Madame de Maintenon, written not long after this interview, he says: "*Je ne compte pour rien ni ses prétendues prophéties, ni ses prétendues révélations; je ferais peu de cas d'elle, si elle les comptait pour quelque chose. Il m'a paru qu'elle était naturellement exagérante, et peu précautionnée dans ses expériences.*"

degree experimental religion; he entered into a correspondence with her, which continued for two years; freely discussed, in his communications, the whole subject of inward piety; made upon her mind a most useful impression; and doubtless received himself much improvement from her letters, and the truths thus examined.

While Fenelon was thus occupied, Bossuet, fearing that error was springing up in the bosom of the Church, was giving the most vigorous attention to the writings of Madam Guyon; he examined thoroughly her work, entitled "*Short and Easy Method of Prayer*," and, after eight months of intense study, produced one of the ablest productions that ever came from his pen; profound in learning, and brilliant with eloquence—"Instructions on the Spirit of Prayer." Before it was published, and after he had obtained the approbation of the Bishop of Chartres and the Archbishop of Paris, he brought it to the Archbishop of Cambray, to receive his testimonial in its favour. Fenelon received and examined the book, acknowledged the ability with which it was written, made no opposition to the doctrines which were discussed, but expressed the most decided opposition to its personalities—to the manner in which it spoke of Madam Guyon. Others, ignorant of her life, might condemn, but he could not—he knew her well—he was convinced of her sincerity, and the purity of the motives from which she acted—he had conversed and corresponded with her—he had taken pains to ascertain her meaning in passages which seemed obscure and difficult; he had learned from others the history of her life, and had found it pure and virtuous—he had been made acquainted with those counsels which she gave to others, and was sure that there was nothing in them wrong or injurious—and in these circumstances he could not give his signature and approbation to a work which spoke in severely disparaging terms of one of whom he entertained the most favourable opinion; he could not, (to use his own expression,) "strike the final blow at the reputation of one, whose innocence he had clearly and accurately ascertained." This opinion, deliberately formed, he in a letter deliberately expressed, though he was fully aware of the consequences; though he was sure that his refusal would give

offence to Bossuet, and dissatisfaction to his sovereign. How could one possessing his traits of character act differently?

Now ensued an open breach between two friends who had long lived together in terms of the most fraternal intercourse; now the two prelates who were at the head of the Gallican church, were engaged in a fierce controversy, respecting an imprisoned female—the one regarding her as a heretic, the other esteeming her innocent and persecuted.

After Bossuet had published his work, which made a deep impression upon the public mind, and when all eyes were directed towards Fenelon, he felt that he must not be silent; his position made it necessary for him to speak boldly and fearlessly. This he did in the “*Maxims of the Saints*,” a work in which he endeavoured to exhibit the sentiments of his friend (though her name is not mentioned) in an unexceptionable light; to purge away the dross, and present the gold in a pure and unadulterated mass. Never before did a volume of such a peaceful title, produce such an explosion of angry controversy. It was mentioned to the King, as containing heretical opinions; he at once applied for information to the Bishop of Meaux, who, he used often to say, “had all the wisdom and influence of a Œcumenical Council;” and Bossuet, forgetful of his past friendship, and consulting only his present feelings, fell on his knees before Louis, and asked pardon for not having before acquainted him with the dangerous tenets which Fenelon had imbibed. He lost no time in preparing a reply; and when some other prelates and theologians saw so much merit in the “*Maxims of the Saints*,” as incited a desire to pass it by in silence, he exclaimed, “Take your own measures; but I will raise my voice to the very heavens against these errors—I will complain to Rome—to the whole earth—it shall not be said that the cause of God is weakly betrayed—though I should stand single-handed, I will advocate the truth.” He did earnestly advocate what he regarded the truth, and what he knew was agreeable to the sentiments of his sovereign. But we cannot enter into the details of this controversy; it occupied about three years, and during that period, Bossuet produced such a number of writings as would fill three large volumes, and Fenelon almost as much. They both put forth all their strength; and the conflict display-

ing the highest theological and literary power, attracted not only the sight of France, but the eyes of Europe. The one was advanced in years, but preserving all the vigour of mind that he ever possessed, and retaining much of the fire of his early days—the other was in the strength of manhood, enjoying the highest reputation for the loftiness of his genius, the pathos of his eloquence, his wisdom and success as the instructor of royalty. But far different were the tempers of the two combatants—Bossuet contended earnestly for “what he believed to be the faith once delivered to the saints,” but he contended not “lawfully;” and why should he “be crowned?” In his controversy with the Protestants, he kept the limits of his zeal within the bounds of propriety and decency, but now, when contending with one of his dearest and most cherished friends, he betrays an irritation, a rancour, a bitterness of spirit truly lamentable. We behold him covering his innocent rival with invective; resorting to every artifice to degrade him; garbling his publications; violating the secrecy of private letters; calling him the Montanus of a new Priscilla; an extravagant fanatic, a champion of errors, towards whom should be exercised no mercy nor moderation. The conduct of Fenelon forms the most beautiful contrast; his gentle and purified spirit, carried him far above such violence. He asserted his equitable rights, but with undisturbed dignity; he defended his own character, and that of female innocence, but with elevated self-respect; on all occasions he evinced the urbanity of the finished gentleman, combined with the graces of the exalted Christian; he was always calm and modest, yet ever manly; his style forcible and pointed, but with no mixture of illiberal sarcasm. Posterity has done him justice; it has affirmed that throughout this contest, no stain has rested upon his moral character; that he was sincere in what he said to Bossuet, in one of his writings:—“Two things only do I desire—truth and love—truth to enlighten, and love to unite us.”

A final appeal was made to the decision of Innocent XII., who at that time occupied the Papal chair, and a letter was written by the King, urging him to settle the controversy without delay. The tide now ran strongly against Fenelon—Madame Maintenon deserted the man to whom she was once attached,

and in whose society she took so much delight. The Père de la Chaise, the confessor of Louis, loving the person, and attached to the principles of the Archbishop, dared not speak in his behalf—and the clergy of every grade, with but few exceptions, were united in opposition. The King was decidedly hostile. In 1697, he ordered him to quit Paris, and to confine himself to his diocese of Cambray, an act intended as a kind of exile and imprisonment; and about a year afterwards, with his own hand, erased his name from the list of the royal household, and deprived him of the office of preceptor to his grandsons. Would we know the cause of such banishment from the court? He “was no flatterer—he sought neither to enrich nor aggrandize himself—but aided those who were seeking after truth and virtue.”*

The examination was protracted at Rome, during the period of nearly two years, owing to the high reputation of Fenelon, and the reluctance of the Pope and some of the Cardinals to censure him. At length, after repeated discussions, and innumerable delays, thirty-seven propositions in the book were adjudged to be erroneous, and the Pope's Brief was proclaimed at Rome, on the 13th of March, 1699.

In examining these propositions, we think that the errors condemned may all be reduced to the following, viz:—that a state of absolute perfection, in which there is no desire for heaven, and no fear of hell, may be attained in this world by the pious soul, though few comparatively ever reach it—that love to the Supreme Being should be pure and disinterested, entirely exempt from all views of interest, and all hopes of reward—that there are souls so filled with the love of God, and so resigned to his will, that if, in a state of temptation and trial, they believe that they are condemned to eternal punishment, they make the sacrifice of their salvation, willingly and cheerfully, for the Divine glory.

That these are errors, we have no doubt; and the elevated virtues of Fenelon should not prevent us from perceiving and condemning what is exceptionable. We cannot conceive how we

* These, in his *Telemachus*, are Mentor's own words to King Idomeneus, at his parting.

can love God, unconnected with benefit and interest to ourselves; how in our views of him, we can overlook the important relations which he sustains to us, as benefactor and rewarder; how our hearts can be drawn out to him in supreme admiration, without a sense of his goodness to us. The supposition that it is possible for the pious soul to attain such an overwhelming desire for the divine glory, as to acquiesce in its own condemnation, if it be the will of God, is to put a case as impossible in fact, as it is absurd in theory; as derogatory to the Divine benevolence, as it is destructive of Christian confidence.

Fenelon received the Papal decree on the Sabbath, as he was going to church—he delayed a few minutes—changed the subject of his discourse—preached on the necessity of submission to the “higher powers,” and exemplified the truth publicly by his conduct. It was an affecting sight. Holding the decree of the Pope in one hand, and his book in the other, on his bended knees, and with a firm voice, he pronounced his recantation, amidst the tears and sobs of his beloved people.

From this time he ceased to introduce the subject in his controversial writings. But did he renounce the doctrine? No! The Pope had taken pains to say that the propositions were condemned in the sense which they *might* bear, or which they did bear *in the view of others*; but not in the sense in which they were *explained by the author*. Availing himself of this suggestion, he carefully avoided those expressions and illustrations which were liable to misconstruction, and which had been condemned at Rome; but he never ceased, in his conversation, in his practical writings, or in his sermons, to inculcate the doctrine of a pure and disinterested benevolence.

After the termination of this severe conflict, Bossuet was regarded as the most orthodox of bishops, Fenelon as the most mild and amiable of men; the former, the oracle of theological dogma, the latter, the oracle of piety and virtue. Bossuet continued at court, admired and revered; Fenelon remained at Cambray, idolized and adored. But though he was not recalled to the court, nor to the instruction of the grandchildren of the king, yet he did not forget his beloved pupil, the Duke of Burgundy, nor was the Duke unmindful of him. The Prince had ten-

derly sympathized with him in his banishment and persecution; had deeply regretted his privation of the purest of examples and the best of preceptors; and felt it a severe affliction that he was not permitted even to correspond with him. At length, after a period of four years, he wrote the following letter, which expresses the tenderest gratitude to him whom he still recognized as his teacher, the religious sentiments with which he was penetrated, and his anxiety to receive instruction and advice.

“Versailles, 22d Dec., 1701.

“At length, my dear Archbishop, after four years’ silence, I have an opportunity of writing. I have suffered many afflictions since our separation; but one of the severest has been my inability, during all that time, of giving you any proof of my affection; and of telling you how much your misfortunes, instead of lessening, have increased my friendship and regard. I look forward with great pleasure to the time when I shall again see you; but I fear that it is far, far distant. I have felt most indignant (but could not express my feelings) at the unjust and cruel treatment you have met with; but (as you taught me) must be submissive to the divine will, and believe that all these things are working together for our good.”

The following is Fenelon’s answer:

“Nothing, my lord, ever gave me greater comfort than the letter which I have just received from you. I render thanks for it to Him who can do in all hearts whatever he pleases for his glory. God must surely love you, since he makes you to partake of his love, in the midst of every thing capable of stifling it. Love him, therefore, above all things; and fear nothing so much as his displeasure. He will be your light, your strength, your life; in a word, your all. O! how rich is the heart in the midst of afflictions and sorrows, when it has this treasure! Accustom yourself to seek God with the simplicity of a child; with a tender familiarity; with a confidence that will be most pleasing to so good a father. Do not be discouraged at your weaknesses; there is a way of bearing without excusing them; a way of correcting, without being impatient under them. God will show you this way, if you seek it, distrusting yourself, and like Abraham, walking before

him. O! how strong are we in God, when we feel ourselves weak! Fear falling into sin—fear it a thousand times more than death—and if through temptation you do fall, hasten to the Father of Mercies and the God of all comfort—he will extend his arms to receive you; open your wounded heart to him who can and will heal. Be humble and little in your own eyes. Take care of your health; be moderate in your appetites; and apply yourself closely to your several duties. I speak, you perceive, only of God and yourself. It is a matter of no consequence what I am. Thank God, I have a quiet conscience. My greatest cross is that I cannot see you; but in my approaches to God I have you so near, that it seems to surpass the view by the outward senses. I would give a thousand lives to see you just as God would have you to be.”

The following letter of the Prince, seems to have been written soon after the receipt of the preceding one of Fenelon.

“My Dear Archbishop:

“I will endeavour to make a good use of the advice you give. I ask an interest in your prayers, that God will give me grace to do it. Pray to him more and more, that he would grant me the love of himself, above all things else; and that I may love my friends, and love my enemies, *in* and *for* him. In the situation in which I am, I am compelled to hear many things unfavourable. When I am rebuked for taking a course which I know to be right, I am not impatient, nor disquieted; when I am made to see that I have done wrong, I readily blame myself; and am enabled sincerely to pardon and to pray for all who wish or who do me ill. I hesitate not to admit that I have faults; but I may add that I am firmly resolved, whatever be my failings, to give myself to God. Pray to him, pray without ceasing, that he would be pleased to finish in me what he has begun, and to destroy those evils which proceed from my fallen nature. Be assured that my friendship for you will be always the same.”

In the year 1702, the Prince received a commission to command the army at Flanders; and as he had to pass through Cambray to his place of destination, he asked permission of the king to visit his former preceptor. Leave was granted, on

the condition that he should not see him alone. The two friends met, after an absence of many years, exceedingly enjoyed each other's society, though restrained by the presence of a third person; and had much conversation, which they feared might be the last, and which they carefully treasured up during the remainder of life. They never again met.

Not many years afterwards, in consequence of the sudden death of the Dauphin, Louis associated with him upon the throne the Duke of Burgundy. This event gave new encouragement to the hopes of Fenelon respecting France; he had consecrated his life to prepare for her such a king as she needed; and he had reason to think that he who was thus elevated had the wisdom to conceive, and the energy to execute, the very best plans of government. With all the fidelity of a Mentor, he gave him advice in things the most minute; pointed out the dangers to which he was exposed, the obligations that rested on him, the whole consequences of his conduct. In a letter to another, but intended for his inspection, he says: "he must become the wise counsellor of his majesty, the father of his people, the consoler of the afflicted, the friend of the poor, the defence of the Church, the enemy of flatterers, the patron of merit, the hearer of everything, but the believer of nothing without proof. He who conducted David from the sheepfold to the throne, will give a mouth and wisdom to him who resists not the Divine will, provided he be humble, meek, distrusting himself, and confiding in God."

About this time he wrote the following letter, which was the last the Prince ever received from him. "Offspring of St. Louis! be like him, mild, humane, easy of access, affable, compassionate, and liberal. Let your grandeur never hinder you from condescending to the lowest of your subjects—yet in such a manner that this goodness shall not weaken your authority, nor lessen their respect. Suffer not yourself to be beset with flatterers; but value the presence and advice of men of virtuous principles. True virtue is often modest and retired; princes have need of her, and therefore should often seek her. Place no confidence in any but those who have the courage to differ from you with respect, and who love your prosperity and repu-

tation better than your favour. Make yourself loved by the good, feared by the bad, and esteemed by all."

He to whom this affectionate letter was addressed, seemed to promise all that Fenelon desired; his subjects, regarding him as a father, looked for happiness under his government; the nations around anticipated the general happiness in which they too would participate, and rejoiced in looking forward to the period when he should be sole monarch. But death, that destroys so many projects, came, and blasted the hopes of all. When Fenelon heard of his dangerous illness, he wrote: "I fear for the sad destiny of the Dauphin. If God is not displeased and angry with France, he will recover; but if his fury be not appeased, we have cause to dread for his life; the Lord has long stricken us, as saith the prophet, and his hand is stretched out still." He heard of the news of his death with the most lively sorrow, and yet with perfect resignation; he wept like a disconsolate father, and yet submitted like an eminent Christian; he cried out, "If I could restore him to life by turning a straw, I would not do it, for it is God's will. Now the ties which bind me to earth are broken, and those which unite me to heaven are strengthened. O! what suffering does true friendship produce!"

Thus fell, in the prime of life, at the age of twenty-nine, the Duke of Burgundy, whose death caused many tears to flow, whose name is to this day mentioned with emotions of tenderness. With him terminated the expectations of France; with him were crushed the fond hopes of the man of God, whose prayers could not avert the divine judgments.

But Fenelon had more to do than to lament the death of his friend; submitting to the afflictive dispensation with all the resignation which his religion could inspire, he "girded up the loins of his mind," and performed his Master's work with still greater fidelity. The Seminary which he had established for ecclesiastics, occupied much of his attention. He had surmounted all the obstacles that he met with, and had succeeded in the execution of his plans; had removed it from Valenciennes, where it was first established, to Cambray, and placed it under the care of the Abbé de Chanterac, a man of similar spirit to his own. We can well conceive how such a

man would delight in instructing youth; and we can form some opinion of his mode of instruction, when recalling his fidelity to the Duke of Burgundy, and reading his "Dialogues on Sacred Eloquence." He was not satisfied with merely superintending the institution; he himself, occasionally gave instruction, and was always with his pupils on festival days; assisted at the examination of those who applied for orders, and thus became acquainted with all the ecclesiastics of his diocese. Among other means of instruction, was a conference once a week, at which he always presided; resembling familiar conversations, where the young men were at liberty to ask questions, and to propose difficulties. None were regarded by him as too minute or frivolous; he listened to them with patience and kindness; seemed to be struck with an objection, however common; viewed it in all its extent; and in a happy manner led his pupils in the way, where they themselves could discover the solution which they asked. He was always most tender and indulgent to inexperience and youth.

He continued to preach frequently to the very close of life; the same voice which gave so much delight in the court of Louis, and which so often gratified the taste of the French Academy, was heard every Sabbath by the humble rustics of Cambray. Tenderness and pathos were the qualities which marked his preaching; and love, the theme on which he most delighted to dwell. He used to say: "I must spend much time in my closet, in order to be prepared for the pulpit; and be sure that my heart is filled from the divine fountain, before I pour out the streams upon the people."

In the beginning of the eighteenth century his diocese was ravaged by the horrors of war; it was the battle field in which the armies of Europe fought, and where an opportunity was given to him for the display of the most eminent virtues. By his direction, his palace was the residence for the sick and wounded; for the poor who had fled from the adjoining villages; for the wives and children, whose houses had been reduced to ashes. All his revenues were given for their aid; his time expended for their relief; his personal acts performed for their comfort. Even among those who were affected with infectious maladies, he was often present, uninfluenced by the fear of disease or

death. Among them all, he appeared daily, with the kindness of a parent ministering to their temporal wants, and occasionally dropping words of spiritual instruction. Here was the practical illustration of his doctrines—here was *disinterested benevolence*.

He was held in equal veneration by the French army, and the enemy. The Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Ormond, when triumphant with victory, embraced every opportunity of showing their esteem; and when the city was taken, at once sent a detachment of men to guard his lands. The name of Fenelon was a barrier which the cupidity of the soldiery dare not remove. His house was guarded by an English sentinel; and while all around was desolation, his property was secure, and his family safe. It reminds us of the conduct of Alexander who destroyed the city of Thebes, and left standing the house of Pindar. London and the Hague applauded the homage which was thus paid; and while his own countrymen refused the admiration that was due to his talents and virtues, the hostile nations vied in paying honours to the immortal author of *Telemachus*, and amidst the shouts of victory, recalled with gratitude the magnanimous conduct of their generals.

But the enemy not only spared his palace and his lands, but furnished an escort when he went abroad through his diocese, and thus prevented the interruption of his pastoral duties. It is truly refreshing to see him in these visits; entering the cottages of the humble peasants, mingling with them in the most affectionate manner, conversing with them with unreserved familiarity, and with the gentlest earnestness, recommending to them God and the Redeemer. Thus in the fulness of his benevolent spirit, he “went about doing good;” and was among his people, as a father among his children. His happiness consisted in making others happy. No wonder that he was everywhere known by the name of “the good Archbishop.”

But we must hasten to the contemplation of a scene which he often referred to in his letters, and to which he looked forward without dread. He had seen most of his friends passing away; the ties which had bound him to them had been broken; and their removal caused him to direct his thoughts

still more to the objects of eternity. The last stroke of this kind that affected him was the death of his friend, M. D. Beauvilliers, with whom he had been so closely associated, when preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy. It was a stroke that completely weighed down the delicate and oft-wounded spirit of Fenelon; the impression of which he could not resist. Most tender were his letters to the afflicted widow; for he “knew how to speak a word in season” to the afflicted.—“Raise your eyes, my dear madam, to Him who can appease agitated nature; in whom we can find infinitely more than we have lost; who, with his own hands, can wipe away our tears. The wound is dreadful; but the hand of the Heavenly Comforter has an all-powerful efficacy. No! the senses and the imagination only have lost the loved object. He whom we no more see, is more than ever with us; we constantly behold him in our common centre; he extends to us his sympathy, knows better than we do our infirmities, and is tenderly interested in all our afflictions. As for myself, though I have been deprived, for many years, of the happiness of seeing him, yet, in the exercise of faith, I behold him before God; and though I have wept, and still weep, bitterly, yet I am sure that I have not *lost* him.” Three days before he sickened, he again wrote to her, and it was the last letter that he ever penned.—“We shall soon, my dear madam, find him whom we think we have lost—we are daily approaching him with rapid steps—in a little time, like him, we shall have occasion no more to weep.”

We love to visit the death-bed of “the good Archbishop;” and while we see some rites of his Church with which we are not acquainted, and to which we are not reconciled, yet we behold much to instruct and comfort; we see a heavenly glory shed, and a Christian influence felt; we see his dying chamber none other than “the gate to heaven.” During the days which preceded his departure, and when he had death only in prospect, he wished to be instructed and comforted by the reading of the Scriptures. Those who were with him repeated, from time to time, passages on the shortness of life, the hopes of the pious, and the blessedness of heaven. He was particularly impressed with the fourth and fifth chapters of the 2d Epistle to the Corinthians—spoke of “the light afflictions

which are for a moment working out the exceeding weight of glory;" of the dissolution of the "tabernacle," and of "the building of God, not made with hands." Three times, by his request, these chapters were read to him. He dictated a letter to Father le Terrier, desiring him to express to his sovereign his dying sentiments and wishes. It commences: "Reverend father, in my present condition, preparing to appear before God, I wish you to represent to the king my true sentiments and wishes." He proceeds to say that he never had in his life felt any thing but gratitude and respect for his majesty; humbly asks him to appoint an able and pious successor, and concludes by wishing him a long life, and the highest happiness. After this, his friends and relatives, the students of his seminary, and the members of his household, including the humblest domestics, came into his room to receive his dying benediction.

On the last two days and nights, he was exceedingly anxious to have repeated to him such parts of Scripture as were suited to his dying state. "Repeat—repeat to me the divine words—I want God now to speak to me." On the day of his departure, he suffered much pain, but rejoiced that he was "conformed to Christ, in his sufferings," and more than once said, "I am crucified with Christ." His friends repeated to him such passages of Scripture as expressed the necessity of sufferings, and the little proportion there is between them and the "eternal weight of glory." They repeated what Luke says of the Saviour, that he redoubled his prayers as his agony increased. "Yes!" he added, "he uttered the same prayer three times." He commenced—"Father, if it be possible"—but the violence of his pain prevented him from proceeding. A pious friend added, "let this cup pass from me—but not my will, but thine be done." Elevating his feeble voice, he spoke distinctly—"not my will, but thine be done." Joining his hands together, he laid them gently on his breast, raised his eyes to heaven, and quietly "slept in Jesus." His soul no doubt departed to the mansions of the blessed, to live for ever in the enjoyment of that pure love on which he so often conversed, on which he so delightfully wrote, the foretastes of which he had so long enjoyed.

His funeral obsequies were such as became a man dying in

such circumstances. No splendid retinue accompanied his remains to the tomb; no lordly equipage, with glittering coronets, was seen; no mitred bishops, or archbishops, graced the funeral procession—all was marked with plainness and simplicity—the usual service was performed, and his body decently laid in the vault of the cathedral. No funeral oration was pronounced—he needed no eulogy; his reputation required no such expedient to perpetuate it. But we feel indignant at the cause that was alleged for this departure from universal usage—it was feared that the discourse would offend his majesty, and might expose the friends of the departed to his terrible resentment. Something of the same fear influenced the members of the French Academy, and prevented Dacier, in his eulogy, from pronouncing the name of Telemachus. But of how little consequence were those omissions—they could not prevent him from being “held in everlasting remembrance” before God, nor from being celebrated among men, as long as any regard is paid to merit and virtue.

Let Louis vilify and attempt to degrade him by listening to the misrepresentations of his enemies—the spotless character of Fenelon will stand, in the eye of posterity, conspicuous and indelible. Let him declare that “he is the greatest, but the most romantic genius in the kingdom”—his lofty principles of morality in the government of nations will be as eternal as truth. Let him condemn to silence the first literary society in the world, and prevent the name of Telemachus from being mentioned in any thing that is made public—it will be translated into all the languages of Europe; will be regarded as one of the most beautiful monuments of French literature; will enter the courts of kings, and be the text-book for the instruction of all youthful princes. Let him denounce him as an errorist in religion—yet in many a house of the unlettered Christian, his practical works will enter and be read, where the name of the proud monarch is unknown, or if mentioned, mentioned only as the persecutor of injured innocence.

Let none suppose that Fenelon died prematurely; he departed at the very best time. The Supreme Disposer of events foresaw the dreadful storm that was coming upon his country; and before the tempest poured out its fury, he “took him away

from the evil to come," and laid him in a "quiet resting-place."

His nephew, Marquis de Fenelon, raised over him a monument, on which was a Latin inscription, written by Sanadon, the fine classical scholar, whose name is associated with the Odes of Horace.*

To his body, "the temple of the Holy Ghost," God was peculiarly gracious: at a time when the ashes of other great

* The following is the inscription:

Hic jacet sub altari principe
 FRANCISCUS DE SALIGNAC DE LAMOTHE-FÉNÉLON,
 Cameracensium archiepiscopus et dux, ac sancti imperii Romani
 princeps.
 SÆCULI LITTERATI DECUS
 Omnes dicendi lepores virtuti sacravit ac veritati,
 Et dum sapientiam, Homerus alter, spirat,
 Se, suosque mores inscius retexit.
 UNICE PATRIÆ BONO INTENTUS
 Regios principes ad utilitatem publicam instituit;
 Hinc pio gaudet Iberia Philippo.
 Hinc religio, Gallia, Europa extincto illacrimant Delphino.
 VERI DEFENSOR
 Ut Hipponensis olim fortis et suavis,
 Libertatem cum gratiâ eo felicius conciliavit,
 Quo debitum ecclesiæ decretis obsequium firmiùs astruxit.
 ASCETICÆ VITÆ MAGISTER
 De casto amore ita disseruit,
 Ut Vaticano obsequens oraculo,
 Simul sponso et sponsæ placuerit.
 IN UTRAQUE FORTUNA SIBI CONSTANS,
 In prosperâ, aulæ favores nedum prensaret, adeptos etiam
 abdicavit;
 In adversâ, Deo magis adhæsit.
 ANTISTITUM NORMA
 Gregem sibi creditum assiduâ fovit præsentia,
 Verbo nutrit, erudit exemplo, opibus sublevavit.
 EXTERIS PERINDE CARUS AC SUIS
 Gallos inter et hostes cum esset medius,
 Hos et illos ingenii famâ et comitate morum sibi devinxit.
 MATURUS COELO
 Vitam laboribus exercitam, claram virtutibus
 Meliore vitâ commutavit.
 SEPTIMO JANUarii ANNO M. DCCXV ÆTATIS LXIV.
 Hoc monumentum pii ac mœrentes sororis filius et fratris
 nepotes posuere.

and good men were dishonoured, his remains, by a special act of Providence, remained undisturbed.

Of all the outrages of the French Revolution, when the fury of atheism was directed against everything sacred, nothing seems to us more horrible than the depredations which were committed, by order of Government, upon the dead; when men descended into sepulchres, seized the bodies of the great and noble, the learned and pious, and scattered them to the four winds of heaven—and this, too, with a wanton cruelty and brutal merriment. What a picture of depravity! “Let me fall into the hands of God, for very great are *his* mercies, but let me not fall into the hands of *men*.”

While such scenes of brutality were passing in other places, an order from Government reached the city of Cambray, directing all the leaden coffins that were there to be given up, and sent to the arsenal of Douay, there to be converted into instruments of warfare. The agents proceeded to the Metropolitan Cathedral, entered the vault under the altar, took away the bodies of others, but left the remains of Fenelon—not designedly, for they had no veneration for the talents and virtues of the illustrious prelate—not accidentally, for what men call chance is only the providence of God; it was the counsel of unerring Wisdom that issued the commission—“Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophet no harm.”

The traveller visiting the city of Cambray, and asking for the resting place of him whom men delight to honour, will not be disappointed; he will see the monument which was erected in 1805, and the small stone which originally marked the place where he lay in the Cathedral, with the following inscription!

Hic jacet

FRANCISCUS DE SALIGNAC DE LAMOTHE DE FÉNÉLON,

Archiepiscopus Cameracensis defunctus die septima Januarii 1715, a
priori tumulo translatus

Die 28a Martii 1720.

Such is the history of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray; a man who gave lustre to the age in which he lived; who was distinguished for the superiority of his talents, the pathos of his eloquence, the importance of his duties, the fervour of his piety, the character and peculiarity even of his errors. Whe-

ther we follow him into his missions at Saintonge, into the tumult of the court, into the republic of letters, into his retreat at Cambray; whether we consider him a poet, an orator, a metaphysician, a moralist, a politician, an instructor, a bishop, a friend, or a persecuted Christian; whether we behold him in life, or view him in death, we find much to interest our feelings and improve our hearts. "Being dead, he yet speaketh;" and as long as his writings survive, the people will have a protector, kings a guide, the instructors of princes a model, and Christianity an advocate. But even his writings do not express his whole character. One who knew him well, who lived with him for many years in his family, who was in habits of intimate intercourse with him, says: "Had he been born, and had he lived in a free country, he would have displayed his whole genius; he would have developed all his principles, not generally known, and not to be expressed in his native land."* In England, his virtues attracted more esteem, and his name carried more influence, than in France.† Among all nations, his readers are not merely his admirers, but his friends. Not one country, but *all* acknowledge him—mankind love his memory, for his heart expanded with affection to the whole human family. He was sincere when he said, "I love my family better than myself—I love my country better than my family—I love mankind better than my country."

Other men of learning, talents and usefulness, we venerate and esteem, but Fenelon we love; there is a charm in his character which excites the tenderest affection. In reading his writings, and especially his letters, we imagine that we see him, that we live with him, that his spirit is around us, that he reveals to us, though unconsciously, the secret of all his virtues.

* "S'il était né en Angleterre, il aurait développé son génie, et donné l'essor à ses principes, qu'on n'a jamais bien connus."

† An instance is recorded. When Chevalier Ramsay, once his pupil and friend, and afterwards his biographer, went to England in 1730, he applied through his friends for a doctor's degree at Oxford. Some of the members of the University opposed it on the ground that he was a Papist, and had been the preceptor of the children of the Pretender. But opposition ceased, when Dr. King, Principal of St. Mary's, observed:—"I present to you *the pupil of the illustrious Fenelon*, and this title is a sufficient guaranty to us."—"Quod instar omnium est, Fenelonii magni Archi-præsulis Cameracensis alumnus presento vobis,"

What is that secret? Where lies his great power which thus touches our souls? It is the spirit of *Christian love*, liberally shed upon all he did, and wrote, and said; that love which subdues selfishness; which binds our hearts to our fellow-men, and unites us indissolubly to God. We love him, because he is so much like the Apostle John; because he made his words the motto of his life; "*Beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God, for GOD IS LOVE.*"

ART. II.—*The Religious Significance of Numbers.*

ALL that it will be necessary to premise respecting the authorities referred to in this article, can be stated in a few words. The symbolical character and use of numbers have been most elaborately investigated by Bähr. His writings are classical upon this subject, and no discussion of it can be considered satisfactory, in which the facts and reasonings that he has brought forward do not receive their just measure of attention. In his *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus* he devotes to it an entire chapter of one hundred and thirty-six closely printed octavo pages, besides many occasional remarks scattered through the rest of the work. It recurs again in his later publication on Solomon's Temple, in which he modifies to some extent the opinions formerly expressed. The views of Bähr are, with a few unessential alterations, adopted by Kurtz, in an article in the *Studien und Kritiken*, for 1844, on the Symbolical Dignity of Numbers in the Tabernacle. Professor Stuart has given, in an excursus at the close of his commentary on the Apocalypse, some fragments of Bähr's principal chapter in a diluted state. Hengstenberg's ideas regarding it appear incidentally in the course of his various commentaries, particularly those upon the History of Balaam, the Psalms, and the Revelation. The change of sentiment which Hengstenberg has undergone in the interval of these successive publications,

is very remarkable. From being an opponent of Bähr on the side of moderation, he has run into an extravagance far beyond him. Vitringa, in his *Anacrisis Apocalypsios*, or Examination of the Apocalypse, has entered into the question of the significance of the numbers which occur in the course of that book. Winer has also given his views briefly upon it in his *Biblisches Real-Wörterbuch*, under the word *Zahlen*. The extended explanations of sacred numbers found in Philo, Josephus, and other ancient writers philosophically inclined, cannot be accepted as either rational or consistent, or as anything but heaps of idle and arbitrary fancies.

There is no small diversity of opinion respecting this subject, both in the authors named, and in others who have less formally and largely spoken their mind upon it. Such is the measure of indefiniteness unavoidably connected with symbolic representation, and so much must be left to be mentally supplied by those who interpret it, that even where there is entire agreement as to the thing signified in the main, there is scarcely to be expected a complete coincidence in opinion as to the meaning of its minor features, especially where these are examined in their minuter details. It is the same even with figures of speech, metaphors, fables, allegories, and parables. Their general purport may be plain enough, but there will always be embarrassment and divergence of opinion, when the attempt is made to settle with precision all the particulars to which the significance extends. There is no palpable boundary separating the significant from that which is not. The former fades away so gradually and insensibly into the latter, that its termination cannot be evidently marked, and one will lose sight of it at a point where it can still, in the imagination of another, be more or less perceptibly traced.

The numbers are in any case a very subordinate part of the Scripture symbols. The chief significance resides in the body of the symbols themselves, and not in their numerical relations. And yet it is not impossible, that these may have their appropriateness and significance likewise. There have been not a few to claim that they have, and to imagine that they could discover a fitness and a meaning in them, such as would well repay the labour bestowed upon their study. With-

out placing an undue estimate upon these investigations, and without putting confidence in all their results, we yet think them not undeserving of attention, both for the sake of the history of opinion involved, and because of some aspects of the subject which have a real importance in the interpretation of Scripture. Our aim, as we here forewarn our readers at the outset, is not to propound nor to establish a theory of our own, so much as to acquaint them with what others have thought and written upon the matter.

The first questions to be raised concern of course the character and the foundation of the alleged use of numbers. What is meant precisely by sacred or symbolical numbers? And what proof is there of a sacredness, or ideal significance attached to some particular numbers rather than to others? Then having informed ourselves as to the fact, we shall be at liberty to ask after its reasons, and to search out the extent of its application.

The grounds upon which the existence of numerical symbols is assumed, are a use of numbers pervading the Bible, which cannot be otherwise than ideally explained—a marked preference, so to speak, a partiality for particular numbers in sacred connections—a recurrence of the same numbers too frequent and too uniform to be accidental and undesigned—a use of them which cannot have arisen from necessity, from considerations of convenience or symmetry, nor from the indefinite employment of them as round numbers; for why should seven be a round number rather than six or eight? The force of these considerations is enhanced by an appeal to the symbolical use of different numbers in many nations of antiquity, besides the Hebrews, and by attempts to show how such a use might readily have arisen.

But in order to exhibit these grounds in a more definite form, let us follow the leading of Bähr. He first comes in contact with this subject, in explaining the draught of the Mosaic tabernacle. He has the advantage in his argument of coming with a presumption gained from the symbolical character of the whole structure, that its various parts were symbolical. Not only the general plan of the building, and its furniture, but its materials and its colours, have all their signi-

ficance and their appropriateness. This granted, it is natural to suppose that the same may be the case with the forms and numbers likewise. Then, the minuteness of the specifications is such, that unless explicable from their ideal import they would border upon triviality. Why must there be just so many boards in the frame? Why must the covering consist of precisely such a number of pieces, and these fastened together by exactly so many loops and taches? This cannot be accounted for by any reasons of convenience, or of adaptation to the purposes for which the building was erected. It was not with the sole design of ensuring symmetry of form, or the preservation of architectural proportions. The religious structures and symbolic representations of the Hebrews, and indeed of the East generally, unlike those of Greece, were governed less by a regard for symmetry and beauty, than by the desire faithfully to embody the religious conception, and that, though the resulting form might be inelegant, or even grotesque. But apart from this, the minuteness of detail in things which would not in the slightest affect its appearance, cannot be thus accounted for. This is confirmed by the detailed measures given by Ezekiel in the closing chapters of his prophecy, whose occurrence there it would be hard to explain, even were they literal measures, either reminiscences of the temple of Solomon, or prescriptions to guide in the construction of the temple of Zerubbabel. But as they demonstrably were neither, and the building described is an ideal one, that never in fact was, nor was designed to be erected, these details must have an ideal significance, or none at all. Again, in Rev. xi. 1, 2, the measuring of the temple marks its sacred character; that which was to be given up to profanation was left unmeasured.

If, now, it be conceded that an ideal reason must in all these cases be assumed, it is not enough to look for that in the bare fact of measuring by divine authority, while the numerical relations discovered or enjoined are left out of view as unimportant. The whole truth is not exhausted, by saying that it was a matter of indifference what particular numbers were to have place in the Mosaic sanctuary; that the total of their significance lay in the fact of God's having directed what they

should be; that it was of no consequence whether one set of numbers appeared in the draught of the tabernacle or another, but only that the numbers, whatever they might be, should be divinely prescribed. This is part of the truth, no doubt. The tabernacle was to be a divine structure; and to mark this more evidently, the directions given were not merely general, but specific. The plan was given, not simply in its outline, but in its minutest details, so that it might not need the most trifling human addition. All was designed of God. Just as the detailed prescriptions as to clean and unclean meats, had the same end in regard to the everyday life of Israel, teaching by symbol what the apostle has thus translated into New Testament language: "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." But there is a significance, it is claimed, lying back of all this, back of all considerations of adaptation and of symmetry, back even of the divine character to be impressed upon the structure. In the draught which God gave to Moses of this building, one class of numbers is systematically preferred to all others. Every other end could have been answered as well, without so large a use of these particular numbers. But there was a propriety arising out of the symbolic conceptions of the Hebrews, to which God adapted himself in this, as in the rest of the ceremonial institutions, that precisely these numbers, rather than any others, should predominate in that sacred edifice.

A brief survey of the principal numbers of the Levitical institutions, will put the reader in possession of the facts, and will enable him to judge for himself of the necessity or applicability of the doctrine of numerical symbols. Some of the numbers to be met with in other parts of Scripture, for which a similar explanation is proposed, will be exhibited subsequently.

The sanctuary consisted of 3 parts—the court, the holy place, and the holy of holies—all quadrangular, and set by the cardinal points of the compass; the last a perfect cube, its length, breadth, and height, each 10 cubits. The tabernacle proper measured 10 cubits in breadth and height, and 3×10 cubits in length. There were 4×12 boards in its frame. Over this were laid 4 coverings; the lowermost was composed of 10 pieces, 4 cubits broad by 4×7 long, and joined 5 to 5 by 5×10 taches.

The second covering differed from this, in having its pieces 3×10 cubits in length. In the most holy place were the tables containing the 10 commandments; 4 pillars supported the veil which separated this from the adjoining apartment. In this stood 3 sacred vessels, the altar of incense, the candlestick with its 7 lamps, and the table of shew-bread with its 12 loaves. The court was 10×10 cubits long, and 5×10 broad, surrounded by pillars 5 cubits high and 5 cubits apart, with 4 pillars forming the entrance to it from without, and 5 the entrance from it to the tabernacle.*

In the temple of Solomon, the same arrangement and proportions were preserved, the measures only being doubled. The difficult question as to the height of the temple, need not here be raised. The two cherubim of olive wood, set in the holy of holies, were each 10 cubits high, and 10 cubits between the tips of their wings; 10 candlesticks and 10 tables were put in the holy place, and in the court 10 lavers, 10×10 golden basins, and a molten sea 10 cubits in diameter and 5 cubits high, supported by 12 oxen, 3 facing toward each of the 4 points of the compass. The porch before the temple was twice 10 cubits long, by 10 broad.

The sabbatical system was a complete series of sevens. The 7th day of the week was to be kept holy; the first day of the 7th month was hallowed by the blowing of trumpets; the 7th year was a sabbatical year; and the 7×7 th was followed by the year of jubilee. All Israel was required to appear thrice in the year before the Lord at the 3 great festivals. The passover lamb was to be selected on the 10th, and killed on the twice

* Friederich, in his *Symbolik der Mosaischen Stiftshütte*, maintains the idea derived from some expressions employed by Luther, that the sanctuary symbolizes man, or human nature, as the dwelling of God's Spirit; and he accordingly undertakes to make out that the numbers of the frame and its coverings have their counterpart in man's anatomical structure. In his view, consequently, they are significant in this sacred edifice, and contribute to its correspondence with that which it symbolizes; not, however, ideally, but literally and physically. His palpably strange misconception of the intent of the entire building, and the forcing to which he is obliged to resort in the details, as well as the fact that there are other numbers no less remarkable than those of the tabernacle for which not the semblance of an explanation can be furnished on this method, throw his theory completely out of the question, and render it unnecessary to give it more than this passing notice.

7th day of the month, after which the feast lasted for 7 days; 7×7 days were numbered from the passover to the feast of weeks. In the 7th month there was a cluster of sacred services. Besides the hallowing of its first day already mentioned, the great day of atonement occurred on the 10th, and after the twice 7th followed the feast of tabernacles, which lasted for 7 days. The sacrifices upon this, as upon some other occasions, were multiples of seven; 7×10 bullocks for the entire feast, and twice 7 lambs for each day. Children were circumcised after they had completed their 7th day. Periods of purification from uncleanness were according to the nature of the several cases, 7, twice 7, 40, and twice 40 days. When persons or houses were suspected of leprosy, they were shut up 7 days, in order to a renewed examination. In their cleansing they were to be sprinkled 7 times. In sacrifices of more than ordinary solemnity, as that on the day of atonement, or one offered for the sins of a priest, or for those of the whole congregation, the sprinkling of the blood was repeated 7 times.

There were 3 orders of ministers in the sanctuary, the high priest, the priests, and the Levites. The priests were distributed by David into twice 12 courses. One 10th of all the produce of the land was given annually to the Levites, and every 3d year an additional 10th was bestowed upon the poor. Of the tithes which they received, the Levites were required to offer one 10th to the Lord. They had 4×12 cities assigned to them, with adjoining tracts of land lying 4 square, set by the points of the compass, and measuring $10 \times 10 \times 10$ cubits in each direction from the cities. Of these twice 3 were selected as cities of refuge. The sacred vestments of the priests were composed of 4 pieces; those of the high priest of twice 4. The breastplate of the high priest was adorned with 12 precious stones, set in 3 rows of 4 each. In the consecration of the priests, which lasted 7 days, they were anointed with the holy oil of 4 ingredients. The sacred incense was likewise compounded of 4 ingredients. Parts of 4 different creatures made up the cherubim. The legally prescribed encampment of the 12 tribes in the wilderness, was a hollow square, set by the points of the compass, with the sanctuary and its ministers in the centre, and 3 tribes lying upon each of its 4 sides.

It is not necessary in order to make out a case in favour of numerical symbols, that all the members which have been recited, should have an ideal significance. Many of them may have been, some very probably were, suggested by considerations of symmetry or convenience. But leaving all such out of view, there will still remain a frequency and regularity in the recurrence of a few favourite figures which cannot have been accidental. From these and similar facts gathered from other parts of Scripture, two conclusions have been drawn. The first is, that there are certain sacred numbers, or such as occur with marked frequency in the religious institutions of the Hebrews, and to which the preference seems always to have been accorded, when there was no antecedent reason of convenience, necessity or the like, for selecting another. This is generally admitted to be the case with 7, 10 and 12. Büllr contends for more than these; so do others, as will be seen in the sequel. The second conclusion is, that there are specific differences and gradations among the sacred numbers themselves, peculiarities of signification, so to speak, or of usage belonging to each, which determines with some degree of definiteness the respective range of their employment, and make one more suitable than another in its own particular sphere. As instances may be noted, the tens in the measures of the tabernacle as contrasted with the fives of the court, and the predominance of seven in the cycle of sacred seasons.

The complete proof of the symbolical import of numbers can however only be furnished by their interpretation. If a consistent and rational explanation can be made of them, which shall be in constant harmony with the connection in which they are found, the matter is settled. Everything depends upon whether such an explanation is possible. The proof of the correct interpretation of symbols, as that of the answer to an enigma, lies in the appositeness and the adequacy of the solution itself. This requires, however, that we should first examine the meanings or ideal values attributed to these various numbers. And in order to this it will be necessary to institute an investigation into the reasons of this signification. Upon what is it founded, and whence is it derived? Here we are met by several different theories. We may name

them the historical, the typical, the speculative, the astronomical, the chronological, and the realistic. A formidable list, truly! And yet it may prove not to be very difficult, after all, to select out those of them to which we may most reasonably look for whatever significance the numbers appear to have.

The historical theory supposes the sacredness of numbers to rest upon scriptural facts in which those numbers are prominent, and to which there is always a reference more or less distinct in their religious use. The plainest instances of this are twelve and seven. It is undeniable that twelve is often employed with designed allusion to the number of the tribes of Israel. From the duodenary division of this chosen race, twelve became the signature, so to speak, of the people of God, or of the Church. It was this, as is evident, which determined the number of jewels in the high priest's breastplate. This is positively asserted in many other cases, *e. g.* Ex. xxiv. 4. Josh. iv. 18. 1 Kings xviii. 31. Under the employment of this number, was couched an allusion to the twelve tribes. The loaves of shew-bread were to represent a combined offering from all the tribes. The oxen under the molten sea, and perhaps the boards of the tabernacle, numerically represented the same thing, they marked the sacred edifice in which they were found as designed for the worship of the twelve tribes. Bähr, though admitting all these facts, contends that there must have been some anterior reason for the sacredness of twelve, some reason other than the bare historical one which made it appropriate that the chosen people should be a whole made up of twelve confederated communities. 1. Because a duodenary division of tribes occurs in other ancient nations; also, *e. g.* the Arabs in Gen. xvii. 20; xxv. 16, and in the time of Mohammed, the ancient Persians, according to Xenophon, and even the ideal state of Plato. 2. Because the tribes were always numbered twelve, although there were in fact thirteen. Bähr's own explanation will be given below. Here it is sufficient to say that the number of Jacob's sons was twelve. And although the two tribes springing from Joseph, increased this number by one, yet this was balanced by the singular position occupied by Levi. Twelve tribes only received inheritance in the promised land.

The sacredness of seven is quite as plainly due to the sanctification of the seventh day at the creation. This is expressly declared in the fourth commandment to have determined the selection of the Sabbath day; and upon this is evidently built the whole round of Sabbatic institutions, governed as they are by sevens, throughout the whole of which the reference is plain to the primeval rest of God. Consequent upon this is a farther extension of its use. As seven marked sacred time, it came to mark other sacred things. Hence the seven branches of the candlestick, and other uses of the number detailed above, or to be mentioned hereafter. And it perhaps deserves consideration, whether out of the employment of this number in the book of Genesis, may not be derived an argument of some importance in favour of the original institution of the Sabbath immediately upon the creation. The force of the arguments can never be successfully set aside, which are drawn from the almost universal septenary division of time among all ancient nations; the importance of a day of religious rest to the patriarchs, no less than to their descendants, the distinct mention of the Sabbath before the arrival at Sinai, the word "Remember" in the fourth commandment, the extended Sabbatic system of the Mosaic law, seemingly implying a previously existing foundation upon which it was based, and the explicit testimony of Gen. ii. 3. But it may be worth inquiring, whether the ante-Mosaic sacredness of seven is not an additional argument to be co-ordinated with the foregoing. We shall not dwell upon this here, but only refer in passing to the ante-diluvian evidence of its sacredness in the sevenfold vengeance to be taken of the slayer of Cain, and the seventy and seven fold boasted of by Lamech; then the septenary division of time in the days of Noah, the seven clean beasts and birds he took with him into the ark, circumcision in the family of Abraham, performed after the seventh day, seven ewe lambs taken to witness the oath made with Abimelech, the constitution of the Hebrew language itself, in which "swear" and "seven" have a common etymology—not to mention cases in which its religious use is less apparent, as the seven years which Jacob served for Leah, and seven again for Rachel, the seven times he bowed himself to Esau, and the sevens of Pharaoh's dreams.

The explication of other numbers upon this theory is less evident and satisfactory. Ten might be referred to the ten plagues of Egypt, or the ten commandments; but the sacredness of the number is more easily explained as the cause than as the effect in these cases. The speculative theory seems to offer the best solution here. Hengstenberg, after denying in his *Bileam*, p. 90, the symbolic character of three, and specifically that it had such a character in the sacerdotal blessing, Num. vi. 22, in his later writings finds evidences of its sacredness almost without limit, and makes it the number of the blessing.* We confess, however, that we are unable to see in the instances adduced by him or by others, the evidence of any thing more than a rhetorical or a graditative employment of the number three. And we do not see why his own previous appeal to Jer. vii. 4; xxii. 29; Ez. xxi. 27, does not remain valid against his later conclusions. Nor, to our mind, is there any more proof of the symbolical character of the number in the three successive compartments of progressive sacredness forming the sanctuary, than there are in the three ordinary degrees of comparison. The only cases in which we are disposed to think it significant, are those in which it appears in immediate connection with the divine names, *e. g.* in the sacerdotal blessing, that pronounced by Jacob upon Joseph, Gen. xlviii. 15, 16, or the thrice holy of Isa. vi. 3. There may be in passages like these, obscure intimations of the doctrine elsewhere taught in the Old Testament, and clearly revealed in the New, of a trinity of divine persons. But the proof seems to be wanting of anything beyond this, of any extended use of the number with designed allusion, whether to the Divine Being, (Bähr,) his blessing, (Hengstenberg,) or the secret mystery of his nature, (Lampe,†) or even a more vague and general employment of it in sacred connections.

* In his preliminary remarks upon Ps. xxvi. and xxvii., Hengstenberg recites what he at that time held to be "all the significant numbers of the Old Testament;" twelve, the number of the covenant people; ten, the signature of completeness; seven, the signature of the covenant; and three, the number of the blessing. In his *Commentary on the Revelation*, he not only adds the number four, but adopts regarding it the opinion of Bähr, which he had before distinctly repelled, that it is the signature of the earth. See on Rev. iv. 6.

† See *Comment. in Joannem* vi. 67. In this passage, which we make no apo-

Vitringa may be taken as the representative of the typical theory. An inordinate fondness for types is a well-known characteristic of this learned and able expositor, and it has frequently betrayed him into extravagant and fanciful views. The strong conviction which he entertained of the intimate connection between the two dispensations, led him into the belief that everything in the Old Testament bore a designed relation to something which was to appear in the New. This same idea governed his explanation of at least one of the sacred numbers, viz. seven. His views regarding it are given at considerable length in his comment upon Rev. i. 20. He contends that there is always involved in it, wherever it occurs, in the Old Testament and in the New, a mystical reference to the seven periods through which the Church of Christ is to pass before the end of all things, as set forth in the seven mystical churches of Asia, and the seven seals; a view, the adoption of which, he thinks, will "shed immense light" upon the typical institutions of the Old Economy, and the various passages of Holy Writ in which this number is mentioned or

logy for quoting at length, it will be perceived that Lampe gives to both *three* and *four* ideal meanings. He agrees with Vitringa in attributing to seven a typical sense, and with Bähr in making the composition of twelve and seven from three and four significant, while as to the primary sacredness of twelve, he adopts the historical view stated above. "*Collegium Apostolorum frequenter in historia Evangelica dicitur ei δέσσεια non solum propter numerum quem conficiebant, sed etiam propter singulare mysterium quod sub eorum duodenario latet, quod ipse servator innuit Matth. xix. 28, nempe quod hic numerus respondeat xii. patriarchis, filiis Jacobi, totidem tribuum Israelis capitibus, quorum antitypus erant apostoli, filii Israelis mystici, fundamenta et capita totius populi Dei in N. T. et capropter per duodenarium fontium in Elim, gemmarum in pectorali Pontificis maximi, duodecim lapides in Jordane erectos, duodecim boves maris ænei etc. præfigurati. Unde universa Ecclesia N. T. toties in Apocalypsi per duodenarium duplicationem et in unum corpus cum Ecclesia V. T. collecta per duodenarium duplicatum seu xxiv. presbyteros respondentem ephemeris Sacerdotum et Levitarum, recensetur. Nec sine mysterio esse videtur, quod duodenarius constet ternario per quaternium multiplicato, cum non solum ternarius et quaternarius conficiat septenarium, omnes periodos ecclesiæ connectentem, sed etiam ternarius respondeat Trinitati, quaternarius Ecclesiæ per quatuor partes orbis terrarum dispersæ. Divisio enim duodenarii in ternarios et quaternarios mysticos fundata est tum in castrametatione Num. ii. tum in portis Hierosolymæ secundum Ezechielem xlvi. 31—34, distinctis, quarum δώδεκα Spiritus Sanctus Apoc. xxi. 13 non obscure innuit.*"

alluded to. He admits that in the Sabbath there is a commemoration of the creation, but argues that the Old Testament, as a whole, is not commemorative of the past, but typical of the future; and that every thing centres, not in the old work of the original creation, but in the promised creation of a new heavens and a new earth, in the grander work of redemption to be consummated under the New Economy, and in this latter, not in the former, he would seek the antitype of every Old Testament fact and institution. If the basis upon which this explanation rests were more secure, it might deserve to be further inquired into. But are any such seven periods certainly predicted of the Christian Church?

Whether Vitringa extends this theory to other numbers, is not so clear. He says of ten, Rev. ii. 10, that it is a number "absolutus et perfectus," but without giving the grounds upon which, in his view, its perfection rests. It is hard to see what typical reference it could be imagined to have. Of twelve he says, Rev. xiv. 1, that it exhibits the church founded upon the doctrine of the twelve apostles, the true antitype of the old Jewish church, divided into twelve tribes.

The speculative theory has been most ably presented and advocated by Bähr, and after him by Kurtz. It proceeds upon the supposition that there is an ideal signification inherent in numbers themselves, and not derived to them from any subject to which they belong, and with which they have been associated; one which follows from the universal and necessary laws of the human mind acting upon simple numerical relations. This obliges them to seek the same essential ideas in the numerical symbols of all nations, only modified in their character and applications by the nature of the system in which they are each time found. Bähr largely substantiates this view by the testimony of ancient writers, particularly the Pythagoreans and the later Platonists, into whose philosophy speculation upon the abstract nature of numbers so largely entered. To our mind the scheme is for the most part the merest fancy, even as regards the explanation of the numbers of the heathen mythology and worship, and wholly foreign to the Mosaic system and the scriptural system generally, in

which its subtleties and refinements find not the slightest countenance, expressed or implied.*

Bähr's view of the matter, as nearly as we can state it in a brief compass, is this. Two awakens the idea of division, of opposition, of contrast. This duality is removed by the addition of another unit which mediates, as it were, between the previously divided parts. Thus arises a fresh unity, not like that of the uncompounded monad in which there was no opposition, and no contrast to reconcile, but a higher and more perfect unity with contraricties reconciled and differences set at rest. A perfect whole is conceived as consisting of three parts, beginning, middle, end. So time has its three divisions, past, present, future; and space its three dimensions, length, breadth, thickness. The triangle is the simplest of all rectilinear figures. Now, as the idea of the Deity is the most perfect of all ideas, and it is to the Deity that perfect existence exclusively belongs, three is the divine number, the signature of that Being, who is, and was, and is to come.† This use of the number he traces not only in the triad of the Hindoos, but among the Chinese and other Oriental nations, the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Northmen, and even some American tribes. Compare in the classical mythology, the three-forked lightning of Jupiter, the trident of Neptune, the three-headed dog of Pluto, the tripod of Apollo, the three Fates, three Furies, three Graces, thrice three Muses, &c. In the Mosaic tabernacle, there are found no triangular forms, as there are again and again in heathendom, as symbols of the Deity. This would have been in direct contravention of the Mosaic statute to make no visible representation of God. It is not until the times of the Cabbala, that we find this use of the triangle among the Jews. But things bearing a divine character and specially devoted to God occur in triplets.

* Vitringa's pithy reply to this theory is *Anacrisis*, p. 43. *An res sunt propter numerum, num potius numerus propter res?* * * * *Certe cum numerus mera sit collectio unitatum, unitas vero unitate non sit per se præstantior, nulla etiam numeri hujus (7) per se præ alio erit præcellentia.* The arguments by which it is supported, he calls, *ineptas subtilitates, quæ si subjicerentur rigidiore examini vel sanum sensum non darent, vel discussæ abirent in fumos.*

† Compare Schœttgen's *Horæ Heb. et Talmud*, on *Rev. i. 4.*

As four proceeds from three, so the world from God; this therefore is the number of the world. The same appears too from the constitution of the world, its four elements, four cardinal points, four seasons. As the world is that in which the Deity reveals himself, four becomes the number of divine revelation; hence the four-sided figure of the Mosaic altars and of the sanctuary, as the seat of revelation, and the holy of holies, whence God communed with Moses, was a cube, each side of it a perfect square.*

Three and four combined make seven, the signature of the union of God and the world. In the heathen symbols this has to do with mere cosmical relations, and the harmony of the universe. In the Mosaic system it suggests the covenant relation between God and his chosen people, and may be affixed to anything specially belonging to that covenant, its preservation, &c.; hence its connection with circumcision, the Sabbath, sacrifices, purifications. Twelve is formed from the same numbers, not by addition but by multiplication. It is a four conditioned, inhabited by the three, a totality in which God is, and in which he reveals himself. In Scripture symbols it is the signature of the covenant people, and is best illustrated by the encampment in the wilderness, in the form of a square with three tribes on each side, and God's tabernacle in the midst.

Ten closes the series of units; all numeration is but a constant succession of decades. Ten thus represents the whole numerical system, and becomes in consequence the symbol of completeness. It represents a system of units forming together one entire, complete and perfect whole. Hence the ten avatars of India, the ten spheres of Pythagoras, the ten periods of the Etruscans, the ten sephiroth of the Cabalists, &c. The ten commandments form a complete rule of duty; the judgments upon Egypt ran their fearful course in ten successive plagues. Hence, too, tithes; the sum of a man's possessions is reckoned

* The square figure of the Temple and of the New Jerusalem, according to Vitringa, p. 899, and Hävernick (Comment. Zum Ezech. p. 691,) suggests the ideas of firmness and regularity. According to Bähr, the tabernacle was set by the points of the compass, so as to correspond with God's dwelling in the universe, which it mediately represented; according to Keil and to Kurtz, to symbolize the future extension of the kingdom of God over all the earth.

ten, of which he gives the first part to God in token of grateful acknowledgment to him from whom he has received the whole. The explanation which Bähr has given of the significance of this number is the obvious one, bating a refinement of speculation in which it is impossible to follow him. The decimal division of numbers prevailing among all nations is the basis of all that is significant in ten. But as for any "universal laws of thought," which lie behind this, and require that mankind should count by tens rather than by nines or twelves, these belong to the "*ineptae subtilitates*." Great as is the contempt in which the opinion is held both by Bähr and Kurtz, we shall have to confess ourselves guilty of the flatness of those who think that the ten fingers of the human hands have determined the number of the digits, as their very name implies. We have however, quite as little respect for the notion of Grotius, for which Friederich who follows him, cites Prov. vii. 3, that the number of the commandments was ten, in order that the people might recite them upon their fingers, and thereby impress them upon their memory, as we have for the no less strange idea of Kurtz, that in the creation of man those immutable laws of thought were regarded, which determine him to count by tens, and ten fingers were given him to correspond.

Five set over against ten represents perfection, as it were, half attained. It is the number of relative imperfection. Hence the fives of the court, as compared with the corresponding tens in the measures of the tabernacle.

The astronomical view refers seven and twelve to the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac. The chronological derives their sacredness from the twelve months in the year, and the seven days in each lunar phase. The realistic seeks the meaning of the sacred numbers in the various physical relations or phenomena, celestial and terrestrial, into which they enter, *e. g.* seven is found in the septentriones, the pleiades, the musical sounds, the Greek vowels, the climacterics, etc. These three views, either singly or combined, are commonly regarded as exhibiting the sources of all sacredness in numbers among the heathen. Winer would thus explain the mystic use of seven among the Hebrews, but is prevented from thus explaining twelve by the indubitable historical evi-

dence of the existence among them of twelve tribes. If the seven days of creation had been to him equally indubitable he would no doubt have felt that it was quite as unnecessary to assume any other ground than this of the sacredness of seven. It is surprising to find even Hengstenberg partially falling in with these views, and claiming that the Hebrews derived their ideal use of numbers from the heathen. If the historical grounds of sacredness, in the case of seven and twelve at least, were not so plain, and were not expressly asserted to be the true ones; and if symbols drawn from the physical features of the universe, however familiar to heathenism, were not totally unknown to the Scriptures, such a view would be more pardonable. We cannot but think that in the utterance of such an opinion, Hengstenberg must have been biassed by the comparisons which he had recently been instituting between the things of Israel and those of heathen Egypt, and the anxiety with which he had been grasping after analogies as proofs of the true Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch.

It is chiefly the numerical relations of the Levitical institutions, which have been exhibited hitherto. It is time now to ask what light can be thrown upon this subject from other parts of Scripture. We have looked a little at the beginning of the sacred volume; let us now pass at once to its close. That the book of Revelation is largely symbolical, all admit. Much of it, most of it, if not all of it, must be so explained. It cannot by possibility be literal. This creates a presumption that its numbers, too, may have a mystical value. The symbols of this book are also, in great part, borrowed from the Old Testament. Much of its language, many of its ideas, find their basis there. There are no heathen symbols in it, as can be shown, not even the palms in the hands of the rejoicing multitude before the throne. There are the mystical tribes of Israel, the song of Moses, the tree of life, the lamb slain, the ark of the covenant, the feast of tabernacles. All this favours the impression that laws of interpretation derived from the Mosaic symbols will be valid here. Still farther, many of the numbers of the Revelation, it must be admitted, can have no other than an ideal application. The number sealed of each of the tribes cannot be a literal number, whether understood exactly or approximately. If it have any

signification whatever, it must be a mystical signification. The measures of the new Jerusalem cannot be literal numbers. And even those interpreters by whom the numbers designating time are subjected to computation, reckon them, not literally as they stand, but by principles and methods which have quite as much need of proof to establish their correctness, as the symbolical view of the subject has.* And that mode of calculating the number of the beast from the numerical powers of letters, which, without intending any disrespect, we may call semi-cabbalistic, has, to say the least, quite as strong a presumption against it, and quite as little analogy from the Scriptures in its favour, and perhaps no more that is satisfactory and convincing in the result, than a symbolic understanding of it would have. The ten horns of the beast are very commonly interpreted of precisely ten kingdoms, and yet there is great diversity in their enumeration. We must not be understood to be the advocate of any theory. We do not set up to be an interpreter of the book of Revelation. We have no desire further than to lay the facts before the reader, unbiassed by prepossessions and foregone conclusions, and to gain for the symbolical system a candid hearing.

The prominence of the number seven in this book is particularly marked. There are 7 churches of Asia, 7 stars, 7 golden candlesticks, 7 spirits of God, the lamb with 7 horns and 7 eyes, the book with 7 seals, 7 angels with 7 trumpets, 7 thunders, 7 vials with the 7 last plagues, the earthquake destroying 7 thousand men, the beast and the dragon having each 7 heads and 10 horns. The witnesses prophesy in sackcloth the half of 7 years, and lie unburied the half of 7 days. The half of 7 years also marks the woman's stay in the wilderness, the

* That even English divines of learning and ability, are not so much at one upon this point as seems to be commonly taken for granted, at least in this country, may be seen from the following remarks of Brown, in his *Ordo Seclorum*, or *Chronology of the Holy Scriptures*, p. 24:—"I earnestly disclaim and protest against all attempts at calculating the times which are yet future. Notwithstanding the deference due to a few venerated names, I am bound to declare my conviction that all such attempts are alike futile and presumptuous. The hypothesis in particular, which makes the periods assigned by Daniel and St. John, of 1260 and 2300 days, to be that number of *years*, is a mere fiction, proved to have been invented at first by heretics, and since adopted chiefly as a weapon of controversy."

continuance of the beast, and the trampling of the holy city under foot by the Gentiles. Interpreted symbolically this says, that the duration of the enemy's triumph is measured, and that by a broken number: the half of 7, after the analogy of the half of 10, symbolizing what is incomplete and transitory.

Twelve appears everywhere appropriately as the number of God's people, of the Church. The twice 12 elders before the throne represent the Church of both dispensations; 12 thousand of each of the 12 tribes are sealed as God's elect. The woman symbolizing the people of God wears a crown of 12 stars. The redeemed on Mount Sion are 12×12 thousand. The New Jerusalem, imaging forth the perfect Church, bears the appropriate number in every possible way. Upon its gates surmounted by 12 angels are inscribed the names of the 12 tribes. Its 12 foundations bear the names of the 12 apostles of the Lamb. Its length, and breadth, and height, are each 12 thousand cubits, constituting it a perfect cube like the holy of holies, God's immediate dwelling place in both the tabernacle and the temple. Its wall measures 12×12 cubits; its gates are 12 pearls; and the tree of life within it bears 12 manner of fruits. On the other hand, the beast which made war upon the Church is marked with the half or broken twelve, which is thrice repeated 666, to carry the idea to its utmost intensity; there is thus intimated, in spite of his seeming victory, his essential inferiority to the true people of God.*

Other numbers are less conspicuous and pervading in their use. The 10th part of the great city fell in the earthquake, the locusts had power to torture men the half of 10 months, the broken number here again denoting imperfection and limitation. The number of the horsemen under the conduct of the 4 angels

* This is Hengstenberg's view as we understand it. It is slightly modified from that of Vitringa, whom Hengstenberg has yet followed in the main. Vitringa says, Numerus ecclesiæ veræ est 12. Numerus ecclesiæ falsæ et corruptæ est senarius 6, quia duodenarium dividit in duas partes, hoc est, destruit et dissolvit. * Regnum bestię destruit, quantum in se est, verum regnum Christi. * * * Quod autem numerum hunc bestię Spiritus efferre voluerit tribus senariis, quippe ex senariis monadum, decadum, et hecatontadum conflatum, haud dubie ob hanc factum est rationem, ut senarium nobis exhiberet in omni sua perfectione.

bound in Euphrates, is, in the judgment of Vitranga, made up from a peculiar combination of 10 and 3. Three successive multiplications, first of ten into itself, then of each successive product into itself, will yield as their result the number as it appears in a few manuscripts, or the half of the number as it is in the received text; the whole conveying the idea of the most perfect multitude, an immense innumerable host. The tail of the great red dragon drew the 3d part of the stars; 3 unclean spirits issued from the mouths of the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet; the great city was divided into 3 parts by a mighty earthquake; the judgments denounced in chapters viii. and ix. constantly destroyed the 3d part of their respective objects. The signature of the earth appears in the 4 beasts, symbolizing, according to Hengstenberg, all terrestrial animated things, in the 4 angels standing on the 4 corners of the earth, holding the four winds, and in the blood flowing from the wine-press by the space of 4×4 hundred furlongs.

Our limits compel us to pass more rapidly over the intermediate books of Scripture. It will be sufficient to refer to some of the more marked examples. In compassing the city of Jericho, 7 priests, bearing 7 trumpets of rams' horns, preceded the ark; they thus marched about the city 7 days, and on the 7th day 7 times. As a magical charm, Samson was bound with 7 green withs, and 7 locks of his head were woven with the web. Hannah sang "the barren hath borne 7." God offered to David in punishment for his sin 3 things, 7 years of famine, 3 months of flight before his enemies, or 3 days' pestilence. Naaman was bidden to wash 7 times in Jordan. The words of the Lord are as silver purified 7 times. To wisdom's house Solomon assigns 7 pillars. Jeremiah foretold a captivity in Babylon for 7×10 years, and at its close Daniel predicted the advent of Messiah in 7×10 weeks of years. Matthew divides the interval from Abraham to Christ into 3 periods of twice 7 generations each. We read of 12 apostles, 7×10 disciples, and 7 deacons. The Saviour spake parables respecting 10 virgins, and 10 pieces of silver, and 10 servants, to whom were delivered 10 pounds. He told Peter that he must forgive his brother not 7 times merely, but 70 times 7.

A much more questionable application has been attempted of the sacred numbers to the history and chronology of the Bible. This has been done by two entirely different classes of men, and with exactly opposite ends in view. Sceptical writers have sought, as a means of bringing the truth of the sacred history into question, to show that like the mythologies of the heathen, it is built upon certain favourite numbers, and is pervaded by an obvious or concealed uniformity of periods. Mr. Browne, in his *Ordo Seclorum*, has, on the other hand, sought to vindicate the truth and the divinity of the Scripture history by this very means, and to show, by a train of numerical relations, that "it must be the Lord's doing, and ought to be marvellous in our eyes."

It is probable, however, that most persons will think neither party successful. The occasional occurrence of these particular numbers may have been quite casual: there is, at least, no need of supposing that God conducted his providence with the design of weaving these numbers into it.* Their appearance is by no means so uniform as to create the impression of a plan consistently pursued. The most remarkable instances which have been alleged are the following. The antediluvian genealogy embraces ten names, of which the seventh, Enoch, and the tenth, Noah, have remarkable histories connected with them. Abraham, again, is the tenth from Shem. Noah had three sons; so had Terah. Jacob had twelve sons; so had Ishmael. The life of Moses is divided into three periods of uniform length, each forty years. Seven years were spent in the conquest of Canaan; seven also in building the temple. David reigned forty years; so did Saul, as we learn from Acts xiii. 21, though this is not stated in the Old Testament; so did Solomon. From the exodus to the building of the temple was twelve times forty years. Von Bohlen, in his *Genesis*, p. lxiv.,

* This seems to be the view of Hofmann in his *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, I. p. 85. Noah was the tenth in order from Adam and Seth, as afterwards Abraham was again the tenth in order from Shem. The number ten is in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as it is in itself by reason of the number of the fingers and toes, the number of the natural of man (*des menschlich natürlichen*), the number in which it finds its termination; whilst seven is the number of divine possibilities and activities, and Enoch was accordingly the seventh.

has succeeded in picking out seventeen forties, either days or years, between the first of Genesis and the last of Kings, in a period of more than three thousand years. And by the aid of forcing and conjectural emendation, a few more may be created. Evidently it is only the singling out of these numbers, and bringing them together, which produces the impression of any thing unusual. A little ingenuity can do the same with any other history. The ages of the American Presidents exhibit coincidences more striking than any in the sacred history, and if these are to be taken as proof of mythical character, the past period of our government must be set down as fabulous. Some ingenious person has culled from the life of Buonaparte instances to show that the same number recurs with surprising frequency in his history. This deserves to be added to the proofs by which Whately demonstrated that upon sceptical principles the Corsican was a fabulous personage. The numbers in the statement of Job's family and possessions form one of the matters in dispute between those who regard the book in whole or in part as a moral fiction, and those who take it to be a literal narrative.

A more recondite use of these numbers has of late been maintained in the constitution of books, the arrangement of verses and sentences, and even the collocation of words. If the extreme views of some upon this subject be adopted, it would almost seem as though the sacred penmen thought of little else but how they might exhibit these numbers with the greatest frequency, and to the best advantage. Kurtz insists upon the significance of the fact, that ten books of generations are to be found in Genesis, and he makes this an argument in defence of its unity and its Mosaic origin. His view has been approved by several able scholars, although we perceive in the *Studien und Kritiken* of last year, an article by Tiele in opposition to it; in which he urges that the formula "These are the generations, &c.," occurs eleven and not ten times, and that it cannot, in all cases, be regarded as introducing a fresh section of the book. It is not the truth of this view, however, which at present concerns us, but only the fact of its having been maintained. Bertheau contends that the legislation of the three middle books of the Pentateuch is built upon seven groups of

laws, each containing seven decalogues. It requires some application of the higher criticism to exhibit this, and it is not defensible in all its rigour. And yet he has developed some very interesting coincidences, and such as are deserving of examination. The book of Judges, according to the same writer, treats of its twelve judges in seven separate sections. He divides Proverbs, likewise, into seven parts, each distinguished by its separate title, the number being completed by assuming that xxii. 17 contains such a title, and that the alphabetical structure xxxi. 10—31 renders a title superfluous. The arrangement of the book of Job, it has been claimed, exhibits an application of the sacred numbers. Zullig, whom Hengstenberg follows in this respect, with some little alteration, finds the Revelation to consist of seven co-ordinate groups or visions.

The ten commandments is an undisputed instance of a significant number entering into a composition, and determining its form. Some reckon seven beatitudes, and seven petitions in the Lord's prayer, and think the seven parables in Matth. xiii. significant. Hengstenberg, (*Comment. Psalm iv. 2*, p. 242) finds a mystical import in the number and arrangement of the verses in Isa. liii., but either he has miscounted, or we cannot arrive at his meaning. The most extended theory of this kind, is that of the last named author, who undertakes to show that the sacred numbers enter generally into the structure of the Psalms, and supply the place of rhyme and measure in the poetry of other languages. He everywhere finds the verses thrown into tens and twelves, and sevens and threes, and fours; these with the aid of elevens, (half the number of the Hebrew letters,) and fives ought, one would think, to enable him to make out a scheme for the most refractory Psalm, especially as he allows himself the liberty of introducing ones and twos to serve in occasional emergencies. If we may judge from its reception thus far, this theory is not likely to meet with universal acceptance very soon, nor to be considered by many besides its author, as uncovering the long buried mystery of Hebrew verse. Even Keil, whom we scarcely remember to have seen contradicting his preceptor before, refuses to follow him in this.


A significance in the frequency with which the divine names

are used in certain Psalms, is a part of the same theory. Hengstenberg refers to thirty-three Psalms, or about one-fifth of the whole number, in which he thinks that this is the case. If any one will take the trouble to examine the table given by Delitzsch,* of the number of divine names occurring in each of the Psalms, he will discover anything but regularity and evidence of design. Following the method that Hengstenberg did, however, sometimes adding all the divine names together, sometimes reckoning each separately, sometimes counting them in part of a Psalm, sometimes in the whole, and still again in two Psalms or even more, the wonder is not that he found the sacred numbers so often, but that he did not find them oftener. And among 150 Psalms, it is not strange if there should occasionally be found one, which seems to him who looks at that alone, to fall in remarkably with the theory. To give the reader a better idea of the theory in operation, we shall here present the numerical scheme supposed to be found in Psalms xxviii. and xxix. These are in the judgment of Hengstenberg himself unusually favourable specimens. The first verse of Ps. xxviii. is the introduction, the last the conclusion; rejecting these there will remain seven verses for the body of the Psalm, four contain the prayer, three in the midst of which the name Jehovah occurs three times, contain the assurance of being heard. In Ps. xxix., two verses are lopped off as introduction, and two as conclusion, leaving again seven for the body of the Psalm; in these "the voice of Jehovah" occurs seven times, and Jehovah itself ten times. The sum of the verses in the two Psalms is twice ten, which just equals the number of times that Jehovah occurs in them both.

The sacred numbers have also been sought elsewhere in the collocation of words. The enumeration of the Canaanitish nations contains sometimes seven names, once ten. The fact that the number more commonly mentioned is six, would to some be an argument that the other enumerations were accidental, to others that they were designed. Seven attributes of the Spirit are by many counted in Isa. xi. 2. In the Revelation groups of three frequently occur, *e. g.* works, labour, patience; lightnings, thunderings, voices, &c. Groups of four:

* In his *Symbolæ ad Psalmos illustrandos isagogicæ*, pp. 2, 3.

heaven, earth, sea, and fountains of waters; kindred and tongue, and people and nation. Seven: blessing and glory, and wisdom and thanksgiving, and honour and power, and might; power and riches, and wisdom and strength, and honour and glory, and blessing. If any have time and inclination for such learned trifling, they can find any number more of the same sort in the section on the numerosity of the Apocalypse, in Stuart's Commentary, vol. i. pp. 131-150.

 It was not until this article had been concluded and sent to press, that our eye fell upon the closing paragraph in the supplementary remarks by Delitzsch, in his Exposition of Genesis, p. 412. He there gives the following summary of Hofmann's views regarding the significance of numbers, as communicated to him in writing by his "dear friend and colleague:" "3 ist die Zahl Gottes, sie bedeutet Gott in der einheitlichen Geschlossenheit seines wesens; 4 die Zahl der welt, die welt in der einheitlichen Geschlossenheit ihres Bestandes; 12 (3×4) die Zahl der welt Gottes, der Gemeinde; 7 die Zahl der göttlichen Möglichkeit, das Göttliche in der Mannigfaltigkeit seiner Entfaltung; 10 die Zahl der menschlichen Möglichkeit, das Menschliche in der Mannigfaltigkeit seiner Entfaltung; 70 (7×10) die gottgeordnete Mannigfaltigkeit des menschlichen; 40 (4×10) die weltlich begrenzte Zeit des menschen; 70 (7×10) die göttliche bestimmte Zeit des Menschen; 49 (7×7) die Zeit Gottes." Delitzsch himself ascribes to 10 the idea of perfection, but modified by its being based upon its constituents 7 and 3. "Die Zahl 10 bedeutet die vollendete offenbarung Gottes vor sich selbst und nach der welt hin, die siebenfache Ausstrahlung des in sich selbst Dreifaltigen."

In proof of the arrangement of books of Scripture according to significant numbers, he refers to the quintuple division of the Pentateuch and of the Psalms, and to the triple division of the second portion of Isaiah, viz: into three sections of three discourses each. In the New Testament he alleges, and promises at some future time to prove, a quintuple division of one gospel, that of Matthew, and a triple division of another, that of John.

ART. III.—*Mercantile Morals: or, Thoughts for Young Men entering Mercantile Life.* By Wm. Howard Van Doren, pastor of the Second Reformed Dutch Church, of Piermont, New York. New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau street. 1852. 18mo, pp. 437.

The Successful Merchant: Sketches of the Life of Mr. Samuel Budgett, late of Kingswood Hill. By William Arthur, A. M. New York: Published by Lane and Scott, 200 Mulberry street. Joseph Longking, Printer. 1852. 18mo, pp. 411.

WE have in these two volumes theory and practice, the abstract and the concrete. The first furnishes copious illustrations of the principles which ought to actuate a young man just entering mercantile life. The second exemplifies the practicability of carrying out those principles in actual business. If any one should pretend that integrity is incompatible with success, the career of Mr. Budgett may be adduced as a triumphant refutation of the position.

Mr. Van Doren has spent much of his life in the vicinity of New York, to say nothing of one or two winters in Philadelphia in attendance on medical lectures, and consequently, we may regard him, clergyman though he be, as not unacquainted with the subject of which he treats. He has used his powers of observation to good purpose. His work will, we hope, command the attention of that class of persons for whom it is designed. Discarding all attempts to prepare a dry abstruse essay on the morals of commerce, the author has intentionally indulged in a profuseness of illustration, drawn from history, science, and every-day life, with a view to render truth more attractive. We are not therefore to criticise the work as we would a logical treatise. The topics handled are the following:—Wealth not the chief end of life; the evil of making haste to be rich; the principles of commercial morality; the observance of the Sabbath; the advantages of temperance; and cautions against scepticism, novels and the theatre. Such a meagre resumé as this, however, will give a very inadequate conception of the character of the work. If a severe

critic were to single out any one thing more than another, next to an occasional looseness of connection, he would probably animalvert upon a too great exuberance of detail, sometimes almost fatiguing; as for instance, in the chapter on the theatre, where are heaped together over three-score and ten citations and examples to show the evil tendencies of the stage. Still, as was intimated above, considering the class of readers in view, allowance must be made for repetition and redundancy as a possible part of the plan. What enhances the interest of many of the illustrations, is the fact that they fell under the eye of the writer himself; for instance, the anecdote of the parsimonious suicide, p. 34; the deranged lawyer, p. 39; the mail robber, p. 76; the young bankrupt, p. 134; the hardened sceptic, p. 263; the Sabbath keeper, p. 263; the Sabbath breaker, p. 270; the novel reader, p. 373.

The principles which pervade the volume are sound, healthy, and evangelical. The word of God is faithfully and impressively recommended as a plain, safe, and infallible guide. The direction of the Psalmist is cordially endorsed, as the surest method of cleansing a young man's way. We are happy to learn that there is a probability of the Publishing Board of the Reformed Dutch Church, if not the American Tract Society, giving the chapter on the stage to the world in a separate form.

Where there is so much to commend, and especially where the design is so laudable, it is not agreeable to add any thing in the way of censure. Yet, we would guard the author against that tendency to redundancy and glitter by which young authors are apt to be captivated; and we would recommend a more logical train of thought, and a less ambitious style. He is inaccurate in some of his historical instances. Tullus Hostilius, (p. 17.) was not a Roman Emperor, nor could he have pronounced the Christian religion vulgar, for he lived prior to its advent; nor did he scout any other God than his good sword. It was the atheist Mezentius who was guilty of that impiety. It was not Heliogabalus, (p. 54,) but Caligula, who wished his subjects had but one neck, that he might strike it off at one blow. It was not Brutus, (p. 96,) who said female virtue should be above suspicion, but Julius Cæsar, who made the remark when he divorced his wife.

From the broad field of Mercantile Morals we turn aside to individualize and study the character of "A Successful Merchant," as portrayed by the hand of Mr. Arthur, (who is not to be confounded with the popular American writer of the same name.) This piece of biography is exceedingly interesting.

Samuel Budgett, born in 1794, was apprenticed, when fourteen years of age, to his brother, who kept a small general shop at Kingswood, near Bristol. He early displayed a turn for trade in his boyish adventures, and had a keen eye to business. He seems to have been a born merchant. In the course of time he rose to be a partner, and finally sole master of the concern, when his genius had unrestrained scope. Having gradually enlarged the retail to a commanding wholesale business, he made Bristol the centre of his operations upon the grandest scale. Yet, large as the concern was, he resolutely adhered to his original determination, to eschew speculations, and be content with small but sure profits. He made his business as near a cash business as possible, no matter whom he offended, or whose custom he might lose. Order, promptness, punctuality, exactness, justice, these were the few and simple principles that governed the establishment. The business of each day was done up the same day; nothing was ever left over; the orders of the morning were filled and despatched immediately. The consequence was, that a vast amount of business was got through, and yet the men were dismissed to their homes at five or half past five, instead of being detained until ten.

To look at this man, pushing, driving, bargaining, with untiring industry and comprehensive forecast, displaying the most consummate tact, generalship, and energy, you would pronounce him decidedly avaricious, and an unscrupulous devotee of Mammon. Yet no judgment would have been more erroneous. It was not the love of money, but the love of trade that possessed him. The motive that urged him on, was the same that has made heroes, generals, statesmen, poets, painters; the pride of superior management and skill, the ambition of præminence in his particular vocation. His expenditures were as liberal as his calculations were close.

His maxim was to get all he could, to save all he could, and to give all he could. And he did it. The combination of these apparently heterogeneous elements was in him perfect. He not only gave frequent presents to his men, but if any of them fell into distress, he generously offered them, with good advice, five, ten, thirty, fifty, or a hundred pounds, a horse, or a horse and cart, to set them up again. His charities were of the same unstinted character. He never looked coldly or askance at the solicitor who sought his attention, or put him off with the chilling excuse, "I have had so many calls lately;" but he seemed glad to have a new opportunity of doing good. "Well," he would say, "what do you think I ought to give?" And whether the sum named was ten pounds, or fifteen, or twenty, it was always cheerfully forthcoming. He was also in the habit of dropping occasionally a five pound note into his pastor's hand, to be disbursed by him among the poor and distressed, who fell under his notice. He gave away annually one sixth of his income. Good books he distributed in incredible quantities.

The reader will probably have already anticipated that the union of so much generosity with so much industry is to be accounted for by the fact that Mr. Budgett was a sincere Christian. Indeed, the exercises of his inner life, and his zealous efforts for the conversion and spiritual improvement of others, are not the least striking features of his biography. Besides his anxiety to procure a chapel for the use of his numerous dependants on the Sabbath, he appropriated a capacious room in his warehouse to a religious use. Here every morning, about seven, or half past seven o'clock, family prayer was observed. If one of the heads of the establishment was not present, some labourer would conduct the devotions, which consisted of reading the Scriptures, singing, and prayer. Some fifty or a hundred porters, in their white frocks, would participate in these exercises, with decorum and interest, invoking the blessing of the Lord upon the business of the day.

It is gratifying to notice the unsectarian tone of this good man's religion. While he was an earnest Methodist himself, and rejoiced, as well he might, in the abundant fruits of Mr. Wesley's labours at Kingswood, he was ever ready to encourage

and aid the Church of England rector, the Moravian minister, or the Independent pastor.

It is impossible to rise from the perusal of such a man's life, without an increased respect for the commercial body of which he was so worthy a member, and a wish that there may be many like him. We rejoice to believe that his was not a solitary instance of the realization of the triplet of duties, "Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

That honesty and success are incompatible, is an opinion which has gained, among a certain class, a wide currency. It has been boldly and unblushingly asserted, and that by mercantile men themselves, that no merchant who is a strictly honest man, can succeed in our great commercial emporiums, and that to act upon the golden rule, will ruin any man's business. It is too probable that numbers act on this persuasion. The President, in his last message, complains of the frequency of frauds upon the revenue. "The reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, heretofore made on this subject," he says, "show conclusively that these frauds have been practised to a great extent. The tendency is to destroy that high moral character for which our merchants have long been distinguished; to defraud the Government of its revenue; to break down the honest importer by a dishonest competition; and finally, to transfer the business of importation to foreign and irresponsible agents, to the great detriment of our own citizens." This is not a very flattering picture of the mercantile morals of the present day.

It would seem as if mankind were still very much the same as in the ancient times, when prophets and apostles fulminated the terrors of another world before the iniquitous. Overreaching traders are no novelty. There were those in former days, of whom the language was used, "he is a merchant; the balances of deceit are in his hands; he loveth to oppress:" and although they grew rich by fraud, they used the same pleas of self-vindication that we find employed now; "in all my labours they shall find none iniquity in me that were sin." The very same pretence soothed the conscience in the old world that soothes it in the new. Not only are men ready to ascribe their wealth to their industry, "sacrificing unto their net, and

burning incense unto their drag;" but they go farther, and insinuate that success sanctifies all the tricks of trade. They would have us believe that the ordinary methods of dealing are not very criminal or reprehensible; either because the practice is universal, or because they are to be viewed in the same light as stratagems of war.

It is important that men's minds should be disabused on this subject, and that errors so pernicious should be dislodged. The rising race of merchants, at least, if the veterans are too old to unlearn, should be accustomed to believe and think that success is not necessarily divorced from honesty, and that the blessing of the Lord maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow.

The pulpit should speak out plainly and faithfully on this point. There is great and pressing need to inculcate the truth even upon church members. "To the preacher, above all, who has constantly to deal with men immersed in trade, it is of an importance not to be calculated, that he should know the life which all the week long his hearers are leading—its temptations, its glosses, its rivalries, its depressions, its joys; its anxieties, which cast the care of the soul into the shade; its ambitions, which outweigh the claims of truth and right. Ignorant of these, he must leave many to flounder in temptation, whom he might be the means of extricating; many to be worried with care, when he might win their attention to better things; many to sink under their load, to whom he might have given a timely solace; many to go on in a course of gainful sin, whose conscience he might have reached and aroused. Too often the man of business feels that the remarks from the pulpit only show that his case is not at all understood."—*Arthur*, p. 34. Vague generalities and trite commonplaces are not the materials with which to rouse and secure the attention of a class of persons who know the value of time, and who are themselves accustomed to come at once to the point.

It is possible that some may think this a descent from the dignity of the pulpit, bringing sacred things into profane familiarity. Let such listen to Chalmers, grappling with the objection in one of his masterly *Commercial Discourses*. "It is not vulgarizing Christianity to bring it down to the very humblest occupations of human life. It is, in fact, dignifying

human life, by bringing it up to the level of Christianity. It may look to some a degradation of the pulpit, when the household servant is told to make her firm stand against the temptation of open doors, and secret opportunities; or when the confidential agent is told to resist the slightest inclination to any unseen freedom with the property of his employers, or to any undiscoverable excess in the charge of his management; or when the receiver of a humble payment is told, that the tribute which is due on every written acknowledgment ought faithfully to be met, and not fictitiously to be evaded. This is not robbing religion of its sacredness, but spreading its sacredness over the face of society. It is evangelizing human life, by impregnating its minutest transactions with the spirit of the gospel. It may appear a very little thing, when you are told to be honest in little matters; when the servant is told to keep her hand from every one article about which there is not an express or understood allowance on the part of her superiors; when the dealer is told to lop off the excesses of that minuter fraudulency, which is so currently practised in the humbler walks of merchandize; when the workman is told to abstain from those petty reservations of the material of his work, for which he is said to have such snug and ample opportunity; and when, without pronouncing on the actual extent of these transgressions, all are told to be faithful in that which is least, else, if there be truth in our text, they incur the guilt of being unfaithful in much. It may be thought that because such dishonesties as these are scarcely noticeable, they are therefore not worthy of notice. But it is just in the proportion of their being unnoticeable by the human eye, that it is religious to refrain from them."

The principles of morality, that is, the duties of the second table of the Decalogue, are as applicable to the every-day transactions of trade and commerce as to any other relations of life, and that application should be shown by the preacher.

"Truth is not local; God alike pervades
And fills the world of traffic and the shades,
And may be fear'd amid the busiest scenes,
Or scorn'd where business never intervenes."

The apostles did not hesitate to reprove the grasping cupidity

of their contemporaries, and to warn them that the price of the labourer kept back fraudulently would enter into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth; and to charge the rich not to trust in uncertain riches, but to do good and communicate of their superfluity. Our Lord himself has set an example. When one wished him to interfere in dividing an inheritance, he made it a text for a sermon against covetousness. "Take heed," said he to the listening crowd, "and beware of covetousness."

There are a variety of maxims that have obtained prevalence in the mercantile world, which Mr. Arthur has handled at some length in his rather frequent and by no means incompressible digressions. Some of these maxims are unsound, and others have a substratum of truth, but are liable to abuse and perversion.

That one should buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest, is a principle the propriety of which can hardly be disputed. Yet it is easy to conceive of grasping men endeavouring to affect the state of the market one way or the other by unfair means. Stock-brokers are accused of publishing articles in the newspapers, or raising unfounded rumours, calculated to depress or raise stocks in which they are personally interested. Wholesale dealers endeavour to obtain a monopoly of certain articles, that they may ask exorbitant prices without fear of competition. Buyers take advantage of the ignorance or the necessities of sellers, to purchase at ruinously low prices. It is naught, it is naught, say they; but when they have succeeded in making a good bargain, they boast of their cunning. Merchants are in the habit of exposing certain descriptions of goods or wares at a low figure, even under cost, and making it up on other things; while they create the impression that they sell every thing equally cheap. But as their rivals soon learn to be no less expert at underselling, the stratagem loses its effect.

It is also deemed perfectly proper to conceal defects in goods, and to leave it to the purchaser to find them out. Paul had reference to a practice of this sort in his day, when he spoke of human conduct being subject to a sun-trial, *εἰληγεῖν*, 2 Cor. i. 12, such as was employed in regard to goods kept in a dark corner, in order to conceal their defects. But the cus-

tomers relies on the skill of the seller, and he has a right to do so. He pays him for his skill and his time, as well as for his goods, Tully to the contrary notwithstanding. That skill forms part of a merchant's capital, and contributes to increase his profits. No man is expected to sell at what will not yield a living profit; but then he has no right to impose a damaged or inferior article for a superior one on a customer who confides in his word. He abuses the confidence placed in him.

But it will be said, every one must take care of himself. That is the very spirit of Cain. "Am I my brother's keeper?" Yes; in a certain sense I am. Selfishness is put under the ban by Christianity. "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others." "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth." When was the golden rule tabooed from the sphere of merchandize? It will not do to say, "Every man for himself, and God for us all!" Certainly it is highly unbecoming for Christian people to adopt such selfish maxims, or to lower themselves to the level of vulgar scrambling. They of all men ought to have some consideration for the accommodation of others. While they show that they are too wise to be taken in themselves, they ought also to show that they are too just and too generous to take undue advantage of others.

It is said, in defence of the vending of intoxicating liquors, opium, materials of gaming, infidel books, licentious novels, &c., If I do not keep them, others will. Here again is an evasion of the true state of the question. The point to be considered is not the money to be made, but the amount of benefit or injury accruing to individuals and society at large. If it is wrong, or of doubtful propriety, for any one to engage in demoralizing pursuits, then it is wrong for all, without exception. "The vender of spirits has a right to sell arsenic, prussic acid, the deadly nightshade, or any other fatal drug, so long as he endangers nobody's life or peace. But the moment those articles begin to destroy the peace, ruin the health, or the souls of his fellow-citizens, every law, human and divine, unites in crying aloud, Stop that destroyer!"—*Merc. Morals*, p. 283.

Another very dangerous policy is the credit system. With-in proper limits it is laudable, and thousands of energetic

young men owe their all to it. Even Mr. Budgett, with his vigorous adherence to prompt payments, gave credit for a month. If the bill was not met at that time, no more orders were filled. But the credit system has been fearfully abused. Men have not scrupled to contract debts on very slender prospects of ability to meet them. Trade became inflated, speculations multiplied, and the banks expanded their issues, in spite of the warning voice of our statesmen, until, in 1837, came the universal crash, the general bankruptcy law, shameful public repudiation, and untold private misery.

The Scriptures are very explicit, when they enjoin upon us, "Owe no man anything, but to love one another." No one should permit himself to contract a debt, without a reasonable prospect of being able to pay it. Not only is punctuality in meeting pecuniary obligations essential to an unstained reputation, but it is important to one's peace of mind. Who can depict the anxieties, the trepidations, the mental anguish, that distract the unhappy man who finds his affairs entangled in almost hopeless embarrassment? He passes sleepless nights, hears the clock strike every hour, walks the floor in restless nervousness, desperately revolves how he is to meet his engagements, with an aching head and a throbbing heart, trembling at the prospect of having his name announced among the list of bankrupts, dreads to disclose his situation to his wife, and shrinks from the necessity of curtailing the expenses, perhaps the extravagances, of his family. Who can adequately describe the miseries of a person that is plunged in debt? And it has happened that the tempter, who is ever on the alert, takes advantage of the opportunity to suggest horrible thoughts to the mind, and present temptations his victim may not have strength to resist.

To counteract the influence of such pestilent errors, the pulpit must teach that wealth is not the only object worth living for. It must remind men continually that we were not created solely to make money and accumulate property. It must teach the comparatively little value of mere wealth, and that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of his possessions, but in the right use of them. It must draw the distinction between a wise employment of money, and that love of it which (not

money itself, as it is sometimes misstated,) is the root of all evil. It must present the frailty of life, and the solemnities of a coming judgment. It must impress upon all that they are hastening to a world where investments and storehouses, and stocks and railroads, and gold and silver, are at a tremendous discount.

It needs the presentation of motives like these, it needs the putting forth of all the moral power which the pulpit can wield, to stem the popular current, and check, if possible, the mad haste to be rich.

But if commercial men will not listen to the instructions of the pulpit, at least they might attend to the warnings of statistics. We are told that an inspection of the Directory of one of our principal cities furnishes the following result: "Counting the number of firms in 1838, found under a given letter, and then counting those surviving in 1846, deducting for deaths and retirements, there were left two hundred and fifty firms which must have become bankrupt during the short space of eight years."—*Merc. Mor.* p. 133. To this we may add still more appalling statistics, which we have gleaned from other sources.

General Dearborn, of Massachusetts, stated some years ago in a public address, that he had ascertained, after some research in the city of Boston, that seventy-seven (another paragraph reads ninety-seven,) out of every hundred persons who obtained their livelihood by buying and selling, failed or died insolvent. A memorandum taken by another person in 1800, of every merchant on Long Wharf, and compared with a list of 1840, showed that only five in one hundred had not either failed or died destitute of property. The Union Bank of Boston started in 1798. A director of that bank stated that on examination it appeared out of one thousand accounts opened with them, only fifty remained in 1838; the rest, in forty years, had all either failed or died without property. Houses, whose paper passed without a question, had all gone down in that time. Of bank directors, generally the most substantial men in the community, more than one-third were found to have failed in forty years. These representations make bank-

ruptcy almost as universal and inevitable as the advance of death.

Mr. Cist, the indefatigable editor of the Cincinnati Advertiser, published some years since a variety of houses of fortune which fell under the notice of the United States Marshal. He knew a man who had once owned a large iron establishment, a day labourer in another man's foundry. He knew one of the first merchants of Cincinnati in 1824, whose credit was unlimited, to die ten years afterward intemperate and insolvent. He knew a bank director and president of an insurance company die in five years in a similar condition. He knew another individual worth, in 1837, half a million of dollars, to die insolvent. He knew a judge of a court, and a public man who was founder of the Penitentiary system in Pennsylvania, both to die paupers, and to be buried at the public expense. He knew a man who, in 1815, was worth one hundred and fifty thousand dollars and upwards, in Pittsburgh, ruined by intemperance, and subsisting on charity. He knew a lady, the descendant of a Governor of Massachusetts, and niece of a Governor of New Jersey, reduced to take in washing. He knew another, who, thirty years previous, had been the admired cynosure of every eye, in the first circles of wealth and fashion, drudging at one dollar and fifty cents a week. He found the widow of a distinguished Professor, eating her humble supper with her daughter from a board laid across an old barrel for a table.

Are not these sad illustrations of the scriptural assertion, that "riches make to themselves wings and fly away?" The text is often misquoted, thus: "riches take to themselves wings;" but the true language is much more striking. They *make* to themselves wings. You may secure your property ever so well and wisely, you may tie it up ever so tight; and before you have turned round, the wings are sprouting—wings that you never saw nor suspected; and while you are complacently congratulating yourself on your sagacity, the wings suddenly expand, your riches take flight, and away go your dreams of independence and prosperity.

There is a great temptation with many to dash out beyond their means, under the mistaken notion that extravagant ap-

pearances will make an impression of a flourishing business. And there is another irresistible temptation: when a man finds he is going over the dam, in his despair he stretches out his hands and clutches at the nearest person, be it friend or stranger, and drags fresh victims along with him to the bottom.

Men engaged in merchandise should endeavour to unite the claims of business and religion. Let them be diligent and industrious; but let them also be scrupulously honest, strictly conscientious, liberal, and pious. Let them make honestly, and give freely. So shall they lay up treasures in heaven, whose texture no moth shall fret, whose brightness no rust shall corrode; treasures of happiness, and true wealth, and glory, which will cast those of earth into the shade.

ART. IV.—1. *De Caroli Timothei Zumptii vita et studiis narratio Aug. Wilh. Zumptii.* Berolini in libraria Dümmleriana 1851. 8vo. pp. vi. et 197.

2. *Erinnerung an Karl Gottlob Zumpt in seiner Wirksamkeit als Schulmann und für die Schule.* Vorgelesen in der berlinischen Gymnasiallehrergesellschaft am 15 August, 1849, von E. Bonnell.

THE life of a scholar is like a deep, wide river flowing through an extensive plain. Smooth and tranquil, no cataract, no rapids, no sudden bend or change of direction bring variety into its uniform motion. Silent it creeps along, between its low grassy banks, with little to diversify the view, with nothing to attract the painter. But without that river the commerce of the country would languish; crafts small and great are gliding on its waters from place to place, carrying merchandise, facilitating the intercourse of men, and promoting their happiness. And such was the life of Zumpt. No changes, no vicissitudes, no great events or occurrences mark its course; there is nothing in it to invite description. But in its still current it watered the fields of Latin learning, and dug a deep channel for the gold-bearing streams to come after.

Carl Gottlob Zumpt, born at Berlin on the 20th of March, 1792, was the son of a carriage-maker. His father would probably have put him to the same trade, but he died when his son was seven years old. His mother, the daughter of a clergyman, married a second time, and procured for him the advantages of a liberal education. He entered the *Gymnasium Zum grauen Kloster* where he was not only promoted at the end of every term, but received also uniformly a prize until he reached the third class, where, although he was promoted at the usual time, he received no prize; this induced the ambitious boy to leave and enter the *Joachimsthal* Gymnasium. Here he distinguished himself by his devotion to his studies; when in the higher classes, he was not contented with the course pursued in the school, but read privately such authors as he could obtain good editions of: Henning's Juvenal, Ernesti's Tacitus, Gesner's Claudian, and others. To the memory of Philip Buttmann, who was then a teacher in the Gymnasium, he delighted to recur in after days, and acknowledged many obligations to him. The latter advised Zumpt, who had now finished his course in the Gymnasium, to go to the University of Heidelberg, where Fr. Creuzer, A. Boeckh, and the two Voss, father and son, were professors at this time; but F. A. Wolf, who had lately visited the Gymnasium in an official capacity, and in an examination which he had held, had become interested in the promising youth, advised him to remain in Berlin. For although the University there had not yet been established, several scholars, among whom was Wolf, were giving lectures privately. But Buttmann's opinion prevailed. Zumpt was twenty days travelling from Berlin to Heidelberg, as he made the journey on foot. This was in 1809, when he was seventeen years old. Though matriculated as a student of theology, philology was his principal occupation. He remained in Heidelberg only one year, for want of funds obliged him to return to Berlin. But here, the splendid libraries of this city, which he knew now how to use, the friendship of Wolf, and chiefly the University, which had been established in the mean time, and, through the liberality of the King, was already uniting the most distinguished talents of Germany in its faculties, afforded him ample opportunities of

pursuing his studies to great advantage. It was during his course there that Wolf, in one of his lectures on Latin composition, when he had enumerated the best Latin writers of previous centuries, said that in his own days there were but two persons that knew Latin, viz. he himself (Wolf) was one, and Zumpt the other.*

Having completed a two years' course in the University at Berlin, he entered upon the main labour of his life, which was teaching. This career he began in 1812, in the Frederick-Werder Gymnasium at Berlin. Bernhardi, then Director of this Institution, had met the young man at the house of Wolf, and as Zumpt was then unsettled as to what course in life he should take, the offer of Bernhardi to supply the place of a teacher who had left on a sudden, came very opportunely. Zumpt gave great satisfaction, stood the philological examination in the same year, which consisted in illustrating a poem of Theocritus with a learned commentary, discussing a pedagogical question, and holding a lecture, and received a definite appointment as teacher in the Gymnasium. The schoolboys of Berlin, at that time notorious for their ready wit and their pertness, and sharing with others of their age a quick perception of the ludicrous, were rather inclined to make *fun* of their new and inexperienced teacher, who, only twenty years old, very tall and very slender, devoid of grace in motion and gesture, wearing a tight-fitting, rather threadbare coat, and his boots coming up over his yellow nankeen pantaloons, seemed to present numerous points for attack. But his evident decision, and his talent for teaching, combined with a thorough acquaintance with his subject, all which boys so soon are aware of, were not long in procuring for him an authority among his pupils equal to that of the oldest teacher. In 1813, when the King of Prussia addressed his call to his people to rise and shake off the yoke of the foreign oppressor, he was among those that offered their services as volunteers, but the government refused him the permission to leave his post. The rapid change of teachers in the Gymnasium, caused mainly by the troubles of those times, was favourable to

* In later days, any sentence from Cicero could be mentioned, and Zumpt would always tell the book or treatise from which it was taken, and the connection in which it occurred.

his promotion. When he received his first appointment in the fall of 1812, it was with a yearly salary of one hundred and thirty thalers, for eighteen lessons a week. But after a lapse of six months his salary was raised to three hundred thalers, in 1816 to five hundred and thirty thalers; in 1817 he received the title of Professor, and in 1819 his salary amounted to eight hundred and fifty thalers a year.

Though he was employed at first in the lowest classes, on account of his youth, his acquisitions in philology and history soon procured for him lessons in the higher classes alone. In 1814, he published (mainly for the use of his classes,) "*The Rules of the Latin Syntax, with two Etymological Appendices.*"* Q. Curtius, which had been rarely used in schools until then, he introduced there, making this author one of the chief objects of his study. In 1816, he published an entirely new recension of Curtius, which was highly commended by some, and utterly rejected by others. The lacunæ existing in all the MSS. extant, established the fact that they all proceeded from the same original, but Zumpt endeavoured to show that all those written after the commencement of the fifteenth century, were corrupted and interpolated; his recension, therefore, was based entirely on the older MSS. Owing partly to the difficulty of finding a publisher, the larger edition of the same author, with a commentary, was not published until twenty-three years after, and did not leave the printer's hands before Zumpt had left this earth. Although this is doubtless the best edition of this historian, as a whole, the book does not appear to meet with that favour which it deserves, partly on account of the ill-advised superciliousness of Zumpt, who refused to avail himself of the lesser labours of other critics, that had seen the light between the two publications from his own pen.

As a teacher, Zumpt was eminently successful. Diligent, thorough, considerate, impressive, and faithful, as he was, his acquisitions were not likely to come to a stand; he showed moreover, such an attachment to his study, that it became obvious in every word, feature, and gesture, and that it passed

* Regeln der Lateinischen Syntax mit zwei Anhängen. Von C. G. Zumpt. Berlin, bei J. E. Hitzig. pp. viii. et 76.

over insensibly on his pupils; and as his character was so devoid of art, his inclinations so open and harmless that he entered into all the feelings and notions of youth, and sympathized vividly with each individual, he could not but gain the confidence and love of all. And as this principle of mutual regard, when it once lays hold of the minds of pupils, effects much more than any stimulus ever devised, it was not strange to find those whom he instructed of an almost unparalleled industry, with an earnest endeavour after a classical education, and an honest zeal for it, such as the philologists of later days could only sigh for. The department which produced his principal efforts, in which he laboured most, by which he effected most, and which can least do without his works, was, as might have been inferred from his first productions, the Latin language. For although he also taught History in the highest classes of the gymnasium, as it was Ancient History, he lectured and examined in Latin. His delivery was calm and clear, his Latinity inartificial and correct, frequently elegant, always classical, and it had the effect of making his pupils so familiar with the Latin language that they could express themselves on historical subjects with great fluency in Latin, and frequently wrote down their notes in Latin on other subjects on which the professors were lecturing in German. It was these historical lectures which originated his *Annales veterum regnorum et populorum imprimis Romanorum*, published in 1819. In the same year he also finished and published an edition of *Tryphiodorus*, with notes, which his friend Wernicke had commenced.

But the greatest influence upon the classical, and especially Latin education of his pupils, he exerted by reading Cicero with them, and by his *Latin Grammar*, the first edition of which, originating in those Rules of Syntax above mentioned, was published in 1818. With this he connected, in the school, exercises in writing Latin, and published to this end a book containing such exercises, which were mainly taken from later Latin writers.* The only grammars then used in nearly all

* Aufgaben zum Uebersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische aus den besten neuern Lateinischen Schriftstellern gezogen von C. G. Zumpt. Berlin, 1816, bei F. Dümmler.

the schools of Northern Germany had been those of Brüder and Grotendorf. The grammar of Zumpt was rather a small book when it first appeared; still it distinguished itself most favourably by the fact that it was an independent system, the sole offspring from the soil of classical writers; that it derived and explained the laws of the language from these alone, and made an attempt at exhibiting the original and primary powers of cases and modes, and thus facilitated their use, when differing from that of the corresponding German forms. Another feature by which it excelled its rivals, was the clearness and comprehensiveness of its rules, and the aptness of its examples and illustrations. It gained the approbation of the Prussian Ministry of Instruction, was recommended by it, saw many editions, and was translated into English, French, Dutch, Polish, and Russian.* But as the popularity of the book increased,

* Into English it was translated by John Kenrick, in 1823. This book saw four editions, which did not keep pace, however, with the German editions, in size or value. The ninth German edition was then translated by Leonhard Schmitz, (a German by birth, and a man of undoubted talent and ability) and was edited in this country by Anthon. Excellent as this grammar is, and admirable as is the translation, there is a standing objection to all performances of the kind. Although (to take this concrete case) the principles of Zumpt's Grammar are deduced directly from phenomena as presented in the Latin writers, yet he was a German, and viewed the Latin language from the stand point of one who speaks German. The consequence is, that many things are explained, discussed, and illustrated at great length, merely because there may be nothing analogous to those particular points in the German language, whilst in those very things the Latin and English may agree perfectly; and therefore the latter can be satisfied with a hint, where the German would need a dissertation. On the other hand, there may be phenomena in the Latin, so in accordance with the German idiom, that it needs nothing but the mention of them to be immediately understood by the German pupil, whilst one speaking English would need a minute and full explanation, his language containing nothing analogous. To give an instance or two of the former class, we would mention the *acc. cum infinitivo*, and the so-called ablative absolute. These are fully discussed in grammars produced in Germany, because the German language does not often use the *acc. c. inf.*, and *can* only use it after two or three verbs, and even then so that it could not be rendered by the Latin *acc. c. inf.*, whilst the English has almost the same latitude in its employment, at least after *verba sentiendi et dicendi*, as the Latin. To the ablative absolute the German has hardly anything analogous, whilst the English idiom, in this respect, could be of use to a Roman, even for the explanation of this phenomenon. An example of the opposite kind is the meagre and unsatisfactory treatment (to an English learner at least) of the *genitive with impersonal verbs*, merely because *eorum nos miseret* may be translated literally into

so its bulk, for the author, continuing his studies, saw constantly the need of additions and corrections; the latter were also suggested by criticisms of the literary journals, for in Germany authors are not easily offended at a critic's honest opinion, and hardly ever fail to avail themselves of the lessons thus taught them. In 1824 it was found necessary to make a separate abridgment* of the Grammar, in order not to place it beyond the range of lower classes. This abridgment, though it has seen six editions, has suffered no material changes, and although the larger grammar is an invaluable work, and in spite of some few inaccuracies, and a slight departure from consistency in its arrangement, still maintains its place by the side of more learned and more extensive works, the abridgment does not enjoy, and does not deserve an equal degree of popularity. For it *is* a mere abridgment. The rules are given in the same full and exhaustive style, and, in fact, in the same words which the larger grammar employs, whilst of grammars adapted for lower classes, one of the first requirements is that they should give their rules in such a concise form as to be immediately accommodated to the *memory* of the learner. But it was Zumpt's plan that pupils should commence with the smaller grammar, and having gone through with that, repeat their course in the larger one, so that they should be familiar with the plan and arrangement of the latter, even at a time when its size, as well as its more learned contents, would yet be too formidable and deterring to their unenlarged capacities.

Before the death of the author, which occurred on the 25th of June 1849, his Larger Grammar saw nine editions.† From being merely a grammar for the use of schools at first, it had become a complete system. Containing formerly merely what was necessary to be learnt by the pupil as long as he was at school, it had now become a repertory of all the grammatical phenomena occurring in the classical writers of Rome, so that the student of these, at every stage of his advancement, might

German, which rendering would be intelligible, whilst a literal translation into English would not.

* This, too, is in use in an English dress.

† In 1850, the tenth edition was published under the care of Prof. A. W. Zumpt, a nephew of the author, the writer of the Latin narrative to which in part this sketch is due.

find instruction and explanation in this grammar. It would probably have received a still further development, had not Zumpt during the latter part of his life devoted himself almost exclusively to historical and antiquarian studies, and moreover, the increasing weakness of his eyes limited to a great extent his literary productiveness.

Whilst teaching in the Berlin gymnasia he directed his efforts mainly to that part of the intellectual training of his pupils which could be promoted by grammar, or rather by language alone. Latin grammar and the Latin language were the field for calling out and exercising the reasoning faculties as well as the judgment; they afforded the means for cultivating a sense of beauty as well as a discriminating taste; the style of writing as well as the mode of thinking received their due attention, and led doubtless to the desired end much more certainly than all those means could do which we hear so often praised as substitutes for the study of language and of grammar.

In 1821 he left the Frederick-Werder Gymnasium for a place in the Joachimsthal Gymnasium. In 1824 he received the honorary degree of Ph. D. from the University at Bonn. In 1826 he changed his office as teacher in the Gymnasium for that of Lecturer on History in the Military School at Berlin; probably because he had been twice disappointed in the expectation of obtaining the place of Director. The next year he joined the University of Berlin as Extraordinary Professor, and in 1836 he became Ordinary Professor of Latin Literature there, which place he retained to the end of his life. He was still active, however, for the advancement of pedagogy and the interests of the school by the education of teachers, in which he took an active part. With his philological lectures he joined such as served for directions in the acquisition and formation of a Latin style, in which latter portion of his functions he did not confine himself to the ordinary duties of a University-professor, but required his hearers to write Latin exercises, the correction of which he was always ready to undertake.

Among the more important works which he has produced, are a large edition of *Cicero's Orations against Verres*, an

edition for schools of the same, a critical edition of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, a large edition of *Cicero de Officiis*, based on that of the Heusingers, and one *in usum scholarum*, with excellent Latin notes. The series of the Classics published in this country by Blanchard and Lea, under the name of that of Schmitz and Zumpt, is a reprint of part of Chambers' Educational Course, and originated entirely with the Scotch publisher. On a journey in Germany, Mr. W. Chambers proposed to Zumpt the plan of publishing a number of the best Latin writers, for which he should write the notes, and send them to Edinburgh to be translated into English. The publisher prescribing the kind as well as the extent of the notes, the proposition appeared very strange at first to the German professor; still his eyesight being now very feeble, unfitting him for almost all serious work, and obliging him to read and write through an amanuensis, he preferred engaging in this work to doing nothing. The notes, therefore, in this series exclude all criticism, and confine themselves to occasional explanations and illustrations, grammatical, historical, geographical, and archæological. The only works which he thus annotated, were Sallust and four books of Livy. The edition of Curtius is very nearly the same with the school-edition published in Germany.

His health had always been good; during his vacations he generally performed short journeys for recreation; afterwards, as Professor in the University, he had longer vacations, and during these he visited France, Holland, and England; he was twice in Italy, and in Greece. But here he contracted a disease, which seems never to have left him entirely; he visited a number of medicinal springs and watering places, without any melioration in his system, and he was at a watering place in the summer of 1849, when he died.

Specially to enumerate the merits of Zumpt cannot be our object. As a teacher, his influence cannot be estimated; his success depended upon his personal character much more than upon any peculiar method which he pursued. The best method, he used to say, is contained in the branch taught, and he is a good teacher who is never wholly satisfied with himself or with his method. What he has done in other

respects, is known to the world; for it still lives, and will live, until it has accomplished its mission. He has done enough to facilitate the labours of subsequent grammarians.. As a man, he was firm, persevering, open, affable, and kind. His pupils, who are numerous, and many of them distinguished in the fields of science and literature, revere his memory; and from what we are told of his Christian character, we may hope that he is now

ἐνθα μακάρων
Νῆστον ὠκεανίδες
Αὔραι περιπνέουσιν.

“Where round the island of the blest
The ocean breezes play.”—*Pindar Ol. 2, 129.*

ART. V.—*Idea of the Church.*

IN that symbol of faith adopted by the whole Christian world, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, the Church is declared to be “the communion of saints.” In analyzing the idea of the Church here presented, it may be proper to state, first, what is not included in it; and secondly, what it does really embrace.

It is obvious that the Church, considered as the communion of saints, does not necessarily include the idea of a visible society organized under one definite form. A kingdom is a political society governed by a king; an aristocracy is such a society governed by a privileged class; a democracy is a political organization having the power centred in the people. The very terms suggest these ideas. There can be no kingdom without a king, and no aristocracy without a privileged class. There may, however, be a communion of saints without a visible head, without prelates, without a democratic covenant. In other words, the Church, as defined in the creed, is not a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy. It may be either, all, or neither. It is not, however, presented as a visible organization, to which the form is essential, as in the case of the human societies just mentioned.

Again, the conception of the Church as the communion of saints, does not include the idea of any external organization. The bond of union may be spiritual. There may be communion without external organized union. The Church, therefore, according to this view, is not essentially a visible society; it is not a corporation which ceases to exist if the external bond of union be dissolved. It may be proper that such union should exist; it may be true that it has always existed; but it is not necessary. The Church, as such, is not a visible society. All visible union, all external organization, may cease, and yet, so long as there are saints who have communion, the Church exists, if the Church is the communion of saints. That communion may be in faith, in love, in obedience to a common Lord. It may have its origin in something deeper still; in the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, even the Spirit of Christ, by which every member is united to Christ, and all the members are joined in one body. This is an union far more real, a communion far more intimate, than subsists between the members of any visible society as such. So far, therefore, is the Apostles' Creed from representing the Church as a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy; so far is it from setting forth the Church as a visible society of one specific form, that it does not present it under the idea of an external society at all. The saints may exist, they may have communion, the Church may continue under any external organization, or without any visible organization whatever.

What is affirmed in the above cited definition is, first, that the Church consists of saints; and, secondly, of saints in communion—that is, so united as to form one body. To determine, therefore, the true idea of the Church, it is only necessary to ascertain who are meant by the “saints,” and the nature of their communion, or the essential bond by which they are united.

The word *ἅγιος*, *saint*, signifies holy, worthy of reverence, pure, in the sense of freedom either from guilt, or from moral pollution. The word *ἁγιαζέω* means to render holy, or sacred; to cleanse from guilt, as by a sacrifice; or from moral defilement, by the renewing of the heart. The saints, therefore, according to the scriptural meaning of the term, are those who

have been cleansed from guilt or justified, who have been inwardly renewed or sanctified, and who have been separated from the world and consecrated to God. Of such the Church consists. If a man is not justified, sanctified, and consecrated to God, he is not a saint, and therefore does not belong to the Church, which is the communion of saints.

Under the old dispensation, the whole nation of the Hebrews was called holy, as separated from the idolatrous nations around them, and consecrated to God. The Israelites were also called the children of God, as the recipients of his peculiar favours. These expressions had reference rather to external relations and privileges than to internal character. In the New Testament, however, they are applied only to the true people of God. None are there called saints but the sanctified in Christ Jesus. None are called the children of God, but those born of the Spirit, who being children are heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Jesus Christ of a heavenly inheritance. When, therefore, it is said that the Church consists of saints, the meaning is not that it consists of all who are externally consecrated to God, irrespective of their moral character, but that it consists of true Christians or sincere believers.

As to the bond by which the saints are united so as to become a church, it cannot be anything external, because that may and always does unite those who are not saints. The bond, whatever it is, must be peculiar to the saints; it must be something to which their justification, sanctification, and access to God are due. This can be nothing less than their relation to Christ. It is in virtue of union with him that men become saints, or are justified, sanctified, and brought nigh to God. They are one body in Christ Jesus. The bond of union between Christ and his people is the Holy Spirit, who dwells in him and in them. He is the head, they are the members of his body, the Church, which is one body, because pervaded and animated by one Spirit. The proximate and essential bond of union between the saints, that which gives rise to their communion, and makes them the Church or body of Christ, is, therefore, the indwelling of the Holy Ghost.

Such, then, is the true idea of the Church, or, what is the same thing, the idea of the true Church. It is the communion

of saints, the body of those who are united to Christ by the indwelling of his Spirit. The two essential points included in this definition are, that the Church consists of saints, and that the bond of their union is not external organization, but the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. These, therefore, are the two points to be established. As, however, the one involves the other, they need not be considered separately. The same arguments which prove the one, prove also the other.

By this statement, it is not meant that the word *church* is not properly used in various senses. The object of inquiry is not the usage of a word, but the true idea of a thing; not how the word church is employed, but what the Church itself is. Who compose the Church? What is essential to the existence of that body, to which the attributes, the promises, the prerogatives of the Church belong? On the decision of that question rests the solution of all other questions in controversy between Romanists and Protestants.

The mode of verifying the true idea of the Church.—The holy Scriptures are on this, as on all other matters of faith or practice, our only infallible rule. We may confirm our interpretation of the Scriptures from various sources, especially from the current judgment of the Church, but the real foundation of our faith is to be sought in the word of God itself. The teachings of the Scriptures concerning the nature of the Church, are both direct and indirect. They didactically assert what the Church is, and they teach such things respecting it, as necessarily lead to a certain conception of its nature.

We may learn from the Bible the true idea of the Church, in the first place, from the use of the word itself. Under all the various applications of the term, that which is essential to the idea will be found to be expressed. In the second place, the equivalent or descriptive terms employed to express the same idea, reveal its nature. In the third place, the attributes ascribed to the Church in the word of God, determine its nature. If those attributes can be affirmed only of a visible society, then the Church must, as to its essence, be such a society. If, on the other hand, they belong only to the communion of saints, then none but saints constitute the Church. These attributes must all be included in the idea of the Church.

They are but different phases or manifestations of its nature. They can all, therefore, be traced back to it, or evolved from it. If the Church is the body of those who are united to Christ by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, then the indwelling of the Spirit must make the Church holy, visible, perpetual, one, catholic. All these attributes must be referable to that one thing to which the Church owes its nature. In the fourth place, the promises and prerogatives which belong to the Church, teach us very plainly whether it is an external society, or a communion of saints. In the fifth place, there is a necessary connection between a certain scheme of doctrine and a certain theory of the Church. It is admitted that the Church includes all who are in Christ, all who are saints. It is also admitted that all who are in Christ are in the Church. The question, therefore, Who are in the Church? must depend upon the answer to the question, Who are in Christ? or how do we become united to him?

Finally, as the true doctrine concerning the way of salvation leads to the true theory of the Church, we may expect to see that theory asserted and taught in all ages. However corrupted and overlaid it may be, as other doctrines have been, it will be found still preserved and capable of being recognized under all these perversions. The testimony of the Church itself will, therefore, be found to be in favour of the true doctrine as to what the Church is.

The full exposition of these topics would require a treatise by itself. The evidence in favour of the true doctrine concerning the Church, even in the imperfect manner in which it is unfolded in this article, is to be sought through all the following pages, and not exclusively under one particular head. All that is now intended is to present a general view of the principal arguments in support of the doctrine, that the Church consists of saints or true Christians, and that the essential bond of their union is not external organization, but the indwelling of the Holy Ghost.

Argument from the scriptural use of the word Church.—The word *ἐκκλησία* from *ἐκκαλεῖω*, *evocare*, means an assembly or body of men evoked, or called out and together. It was used to designate the public assembly of the people, among the Greeks,

collected for the transaction of business. It is applied to the tumultuous assembly called together in Ephesus, by the outcries of Demetrius, Acts xix. 39. It is used for those who are called out of the world, by the gospel, so as to form a distinct class. It was not the Helotes at Athens who heard the proclamation of the heralds, but the people who actually assembled, who constituted the *ἐκκλησία* of that city. In like manner it is not those who merely hear the call of the gospel, who constitute the Church, but those who obey the call. Thousands of the Jews and Gentiles, in the age of the apostles, heard the gospel, received its invitations, but remained Jews and idolaters. Those only who obeyed the invitation, and separated themselves from their former connections, and entered into a new relation and communion, made up the Church of that day. In all the various applications, therefore, of the word *ἐκκλησία* in the New Testament, we find it uniformly used as a collective term for the *κλητος* or *ἐκλεκτοι*, that is, for those who obey the gospel call, and who are thus selected and separated, as a distinct class from the rest of the world. Sometimes the term includes all who have already, or who shall hereafter accept the call of God. This is the sense of the word in Eph. iii. 10, where it is said to be the purpose of God to manifest unto principalities and powers, by the Church, his manifold wisdom; and in Eph. v. 25, 26, where it is said, that Christ loved the Church and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing. Sometimes the word is used for the people of God indefinitely, as when it is said of Paul, he persecuted the Church; or when we are commanded to give no offence to the Church. The word is very commonly used in this sense, as when we speak of the progress of the Church, or pray for the Church. It is not any specific, organized body, that is commonly intended in such expressions, but the kingdom of Christ indefinitely. Sometimes it is used for any number of the called, collectively considered, united together by some common bond. Thus we hear of the Church in the house of Priscilla and Aquila, the Church in the house of Nymphas, the Church in the house of Philemon; the Church of Jerusalem,

of Antioch, of Corinth, &c. In all these cases, the meaning of the word is the same. It is always used as a collective term for the *κλητοι*, either for the whole number, or for any portion of them considered as a whole. The Church of God is the whole number of the elect; the Church of Corinth is the whole number of the called in that city. An organized body may be a Church, and their organization may be the reason for their being considered as a whole or as a unit. But it is not their organization that makes them a Church. The multitude of believers in Corinth, organized or dispersed, is the Church of Corinth, just as the whole multitude of saints in heaven and on earth is the Church of God. It is not organization, but evocation, the actual calling out and separating from others, that makes the Church.

The nature of the Church, therefore, must depend on the nature of the gospel call. If that call is merely or essentially to the outward profession of certain doctrines, or to baptism, or to any thing external, then the Church must consist of all who make that profession, or are baptized. But if the call of the gospel is to repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, then none obey that call but those who repent and believe, and the Church must consist of penitent believers. It cannot require proof that the call of the gospel is to faith and repentance. The great apostle tells us he received his apostleship to the obedience of faith, among all nations, *i. e.*, to bring them to that obedience which consists in faith. He calls those who heard him to witness that he had not failed to testify both to the Jews and also to the Gentiles, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. No one was admitted by the apostles to the Church, or recognized as of the number of "the called," who did not profess faith and repentance, and such has been the law and practice of the Church ever since. There can, therefore, be no doubt on this subject. What the apostles did, and what all ministers, since their day, have been commissioned to do, is to preach the gospel; to offer men salvation on the condition of faith and repentance. Those who obeyed that call were baptized, and recognized as constituent members of the Church; those who rejected it, who refused to repent and believe, were not mem-

bers, they were not in fact "called," and by that divine vocation separated from the world. It would, therefore, be as unreasonable to call the inhabitants of a country an army, because they heard the call to arms, as to call all who hear but do not obey the gospel, the Church. The army consists of those who actually enrol themselves as soldiers; and the Church consists of those who actually repent and believe, in obedience to the call of the gospel.

This conclusion, to which we are led by the very nature of the call by which the Church is constituted, is confirmed by the unvarying usage of the New Testament. Every *ἐκκλησία* is composed of the *κλητοί*, of those called out and assembled. But the word *κλητοί*, as applied to Christians, is never used in the New Testament, except in reference to true believers. If, therefore, the Church consists of "the called," it must consist of true believers. That such is the usage of the word "called" in the New Testament, is abundantly evident. In Rom. i. 6, believers are designated the *κλητοί* *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *Christ's called ones*. In Rom. viii. 28, all things are said to work together for good, *τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς*, *to the called according to purpose*. In 1 Cor. i. 2, 24, we find the same use of the word. The gospel is said to be foolishness to the Greeks, and a stumbling-block to the Jews, but to "the called," it is declared to be the wisdom of God and power of God. The called are distinguished as those to whom the gospel is effectual. Jude addresses believers as the sanctified by the Father, the preserved in Christ Jesus, and "called." In Rev. xvii. 14, the triumphant followers of the Lamb are called *κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί*. The doctrinal usage of the word *κλητοί* is, therefore, not a matter of doubt. None but those who truly repent and believe, are ever called *κλητοί*, and, as the *ἐκκλησία* consists of the *κλητοί*, the Church must consist of true believers. This conclusion is confirmed by a reference to analogous terms applied to believers. As they are *κλητοί*, because the subjects of a divine *κλήσις*, or vocation, so they are *ἐκλεκτοί*, Rom. viii. 23; 1 Pet. i. 2; *ἡγιασμένοι*, 1 Cor. i. 1; Jude 1; Heb. x. 10; *περορισθέντες*, Eph. i. 11; *σωζόμενοι*, 1 Cor. i. 18; 2 Cor. ii. 15; 2 Thess. ii. 11; *τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, Acts xiii. 48. All these terms have reference to that divine agency, to that call, choice, separation, or appointment,

by which men are made true believers, and they are never applied to any other class.

The use of the cognate words, καλέω and κλησις, goes to confirm the conclusion as to the meaning of the word κλητοί. When used in reference to the act of God, in calling men by the gospel, they always designate a call that is effectual, so that the subjects of that vocation become the true children of God. Thus, in Rom. viii. 30, whom he calls, them he also justifies, whom he justifies, them he also glorifies. All the called, therefore, (the κλητοί, the ἐκκλησία,) are justified and glorified. In Rom. ix. 24, the vessels of mercy are said to be those whom God calls. In 1 Cor. i. 9, believers are said to be called into fellowship of the Son of God. In the same chapter the apostle says: "Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called," i. e. converted and made the true children of God. In 1 Cor. vii. the word is used nine times in the same way. In Gal. i. 15, Paul says, speaking of God, "who has called me by his grace." See, also, Gal. v. 8, 13; Eph. iv. 4; Col. iii. 15; 1 Thess. ii. 12; v. 24; 1 Tim. vi. 12; 2 Tim. i. 9. It is said believers are called, not according to their works, but according to the purpose and grace of God given them in Christ Jesus, before the world began. In Heb. ix. 5, Christ is said to have died that the called, οἱ κεκλημένοι, might receive the eternal inheritance. In 1 Pet. ii. 9, believers are described as a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people, whom God hath called out of darkness into his marvellous light. In the salutation prefixed to his second Epistle, this apostle wishes all good to those whom God had called by his glorious power.

In proof that the word κλησις is constantly used in reference to the effectual call of God, see Rom. xi. 29; 1 Cor. i. 26; Eph. i. 18, iv. 1; Phil. iii. 14; Heb. iii. 1; 2 Pet. i. 10.

From these considerations it is clear that the κλητοὶ or called, are the effectually called, those who really obey the gospel, and by repentance and faith are separated from the world. And as it is admitted that the ἐκκλησία is a collective term for the κλητοί, it follows that none but true believers constitute the Church, or that the Church is the communion of saints. The word in the New Testament is never used except in reference

to the company of true believers. This consideration alone is sufficient to determine the nature of the Church.

To this argument it is indeed objected, that as the apostles addressed all the Christians of Antioch, Corinth, or Ephesus, as constituting the Church in those cities, and as among them there were many hypocrites, therefore the word Church designates a body of professors, whether sincere or insincere. The fact is admitted, that all the professors of the true religion in Corinth, without reference to their character, are called the church of Corinth. This, however, is no answer to the preceding argument. It determines nothing as to the nature of the Church. It does not prove it to be an external society, composed of sincere and insincere professors of the true religion. All the professors in Corinth are called saints, sanctified in Christ Jesus, the saved, the children of God, the faithful, believers, &c., &c. Does this prove that there are good and bad saints, holy and unholy sanctified persons, believing and unbelieving believers, or men who are at the same time children of God and children of the devil? Their being called believers does not prove that they were all believers; neither does their being called the Church prove that they were all members of the Church. They are designated according to their profession. In professing to be members of the Church, they professed to be believers, to be saints, and faithful brethren, and this proves that the Church consists of true believers. This will appear more clearly from the following.

Argument from the terms used as equivalents for the word Church.

Those epistles in the New Testament which are addressed to churches, are addressed to believers, saints, the children of God. These latter terms, therefore, are equivalent to the former. The conclusion to be drawn from this fact is, that the Church consists of believers. In the same sense, and in no other, in which infidels may be called believers, and wicked men saints, in the same sense may they be said to be included in the Church. If they are not really believers, they are not the Church. They are not constituent members of the company of believers.

The force of this argument will appear from a reference to the salutations prefixed to these epistles. The epistle to the Romans, for example, is addressed to "the called of Jesus Christ," "the beloved of God," "called to be saints." The epistles to the Corinthians are addressed "to the Church of God which is at Corinth." Who are they? "The sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints," the worshippers of Christ. The Ephesian Church is addressed as "the saints who are in Ephesus, and the faithful in Christ Jesus." The Philippians are called "saints and faithful brethren in Christ." Peter addressed his first Epistle to "the elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ;" *i. e.*, to those who, being elected to obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus, are sanctified by the Spirit. His second Epistle is directed to those who had obtained like precious faith with the apostle himself, through (or in) the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

From this collation it appears, that to call any body of men a Church, is to call them saints, sanctified in Christ Jesus, elected to obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Christ, partakers of the same precious faith with the apostles, the beloved of God, and faithful brethren. The inference from this fact is inevitable. The Church consists of those to whom these terms are applicable.

The only way by which this argument can be evaded is, by saying that the faith here spoken of is mere speculative faith, the sanctification intended is mere external consecration; the sonship referred to, is merely adoption to external privileges, or a church state. This objection, however, is completely obviated by the contents of these epistles. The persons to whom these terms are applied, and who are represented as constituting the Church, are described as really holy in heart and life; not mere professors of the true faith, but true believers; not merely the recipients of certain privileges, but the children of God and heirs of eternal life.

The members of the Church in Corinth are declared to be in fellowship with Jesus Christ, chosen of God, inhabited by his Spirit, washed, sanctified, and justified in the name of the

Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. That the faith which Paul attributes to the members of the Church in Rome, and the sonship of which he represents them as partakers, were not speculative or external, is evident, because he says, those who believe have peace with God, rejoice in hope of his glory and have his love shed abroad in their hearts. Those who are in Christ, he says, are not only free from condemnation, but walk after the Spirit, and are spiritually minded. Being the sons of God, they are led by the Spirit, they have the spirit of adoption, and are joint heirs with Jesus Christ of a heavenly inheritance. The members of the Church in Ephesus were faithful brethren in Christ Jesus, sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, quickened and raised from spiritual death, and made to sit in heavenly places. All those in Colosse who are designated as the Church, are described as reconciled unto God, the recipients of Christ, who were complete in him, all whose sins are pardoned. The Church in Thessalonica consisted of those whose work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope, Paul joyfully remembered, and of whose election of God he was well assured. They were children of the light and of the day, whom God had appointed to the obtaining of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ. The churches to whom Peter wrote consisted of those who had been begotten again to a lively hope, by the resurrection of Christ from the dead. Though they had not seen the Saviour, they loved him, and believing on him, rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory. They had purified their souls unto unfeigned love of the brethren, having been born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God. Those whom John recognized as members of the Church he says had received an anointing of the Holy one, which abode with them, teaching them the truth. They were the sons of God, who had overcome the world, who believing in Christ had eternal life.

From all this, it is evident that the terms, believers, saints, children of God, the sanctified, the justified, and the like, are equivalent to the collective term Church, so that any company of men addressed as a Church, are always addressed as saints, faithful brethren, partakers of the Holy Ghost, and children

of God. The Church, therefore, consists exclusively of such. That these terms do not express merely a professed faith or external consecration is evident, because those to whom they are applied are declared to be no longer unjust, extortioners, thieves, drunkards, covetous, revilers, or adulterers, but to be led by the Spirit to the belief and obedience of the truth. The Church, therefore, consists of believers; and if it consists of believers, it consists of those who have peace with God, and have overcome the world.

It is not to be inferred from the fact that all the members of the Christian societies in Rome, Corinth, and Ephesus, are addressed as believers, that they all had true faith. But we can infer, that since what is said of them is said of them as believers, it had no application to those who were without faith. In like manner, though all are addressed as belonging to the Church, what is said of the Church had no application to those who were not really its members. Addressing a body of professed believers, as believers, does not prove them to be all sincere; neither does addressing a body of men as a Church, prove that they all belong to the Church. In both cases they are addressed according to their profession. If it is a fatal error to transfer what is said in Scripture of believers, to mere professors, to apply to nominal what is said of true Christians, it is no less fatal to apply what is said of the Church to those who are only by profession its members. It is no more proper to infer that the Church consists of the promiscuous multitude of sincere and insincere professors of the true faith, from the fact that all the professors, good and bad, in Corinth, are called the Church, than it would be to infer that they were all saints and children of God, because they are all so denominated. It is enough to determine the true nature of the Church, that none are ever addressed as its members, who are not, at the same time, addressed as true saints and sincere believers.

Argument from the descriptions of the Church.—The descriptions of the Church given in the word of God, apply to none but true believers, and therefore true believers constitute the Church. These descriptions relate either to the relation which the Church sustains to Christ, or to the character of its members, or to its future destiny. The argument is,

that none but true believers bear that relation to Christ, which the Church is said to sustain to him; none but believers possess the character ascribed to members of the Church; and none but believers are heirs of those blessings which are in reserve for the Church. If all this is so, it follows that the Church consists of those who truly believe. It will not be necessary to keep these points distinct, because in many passages of Scripture, the relation which the Church bears to Christ, the character of its members, and its destiny, are all brought into view.

1. The Church is described as the body of Christ. Eph. i. 22; iv. 15, 16; Col. i. 18. The relation expressed by this designation, includes subjection, dependence, participation of the same life, sympathy, and community. Those who are the body of Christ, are dependent upon him and subject to him, as the human body to its head. They are partakers of his life. The human body is animated by one soul, and has one vital principle. This is the precise truth which the Scriptures teach in reference to the Church as the body of Christ. It is his body, because animated by his Spirit, so that if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his, Rom. viii. 9; for it is by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body, 1 Cor. xii. 13. The distinguishing characteristic of the members of Christ's body, is the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. They are therefore called *πνευματικοί*, men having the Spirit. They are led by the Spirit. They are spiritually minded. All this is true of sincere believers alone. It is not true of the promiscuous body of professors, nor of the members of any visible society, as such, and therefore no such visible society is the body of Christ. What is said of the body of Christ, is not true of any external organized corporation on earth, and, therefore, the two cannot be identical.

Again, as the body sympathizes with the head, and the members sympathize one with another, so all the members of Christ's body sympathize with him, and with each other. This sympathy is not merely a duty, it is a fact. Where it does not exist, there membership in Christ's body does not exist. All, therefore, who are members of Christ's body feel his glory to be their own, his triumph to be their vic-

tory. They love those whom he loves, and they hate what he hates. Finally, as the human head and body have a common destiny, so have Christ and his Church. As it partakes of his life, it shall participate in his glory. The members of his body suffer with him here, and shall reign with him hereafter.

It is to degrade and destroy the gospel to apply this description of the Church as the body of Christ, to the mass of nominal Christians, the visible Church, which consists of "all sorts of men." No such visible society is animated by his Spirit, is a partaker of his life, and heir of his glory. It is to obliterate the distinction between holiness and sin, between the Church and the world, between the children of God and the children of the devil, to apply what the Bible says of the body of Christ to any promiscuous society of saints and sinners.

2. The Church is declared to be the temple of God, because he dwells in it by his Spirit. That temple is composed of living stones. 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5. Know ye not, says the apostle to the Corinthians, that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you? 1 Cor. vi. 19. The inference from this description of the Church is, that it is composed of those in whom the Spirit of God dwells; but the Spirit of God dwells only in true believers, and therefore the Church consists of such believers.

3. The Church is the family of God. Those, therefore, who are not the children of God are not members of his Church. The wicked are declared to be the children of the devil; they therefore cannot be the children of God. Those only are his children who have the spirit of adoption; and being children, are heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ. Rom. viii. 16, 17.

4. The Church is the flock of Christ; its members are his sheep. He knows them, leads them, feeds them, and lays down his life for them. They were given to him by the Father, and no one is able to pluck them out of his hand. They know his voice and follow him, but a stranger they will not follow. John x. This description of the Church as the flock of Christ, is applicable only to saints or true believers, and therefore they alone constitute his Church.

5. The Church is the bride of Christ; the object of his pecu-

liar love, for which he gave himself, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing. No man, saith the Scripture, ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church. Eph. v. 25—30. It is not true, according to the Bible, that any but true Christians are the objects of this peculiar love of Christ, and therefore they alone constitute that Church which is his bride.

According to the Scriptures, then, the Church consists of those who are in Christ, to whom he is made wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; of those who are his body, in whom he dwells by his Spirit; of those who are the family of God, the children of his grace; of those who, as living stones, compose that temple in which God dwells, and who rest on that elect, tried, precious corner-stone, which God has laid in Zion; of those who are the bride of Christ, purchased by his blood, sanctified by his word, sacraments, and Spirit, to be presented at last before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy. These descriptions of the Church are inapplicable to any external visible society as such; to the Church of Rome, the Church of England, or the Presbyterian Church. The only Church of which these things are true, is the communion of saints, the body of true Christians.

Arguments from the attributes of the Church.—The great question at issue on this whole subject is, whether we are to conceive of the Church, in its essential character, as an external society, or as the communion of saints. One method of deciding this question, is by a reference to the acknowledged attributes of the Church. If those attributes belong only to a visible society, then the Church must be such a society. But if they can be predicated only of the communion of saints, then the Church is a spiritual body, and not an external, visible society.

The Church is the body of Christ, in which he dwells by his Spirit. It is in virtue of this indwelling of the Spirit, that the Church is what she is, and all that she is. To this source her holiness, unity, and perpetuity, are to be referred, and under these attributes all others are comprehended.

First then, as to holiness. The Church considered as the

communion of saints, is holy. Where the Spirit of God is, there is holiness. If, therefore, the Spirit dwells in the Church, the Church must be holy, not merely nominally, but really; not merely because her founder, her doctrines, her institutions are holy, but because her members are personally holy. They are, and must be, holy brethren, saints, the sanctified in Christ Jesus, beloved of God. They are led by the Spirit, and mind the things of the Spirit. The indwelling of the Spirit produces this personal holiness, and that separation from the world and consecration to God, which make the Church a holy nation, a peculiar people, zealous of good works. The Church is defined to be a company of believers, the *cætus fidelium*. To say that the Church is holy, is to say that that company of men and women who compose the Church, is holy. It is a contradiction to say that "all sorts of men," thieves, murderers, drunkards, the unjust, the rapacious, and the covetous, enter into the composition of a society whose essential attribute is holiness. To say that a man is unjust, is to say that he is not holy, and to say that he is not holy, is to say that he is not one of a company of saints. If then we conceive of the Church as the communion of saints, as the body of Christ, in which the Holy Spirit dwells as the source of its life, we see that the Church is and must be holy. It must be inwardly pure, that is, its members must be regenerated men, and it must be really separated from the world, and consecrated to God. These are the two ideas included in the scriptural sense of holiness, and in both these senses the Church is truly holy. But in neither sense can holiness be predicated of any external visible society as such. No such society is really pure, nor is it really separated from the world, and devoted to God. This is evident from the most superficial observation. It is plain that neither the Roman, the Greek, the English, nor the Presbyterian Church, falls within the definition of the Church, as the *cætus sanctorum*, or company of believers. No one of these societies is holy, they are all more or less corrupt and worldly. Their church state does not in the least depend on the moral character of their members, if the Church is essentially an external society. Such a society may sink to the lowest degree of corruption, and yet be a church, provided it

retain its external integrity. Of no such a society, however, is holiness an attribute, and all history and daily observation concur in their testimony as to this fact. If, therefore, no community of which holiness is not an attribute can be the Church, it follows, that no external society, composed of "all sorts of men," can be the holy, catholic Church. Those, therefore, who regard the Church as an external society, are forced to deny that the Church is holy. They all assert that it is composed of hypocrites and unrenewed men, as well as of saints. Thus, for example, Bellarmine defines the Church to be "the society of men united by the profession of the same Christian faith, and the communion of the same sacraments, under the government of legitimate pastors, and especially of the only vicar of Christ here on earth, the Roman Pontiff."* By the first clause of this definition he excludes all who do not profess the true faith, such as Jews, Mohammedans, Pagans, and heretics; by the second, all the unbaptized and the excommunicated; by the third, all schismatics, *i. e.*, all who do not submit to legitimate pastors, (prelates,) especially to the Pope. All other classes of men, he adds, are included in the Church, *etiamsi reprobi, scelesti et impii sint*. The main point of difference between the Romish and Protestant theories of the Church, he says, is that the latter requires internal virtues in order to Church membership, but the former requires nothing beyond outward profession, for the Church, he adds, is just as much an external society as the Roman people, the kingdom of France, or the republic of Venice.†

The Oxford theory of the Church differs from the Romish only in excluding subjection to the Pope as one of its essential characteristics. The Church is defined to be "The whole society of Christians throughout the world, including all those who profess their belief in Christ, and who are subject to lawful

* Lib. III. c. ii. col. 108. *Cætum hominum ejusdem Christianæ fidei professione, et eorundem sacramentorum communione colligatum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum, ac præcipue unius Christi in terris vicarii Romani Pontificis.*

† Nos autem . . . non putamus requiri ullam internam virtutem, sed tantum professionem fidei et sacramentorum communionem, quæ sensu ipso percipitur. Ecclesia enim est cætus hominum ita visibilis et palpabilis, ut est cætus populi Romani, vel regnum Galliæ, aut respublica Venetorum.—*Ibid.*, col. 109.

pastors.”* By Christians, in this definition, are meant nominal, or professed Christians. According to this view, neither inward regeneration, nor “visible sanctity of life, is requisite for admission to the Church of Christ.” “The Scriptures and the universal Church appoint,” it is said, “only one mode in which Christians are to be made members of the Church. It is baptism, which renders us, by divine right, members of the Church, and entitles us to all the privileges of the faithful.”† Again, when speaking of baptism, which thus secures a divine right to all the privileges of the faithful, it is said, there is no “mention of regeneration, sanctity, real piety, visible or invisible, as prerequisite to its reception.”‡ Holiness, therefore, is denied to be an attribute of the Church in any proper sense of the term. This denial is the unavoidable consequence of regarding the Church as a visible society, analogous to an earthly kingdom. As holiness is not necessary to citizenship in the kingdom of Spain, or republic of Venice, holiness is not an attribute of either of those communities. Neither Spain nor Venice is, as such, holy. And if the Church, in its true essential character, be a visible society, of which men become members by mere profession, and without holiness, then holiness is not an attribute of the Church. But, as by common consent the Church is holy, a theory of its nature which excludes this attribute, must be both unscriptural and uncatholic, and therefore false.

No false theory can be consistent. If, therefore, the theory of the Church which represents it as an external society of professors, is false, we may expect to see its advocates falling continually into suicidal contradictions. The whole Romish or ritual system is founded on the assumption, that the attributes and prerogatives ascribed in Scripture to the Church, belong to the visible Church, irrespective of the character of its members. Nothing is required for admission into that society, but profession of its faith, reception of its sacraments, and submission to its legitimate rulers. If a whole nation of Pagans or Mohammedans should submit to these external conditions, they would be true members of the Church, though ignorant

* Palmer on the Church, Amer. edition, vol. i. p. 28.

† Palmer. Vol. i. p. 144.

‡ Palmer. Vol. i. p. 377.

of its doctrines, though destitute of faith, and sunk in moral corruption. To this society the attributes of holiness, unity and perpetuity, belong; this society, thus constituted of "all sorts of men," has the prerogative authoritatively to teach, and to bind and loose; and the teaching and discipline of this society, Christ has promised to ratify in heaven. The absurdities and enormities, however, which flow from this theory, are so glaring and atrocious, that few of its advocates have the nerve to look them in the face. As we have seen, it is a contradiction to call a society composed of "all sorts of men," holy. Those who teach, therefore, that the Church is such a society, sometimes say that holiness is not a condition of membership; in other words, is not an attribute of the Church; and sometimes, that none but the holy are really in the Church, that the wicked are not its true members. But, if this be so, as holiness has its seat in the heart, no man can tell certainly who are holy, and therefore no one can tell who are the real members of the Church, or who actually constitute the body of Christ, which we are required to join and to obey. The Church, therefore, if it consists only of the holy, is not an external society, and the whole ritual system falls to the ground.

Neither Romish nor Anglican writers can escape from these contradictions. Augustin says, the Church is a living body, in which there are both a soul and body. Some members are of the Church in both respects, being united to Christ, as well externally as internally. These are the living members of the Church; others are of the soul, but not of the body—that is, they have faith and love, without external communion with the Church. Others, again, are of the body and not of the soul—that is, they have no true faith. These last, he says, are as the hairs, or nails, or evil humours of the human body.* According to Augustin, then, the wicked are not true members of the Church; their relation to it is altogether external. They no more make up the Church, than the scurf or hair on the surface of the skin make up the human body. This representation is in entire accordance with the Protestant doctrine, that

† In Breviculo Collationis. Collat. iii.

the Church is a communion of saints, and that none but the holy are its true members. It expressly contradicts the Romish and Oxford theory, that the Church consists of all sorts of men; and that the baptized, no matter what their character, if they submit to their legitimate pastors, are by divine right constituent portions of the Church; and that none who do not receive the sacraments, and who are not thus subject, can be members of the body of Christ. Yet this doctrine of Augustin, so inconsistent with their own, is conceded by Romish writers. They speak of the relation of the wicked to the Church as merely external or nominal, as a dead branch to a tree, or as chaff to the wheat. So, also, does Mr. Palmer,* who says: "It is generally allowed that the wicked belong only externally to the Church." Again: "That the ungodly, whether secret or manifest, do not really belong to the Church, considered as to its invisible character—namely, as consisting of its essential and permanent members, the elect, predestinated, and sanctified, who are known to God only, I admit."† That is, he admits his whole theory to be untenable. He admits, after all, that the wicked "do not really belong to the Church," and therefore, that the real or true Church consists of the sanctified in Christ Jesus. What is said of the wheat is surely not true of the chaff; and what the Bible says of the Church is not true of the wicked. Yet all Romanism, all ritualism, rests on the assumption, that what is said of the wheat is true of the chaff—that what is said of the communion of saints, is true of a body composed of all sorts of men. The argument, then, here is, that, as holiness is an attribute of the Church, no body which is not holy can be the Church. No external visible society, as such, is holy; and, therefore, the Church, of which the Scriptures speak, is not a visible society, but the communion of saints. —

The same argument may be drawn from the other attributes of the Church. It is conceded that unity is one of its essential attributes. The Church is one, as there is, and can be but one body of Christ. The Church as the communion of saints is

* On the Church. Vol. i. p. 28.

† Ibid. p. 143.

one; as an external society it is not one; therefore, the Church is the company of believers, and not an external society.

The unity of the Church is threefold. 1. Spiritual, the unity of faith and of communion. 2. Comprehensive; the Church is one as it is catholic, embracing all the people of God. 3. Historical; it is the same Church in all ages. In all these senses, the Church considered as the communion of saints, is one; in no one of these senses can unity be predicated of the Church as visible.

The Church, considered as the communion of saints, is one in faith. The Spirit of God leads his people into all truth. He takes of the things of Christ and shows them unto them. They are all taught of God. The anointing which they have received abideth with them, and teacheth them all things, and is truth. 1 John ii. 27. Under this teaching of the Spirit, which is promised to all believers, and which is with and by the word, they are all led to the knowledge and belief of all necessary truth. And within the limits of such necessary truths, all true Christians, the whole *cætus sanctorum*, or body of believers, are one. In all ages and in all nations, wherever there are true Christians, you find they have, as to all essential matters, one and the same faith.

The Holy Ghost is the spirit of love as well as of truth, and therefore all those in whom he dwells are one in affection as well as in faith. They have the same inward experience, the same conviction of sin, the same repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, the same love of holiness, and desire after conformity to the image of God. There is, therefore, an inward fellowship or congeniality between them, which proves them to be one Spirit. They all stand in the same relation to God and Christ; they constitute one family, of which God is the Father; one kingdom, of which Christ is the Lord. They have a common interest and common expectation. The triumph of the Redeemer's kingdom is the common joy and triumph of all his people. They have, therefore, the fellowship which belongs to the subjects of the same king, to the children of the same family, and to the members of the same body. If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; and if one member rejoices, all the members rejoice with it. This

sympathy is an essential characteristic of the body of Christ. Those who do not possess this affection and fellow-feeling for his members, are none of his. This inward spiritual communion expresses itself outwardly, not only in acts of kindness, but especially and appropriately in all acts of Christian fellowship. True believers are disposed to recognize each other as such, to unite as Christians in the service of their common Lord, and to make one joint profession before the world of their allegiance to him. In this, the highest and truest sense, the Church is one. It is one body in Christ Jesus. He dwells by his Spirit in all his members, and thus unites them as one living whole, leading all to the belief of the same truths, and binding all in the bond of peace. This is the unity of which the apostle speaks: "There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." Such is the unity which belongs to the Church; it does not belong to any external society, and therefore no such society can be the Church to which the attributes and prerogatives of the body of Christ belong.

In proof that spiritual unity cannot be predicated of the external Church, it is sufficient to refer to the obvious fact, that the Holy Spirit, the ground and bond of that unity, does not dwell in all the members of that Church. Wherever he dwells there are the fruits of holiness, and as those fruits are not found in all who profess to be Christians, the Spirit does not dwell in them so as to unite them to the body of Christ. The consequence is, they have neither the unity of faith nor of communion.

As to the unity of faith, it is undeniable that all Christian societies do not even profess the same faith. While all unite in certain doctrines, they each profess or deny what the others regard as fatal error or necessary truth. The Greek, Latin, and Protestant Churches do not regard themselves as one in faith. Each declares the others to be heretical. But this is not all. Unity of faith does not exist within the pale of these several churches. In each of them all grades and kinds of doctrine, from atheism to orthodoxy, are entertained. No one doubts this. It would be preposterous to assert that all the

members of the Latin Church hold the public faith of that society. The great body of them do not know what that faith is, and multitudes among them are infidels. Neither can any one pretend that the standards of the English, Dutch, or Prussian Church, express the faith of all their members. It is a notorious and admitted fact, that every form of religious faith and infidelity is to be found among the members of those societies. Unity of faith, therefore, is one of the attributes of the true Church, which, with no show of truth or reason, can be predicated of any external society calling itself the Church of God.

The case is no less plain with regard to communion. The societies constituting the visible Church, do not maintain Christian communion. They do not all recognize each other as brethren, nor do they unite in the offices of Christian worship and fellowship. On the contrary, they, in many cases, mutually excommunicate each other. The Greek, Latin, and Protestant Churches, each stands aloof. They are separate communions, having no ecclesiastical fellowship whatever. This kind of separation, however, is not so entirely inconsistent with the communion of saints, as the absence of brotherly love, and the presence of all unholy affections, which characterize to so great an extent these nominal Christians. If it be true that there is a warm sympathy, a real brotherly affection, between all the members of Christ's body, then nothing can be plainer than that the great mass of nominal Christians are not members of that body. The unity of the Spirit, the bond of perfectness, true Christian love, does not unite the members of any extended visible society into one holy brotherhood; and therefore no such society is the Church of Christ.

Romanists answer this argument by vehement assertion. They first degrade the idea of unity into that of outward connection. So that men profess the same faith, they are united in faith, even though many of them be heretics or infidels. If they receive the same sacraments and submit to the same rulers, they are in Christian communion, even though they bite and devour one another. They, then, boldly assert that the Church is confined to themselves; that Greeks, Anglicans, Lutherans, and Reformed, are out of the Church. To make it appear that

the Church, in their view of its nature, is one in faith and in communion, they deny that any body of men, or any individual, belongs to the Church, who does not profess their faith and submit to their discipline. Thus even the false, deteriorated idea of unity, which they claim, can be predicated of the Church only by denying the Christian name to more than one half of Christendom.

The answer given to this argument by Anglicans of the Oxford school, is still less satisfactory. They admit that the Church is one in faith and communion, that either heresy or schism is destructive of all saving connection with the body of Christ. To all appearance, however, the Church of England does not hold the faith of the Church of Rome, nor is she in ecclesiastical communion with her Latin sister. She is also almost as widely separated from the Greek and Oriental Churches. How low must the idea of unity be brought down, to make it embrace all these conflicting bodies! The Oxford writers, therefore, in order to save their church standing, are obliged, first, to teach with Rome that unity of the Church is merely in appearance or profession; secondly, that England and Rome do not differ as to matters of faith; and, thirdly, that notwithstanding their mutual denunciations, and, on the part of Rome, of the most formal act of excommunication, they are still in communion. The unity of communion therefore, is, according to their doctrine, compatible with non-communion and mutual excommunication. It is, however, a contradiction in terms, to assert that the Churches of Rome and England, in a state of absolute schism in reference to each other, are yet one in faith and communion. The essential attribute of unity, therefore, cannot be predicated of the external Church, either as to doctrine or as to fellowship.

The second form of unity is catholicity. The Church is one, because it embraces all the people of God. This was the prominent idea of unity in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Church is one, because there is none other. Those out of the Church are, therefore, out of Christ, they are not members of his body, nor partakers of his Spirit. This is the universal faith of Christendom. All denominations, in all ages, have, agreeably to the plain teaching of the Scriptures, and the very

nature of the gospel, maintained that there is no salvation out of the Church; in other words, that the Church is catholic, embracing all the people of God in all parts of the world. Of course it depends on our idea of the Church, whether this attribute of comprehensive unity belongs to it or not. If the Church is essentially a visible monarchical society, of which the Bishop of Rome is the head, then there can be no true religion and no salvation out of the pale of that society. To admit the possibility of men being saved who are not subject to the Pope, is to admit that they can be saved out of the Church; and to say they can be saved out of the Church, is to say they can be saved out of Christ, which no Christians admit. If the Church is a visible aristocratical society, under the government of prelates having succession, then the unity of the Church implies, that that those only who are subject to such prelates are within its pale. There can, therefore, be neither true religion nor salvation except among prelatists. This is a conclusion which flows unavoidably from the idea of the Church as an external visible society. Neither Romanists nor Anglicans shrink from this conclusion. They avow the premises and the inevitable sequence. Mr. Palmer says: "It is not, indeed, to be supposed or believed for a moment, that divine grace would permit the the really holy and justified members of Christ to fall from the way of life. He would only permit the unsanctified, the enemies of Christ, to sever themselves from that fountain where his Spirit is given freely."* This he says in commenting on a dictum of Augustin, "Let us hold it as a thing unshaken and firm, that no good men can divide themselves from the Church."† He further quotes Irenæus, as saying that God has placed every operation of his Spirit in the Church, so that none have the Spirit but those who are in the Church, "for where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there also the Church and every grace exist."‡ Cyprian is urged as another authority, who says: "Whosoever, divorced from the Church, is united to an adulteress, is separated from

* Palmer on the Church. Vol. i. p. 69.

† *Inconcussum firmumque teneamus, nullos bonos ab ea (ecclesia) se posse dividere.*—*Adv. Parmenian.* Lib. iii. ch. 5.

‡ *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 24, p. 223.

the Church's promises; nor shall that man attain the rewards of Christ, who relinquishes his Church. He is a stranger, he is profane, he is an enemy."* All this is undoubtedly true. It is true, as Augustin says, that the good cannot divide themselves from the Church; it is true, as Irenæus says, where the Church is, there the Spirit of God is; and where the Spirit is, there the Church is. This is the favourite motto of Protestants. It is also true, as Cyprian says, that he who is separated from the Church, is separated from Christ. This brings the nature of the Church down to a palpable matter of fact. Are there any fruits of the Spirit, any repentance, faith, and holy living, among those who do not obey the Pope? If so, then the Church is not a monarchy, of which the Pope is the head. Is there any true religion, are there any of the people of God who are not subject to prelates? If so, then the Church is not a society subject to bishops having succession. These are questions which can be easily answered. It is, indeed, impossible, in every particular case, to discriminate between true and false professors of religion; but still, as a class, we can distinguish good men from bad men, the children of God from the children of this world. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles. By their fruit we can know them. A wolf may indeed at times appear in sheep's clothing, nevertheless, men can distinguish sheep from wolves. We can therefore determine, with full assurance, whether it is true, as the Romish theory of the Church requires, that there is no religion among Protestants, whether all the seemingly pious men of the English Church, for example, are mere hypocrites. This is a question about which no rational man has any doubt, and, therefore, we see not how any such man can fail to see that the Romish theory of the Church is false. It is contradicted by notorious facts. With like assurance we decide against the Anglican theory, because if that theory is true, then there is no religion, and never has been any, out of the pale of the Episcopal Church. It is, however, equivalent to a confession that we ourselves are destitute of the Spirit of Christ, to refuse to recognize as his people the thou-

* *De Unitate*, p. 254.

sands of Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Reformed, who have lived for his service, and died to his glory. Here the ritual theory of the Church breaks down entirely. If the Church is an external society, that society must include all good men, all the children of God in the world. No such society does embrace all such men, and, therefore, the Church is not a visible society. It is a communion of saints. The very fact that a man is a saint, a child of God that is born of the Spirit, makes him a member of the Church. To say, therefore, with Augustin, that no good man can leave the Church, is only to say that the good will love and cleave to each other; to say, with Irenæus, that where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, is to say the presence of the Spirit makes the Church; and to say with Cyprian, that he who is separated from the Church, is separated from Christ, is only saying, that if a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, he cannot love God whom he hath not seen. If the Church is the communion of saints, it includes all saints; it has catholic unity because it embraces all the children of God. And to say there is no salvation out of the Church, in this sense of the word, is only saying there is no salvation for the wicked, for the unrenewed and unsanctified. But to say there is no piety and no salvation out of the papal or prelatie Church, is very much like doing despite unto the Spirit of God; it is to say of multitudes of true Christians, what the Pharisees said of our Lord; "They cast out devils by Beelzebub, the chief of devils." That is, it is denying the well authenticated work of the Spirit, and attributing to some other and some evil source, what is really the operation of the Holy Ghost. Wherever the Spirit of God is, there the Church is; and as the Spirit is not only within, but without all external church organizations, so the Church itself cannot be limited to any visible society.

The historical unity of the Church is its perpetuity; its remaining one and the same in all ages. In this sense, also, the true Church is one. It is now what it was in the days of the apostles. It has continued the same without interruption, from the beginning, and is to continue until the final consummation; for the gates of hell can never prevail against it. About this there is no dispute; all Christians admit the Church

to be in this sense perpetual. In asserting the historical unity, or uninterrupted continuance of the Church, all must maintain the unbroken continuance of every thing which, according to their several theories, is essential to its existence. If the Church is a visible society, professing the true faith, and subject to lawful prelates, and especially to the Pope of Rome, then the perpetuity of the Church supposes the continued existence of such a society, thus organized, always professing the true faith, and always subject to its lawful rulers. There must therefore, always be an external visible society; that society must profess the truth; there must always be prelates legitimately consecrated, and a lawful pope. If, according to the Anglican theory, the Church is precisely what Romanists declare it to be, except subjection to the pope, then its perpetuity involves all the particulars above mentioned, except the continued recognition of the headship of the bishop of Rome. If, on the other hand, the Church is a company of believers, if it is the communion of saints, all that is essential to its perpetuity is that there should always be believers. It is not necessary they should be externally organized, much less is it necessary that they should be organized in any prescribed form. It is not necessary that any line of officers should be uninterruptedly continued; much less is it necessary that those officers should be prelates or popes. All that God has promised, and all that we have a right to expect, is, that the true worshippers of the Lord Jesus shall never entirely fail. They may be few and scattered; they may be even unknown to each other, and, in a great measure, to the world; they may be as the seven thousand in the days of the prophet Elijah, who had not bowed the knee unto Baal; still, so long as they exist, the Church, considered as the communion of saints, the mystical body of Christ on earth, continues to exist.

The argument from this source, in favour of the Protestant theory of the Church, is, that in no other sense is the Church perpetual. No existing external society has continued uninterruptedly to profess the true faith. Rome was at one time Arian, at another Pelagian, at another, according to the judgment of the Church of England, idolatrous. All Latin churches were subject to the instability of the Church of Rome. No

existing eastern Church has continued the same in its doctrines, from the times of the apostles to the present time. That there has been an interrupted succession of popes and prelates validly consecrated, is admitted to be a matter of faith, and not of sight. From the nature of the case it does not admit of historical proof. The chances, humanly speaking, are as a million to one against it. If it is assumed, it must be on the ground of the supposed necessity of such succession to the perpetuity of the Church, which is a matter of promise. But the Church can exist without a pope, without prelates, yea, without presbyters, if in its essential nature it is the communion of saints. There is, therefore, no promise of an uninterrupted succession of validly ordained church-officers, and consequently no foundation for faith in any such succession. In the absence of any such promise, the historical argument against "apostolic succession," becomes overwhelming and unanswerable.

We must allow the attributes of the Church to determine our conception of its nature. If no external society is perpetual; if every existing visible Church has more than once apostatized from the faith, then the Church must be something which can continue in the midst of the general defection of all external societies; then external organization is not essential to the Church, much less can any particular mode of organization be essential to its existence. The only Church which is holy, which is one, which is catholic, apostolic, and perpetual, is the communion of saints, the company of faithful men, the mystical body of Christ, whose only essential bond of union is the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. That Spirit, however, always produces faith and love, so that all in whom he dwells are united in faith and Christian fellowship. And as, in virtue of the divine promise, the Spirit is to remain constantly gathering in the people of God, until Christ comes the second time, so the Church can never fail. The attributes, then, of holiness, unity, and perpetuity, do not belong to any external society, and therefore no such society can be the Church. They are all found, in their strictest sense and highest measure, in the communion of saints, and therefore, the saints constitute the one, holy, apostolic, Catholic Church.

Argument from the promises and prerogatives of the Church.—The Scriptures abound with promises addressed to the Church, and they ascribe certain prerogatives to it. From the character of these promises and prerogatives, we may infer the nature of the Church.

1. The most comprehensive of the promises in question, is that of the continued presence of Christ, by the indwelling of his Spirit. This promise is often given in express terms, and is involved in the description of the Church as the body of Christ and the temple of God. It is not his body, neither is it the temple of God, without the presence of the Spirit. The presence of God is not inoperative. It is like the presence of light and heat, or of knowledge and love, which of necessity manifest themselves by their effects. In like manner, and by a like necessity, the presence of God is manifested by holiness, righteousness, and peace. He is not, where these graces are not; just as certainly as light is not present in the midst of darkness. The promise of God to his Church is, Lo, I am with you always; in every age and in every part of the world; so that where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church; and where the Church is, there is the Spirit. The presence promised is, therefore, a perpetual presence. It is also universal. God does not promise to be with the officers of the Church to the exclusion of the members; nor with some members to the exclusion of others. The soul is not in the head of the human body, to the exclusion of the limbs; nor is it in the eyes and ears, to the exclusion of the hands or feet. So long as it is in the body at all, it is in the whole body. In like manner the promised presence of God with his Church relates to all its members.

If this is so, if God has promised to be with his Church; if his presence is operative; if it is perpetual and all-pervading, then it is plain that this promise was never made to any external society, for to no such society has it ever been fulfilled. No such society has had the persistency in truth and holiness, which the divine presence of necessity secures. If in one age it professes the truth, in another it professes error. If at one time its members appear holy, at another they are most manifestly corrupt. Or, if some manifest the presence of the Spirit, others give evidence that they are not under his influence. It

is, therefore, just as plain that God is not always present with the external Church, as that the sun is not always above our horizon. The nominal Church would correspond with the real, the visible with the invisible, if the promise of the divine presence belonged to the former. With his own people God is always present; they, therefore, must constitute that Church to whom the promise of his presence belongs.

2. The promise of divine teaching is made to the Church.

This is included in the promise of the Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of truth, the source of light and knowledge, wherever he dwells. Christ, when about to leave the world, promised his disciples that he would send them the Spirit, to guide them into all truth. With regard to this promise it is to be remarked, 1. That it is made to all the members of the Church. It is not the peculium of its officers, for it is expressly said, *Ye shall be all taught of God.* And the apostle John says to all believers, *Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things.* 2. It relates only to necessary truths. God has not promised to teach his people all science, nor has he promised to render them infallible in matters of religion. All he has promised, is to teach them whatever is necessary to their salvation, and to qualify them for the work to which they are called. 3. This divine teaching is effectual and abiding. "*The anointing,*" says the apostle, "*which ye have received of him, abideth with you.*" Those who are taught of God, therefore, continue in the knowledge and acknowledgment of the truth.

That such divine teaching is not promised to any external society, is plain; 1. Because all the constituent members of no such society are thus divinely taught. The visible Church includes "all sorts of men," good and bad, ignorant and enlightened, heterodox and orthodox, believing and infidel. Of the members of that society, therefore, that is not true which the Scriptures declare to be true, with regard to the members of the Church. They are not all taught of God. 2. Within the pale of every external, and especially of every denominational Church, there is heresy, either secret or avowed. But the teaching of God, as has been shown, precludes the possibility of fundamental error. There may be great diversity of views on many points of doctrine, but as to every thing necessary to sal-

vation, all the members of the body of Christ must agree. It is, however, notorious and avowed, that in the Church of Scotland, of England, and of Rome, all forms of doctrine, from the purest scriptural faith down to the lowest scepticism, are to be found: therefore, no such society can be the Church to which this divine teaching is promised. 3. The teaching of God being perpetual, securing constancy in the acknowledgment of the truth, none but those who continue in the truth can belong to the Church to which that teaching is promised. This fidelity is an attribute of the invisible Church alone, and therefore the communion of saints is the body to which this promise is made.

3. A third promise is that of divine protection. By this promise the Church is secured from internal decay and from external destruction. Its enemies are numerous and powerful; they are ever on the watch, and most insidious in their attacks. Without the constant protection of her divine Sovereign, the Church would soon entirely perish. This promise is made to every individual member of the Church. They are all the members of his body, and his body, redeemed and sanctified, can never perish. No man, he says, shall ever pluck them out of his hand. They may be sorely tempted; they may be seduced into many errors, and even into sin; but Satan shall not triumph over them. They may be persecuted, and driven into the caverns and dens of the earth, but though cast down, they are never forsaken.

That this promise of protection is not made to the external Church is plain, 1. Because multitudes included within the pale of that Church are not the subjects of this divine protection. 2. The external Church has not been preserved from apostacy. Both before and since the advent of Christ, idolatry or false doctrine has been introduced and tolerated by the official organs of that Church. 3. A society dispersed is, for the time being, destroyed. Its organization being dissolved, it ceases to exist as a society. From such disorganization or dispersion, the visible Church has not been protected, and therefore it cannot be the body to which this promise of protection belongs.

4. We find in the Scriptures frequent assurances that the Church is to extend from sea to sea, from the rising to the set-

ting of the sun; that all nations and people are to flow unto it. These promises the Jews referred to their theocracy. Jerusalem was to be the capital of the world; the King of Zion was to be the King of the whole earth, and all nations were to be subject to the Jews. Judaizing Christians interpret these same predictions as securing the universal prevalence of the theocratic Church, with its pope or prelates. In opposition to both, the Redeemer said: My kingdom is not of this world. His apostles also taught that the kingdom of God consists in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. The extension of the Church, therefore, consists in the prevalence of love to God and man, of the worship and service of the Lord Jesus Christ. It matters not how the saints may be associated; it is not their association, but their faith and love that makes them the Church, and as they multiply and spread, so does the Church extend. All the fond anticipations of the Jews, founded on a false interpretation of the divine promises, were dissipated by the advent of a Messiah whose kingdom is not of this world. History is not less effectually refuting the ritual theory of the Church, by showing that piety, the worship and obedience of Christ, the true kingdom of God, is extending far beyond the limits which that theory would assign to the dominion of the Redeemer.

5. The great promise made to the Church is holiness and salvation. Christ, it is said, loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish. This and similar passages, plainly teach that holiness and salvation are promised to every member of the Church. This is obvious; 1. Because these are blessings of which individuals alone are susceptible. It is not a community or society, as such, that is redeemed, regenerated, sanctified, and saved. Persons, and not communities, are the subjects of these blessings. 2. This follows from the relation of the Church to Christ as his body. The members of the Church are members of Christ. They are in him, partakers of his life, and the subjects of his grace. 3. It is, in fact, a conceded point. It is the common doctrine

of all Christians, that out of the Church there is no salvation, and within the Church there is no perdition. It is the doctrine of all ritualists, that those who die in communion with the Church are saved. To this conclusion they are unavoidably led by what the Scriptures teach concerning the Church, as the body of Christ, and temple of God. Protestants admit the justice of the conclusion. They acknowledge that the Bible as plainly teaches that every member of the Church shall be saved, as that every penitent believer shall be admitted into heaven. If this is so, as both parties virtually concede, it determines the nature of the Church. If all the members of the Church are saved, the Church must consist exclusively of saints, and not "of all sorts of men."

Membership in the Church being thus inseparably connected with salvation, to represent the Church as a visible society, is—
1. To make the salvation of men to depend upon their external relation, entirely irrespective of their moral character. 2. It is to promise salvation to multitudes against whom God denounces wrath. 3. It is to denounce wrath on many to whom God promises salvation. 4. It therefore utterly destroys the nature of true religion.

The argument for the true doctrine concerning the Church, derived from the divine promises, is this. Those promises, according to the Scriptures, are made to the humble, the penitent and believing; the Church, therefore, must consist exclusively of the regenerated. Those to whom the promises of divine presence, guidance, protection, and salvation, are made, cannot be a promiscuous multitude of all sorts of men. That theory of the Church, therefore, which makes it an external society, is necessarily destructive of religion and morality. Of religion, because it teaches that our relation to God depends on outward circumstances, and not on the state of the heart and character of the life. If, by an external rite or outward profession, we are made "members of Christ," "the children of God," and "inheritors of the kingdom of heaven;" if we are thus united to that body to which all the promises are made; and if our connection with the Church or body of Christ, can be dissolved only by heresy, schism, or excommunication, then of necessity religion is mere formalism, Church membership is the only con-

dition of salvation, and Church ceremonies the only exercises of piety.

This natural tendency of the theory in question is, indeed, in many minds, counteracted by opposing influences. Men who have access to the Bible, cannot altogether resist the power of its truths. They are thus often saved, in a measure, from the perverting influence of their false views of the Church. The whole tendency, however, of such error, is to evil. It perverts one's views of the nature of religion, and of the conditions of salvation. It leads men to substitute for real piety the indulgence of religious sentiment. They expend on the Church as an æsthetic idea, or as represented in a cathedral, the awe, the reverence, the varied emotions, which simulate the fear of God and love of his excellence. This kind of religion often satisfies those whose consciences are too much enlightened, and whose tastes are too much refined, to allow them to make full use of the theory that the visible Church is the body of Christ, and all its members the children of God.

This doctrine is no less destructive of morality than of religion. How can it be otherwise, if all the promises of God are made to men, not as penitent and holy, but as members of an external society; and if membership in that society requires, as Bellarmine and Mr. Palmer, Oxford and Rome, teach, no internal virtue whatever? This injurious tendency of Ritualism is not a matter of logical inference merely. It is abundantly demonstrated by history. The ancient Jews believed that God had made a covenant which secured the salvation of all the natural descendants of Abraham, upon condition of their adherence to the external theocracy. They might be punished for their sins, but, according to their doctrine, no circumcised Israelite ever entered hell. The effect of this doctrine was manifest in their whole spirit and character. External connection with the Church, and practice of its rites and ceremonies, constituted their religion. They would not eat with unwashed hands, nor pray unless towards Jerusalem; but they would devour widows' houses, and, for a pretence, make long prayers. They were whited sepulchres, fair in the sight of men, but within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. The same effect has been produced by the doctrine which makes salvation depend

upon connection with a visible society, in the Greek and Latin Churches. Ecclesiastical services have taken the place of spiritual worship. Corruption of morals has gone hand in hand with the decline of religion. The wicked are allowed to retain their standing in the Church, and are led to consider themselves as perfectly safe so long as embraced within its communion; and no matter what their crimes, they are committed to the dust "in the sure hope of a blessed resurrection."

There is one effect of this false theory of the Church, which ought to be specially noticed. It is the parent of bigotry, religious pride combined with malignity. Those who cry, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we, are an abomination in the sight of God. That this spirit is the legitimate fruit of the ritual theory is plain. That theory leads a particular class of men to regard themselves, on the ground of their external relations, as the special favourites of heaven. It is of course admitted that a sense of God's favour, the assurance of his love, is the fountain of all holy affections and right actions. Hence the Bible is filled with the declarations of his love for his people; and hence the Holy Spirit is sent to shed abroad his love in their hearts. The assurance of the divine favour, however, produces holiness, only when we have right apprehensions of God, and of the way in which his love comes to be exercised towards us. When we see that he is of purer eyes than to look upon sin; that it is only for Christ's sake he is propitious to the guilty; that the love and indulgence of sin are proof that we are not the objects of his favour, the more we see of our unworthiness, the more grateful are we for his undeserved love, and the more desirous to be conformed to his image. But when men believe they are the favourites of God, because members of a particular society, that no matter what their personal character, they are objects of God's special love, then the natural and inevitable effect is pride, contempt, intolerance, malignity, and, when they dare, persecution. The empirical proof of the truth of this remark is found in the history of the Jews, of the Brahmins, of the Mohammedans, and of the Christian Church. It is to be found in the practical effect of the doctrine in question, wherever it has prevailed. The Jews regarded themselves as the peculiar favourites of

God in virtue of their descent from Abraham, and irrespective of their personal character. This belief rendered them proud, contemptuous, intolerant, and malignant towards all beyond their exclusive circle. In the Christian Church we always find the same spirit connected with this doctrine, expressed under one set of circumstances by anathemas, enforced by the rack and stake; under another, by denying the mercy of God to the penitent and believing, if not subject to "pastors having succession;" by setting up exclusive claims to be the Church of God; by contemptuous language and deportment towards their fellow Christians; and, as in the case of Mr. Palmer, with the open avowal of the right and duty of persecution.

Such are the legitimate effects of this theory; effects which it has never failed to produce. It is essentially Antinomian in its tendency, destructive of true religion, and injurious to holy living, and therefore cannot be in accordance with the word and will of God.

The only answer given to this fatal objection is an evasion. Ritualists abandon *pro hac vice* their theory. They teach, that to the visible Church, Christ has promised his constant presence, his guidance, his protection, and his saving grace; and that in order to membership in this Church, no internal virtue is required, no regeneration, piety, sanctity, visible or invisible. But when it is objected, that if the promises are made to the visible Church, they are made to the wicked, for the wicked are within the pale of that Church, they answer, "The wicked are not really in the Church;" the Church really consists of "the elect, the predestinated, the sanctified."* As soon, however, as this difficulty is out of sight, they return to their theory, and make the Church to consist "of all sorts of men." This temporary admission of the truth, does not counteract the tendency of the constant inculcation of the doctrine that membership in that body to which the promises are made, is secured by external profession. Wherever that doctrine is taught, there the very essence of Antinomianism is inculcated, and there the fruits of Antinomianism never fail to appear.

* Palmer on the Church, I. pp. 28, 58.

The same argument, afforded by a consideration of the promises made to the Church to determine its nature, flows from a consideration of its prerogatives. Those prerogatives are the authority to teach, and the right to exercise discipline. These are included in the power of the keys. This is not the place for any formal exhibition of the nature and limitations of this power. To construct the argument to be now presented, it is only necessary to assume what all Christians concede. Christ has given his Church the authority to teach, and to bind and loose. He has promised to ratify her decisions, and to enforce her judgments. In this general statement all denominations of Christians agree. Our present question is, To whom does this power belong? To the Church, of course. But is it to the visible Church, as such, irrespective of the spiritual state of its members, or is it to the Church considered as the communion of saints? The answer to this question makes all the difference between Popery and Protestantism, between the Inquisition and the liberty wherewith Christ has made his people free.

The prerogative in question does not belong to the visible Church, or to its superior officers, but to the company of believers and their appropriate organs; 1. Because it presupposes the presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit. It is only because the Church is the organ of the Spirit of Christ, and therefore only so far as it is his organ, that the teaching of the Church is the teaching of Christ, or that her decisions will be ratified in heaven. It has, however, been abundantly proved from the word of God, that the Holy Spirit dwells only in true believers; they only are his organs, and therefore it is only the teaching and discipline of his own people, as guided by his Spirit, that Christ has promised to ratify. To them alone belongs the prerogative in question, and to any external body, only on the assumption of their being, and only as far as they are what they profess to be, the true children of God. No external visible body, as such, is so far the organ of the Holy Spirit, that its teachings are the teaching of Christ, and its decisions his judgments. No such body is, therefore, the Church to which the power of doctrine, and the key of the kingdom of heaven have been committed.

2. As it is undeniable that the visible Church is always a mixed body, and often controlled in its action by wicked or worldly men, if Christ had promised to ratify the teaching and discipline of that body, he would be bound to sanction what was contrary to his own word and Spirit. It is certain that unrenewed men are governed by the spirit of the world, or by that spirit which works in the children of disobedience, and it is no less certain that the visible Church has often been composed, in great measure, of unrenewed men; if, therefore, to them has been committed this prerogative, then the people of God are, by Christ's own command, bound to obey the world and those governed by its spirit. If wicked men, whether in the Church or out of it, cast us out of their communion, because of the opposition between us and them, it is nothing more than the judgment of the world. It is neither the judgment of Christ, nor of his Church. But if true believers refuse us their fellowship, because of our opposition to them as believers, it is a very different matter. It is one thing to be rejected by the wicked because they are wicked, and quite another to be cast off by the good because they are good. It is only the judgment of his own people, and even of his own people, only as they submit to the guidance of his own Spirit, (*i. e.*, of his people as his people,) that Christ has promised to ratify in heaven. The condemnation of Christ himself by the Jewish Church, of Athanasius by the Church of the fifth century, of Protestants by the Church of Rome, was but the judgment of the world, and of him who is the god of this world.

3. If the power of the keys is, as ritualists teach, committed to the chief officers of the Church as a visible society, if it is their official prerogative, then there can be no such thing as the right of private judgment. Such a right can have no place in the presence of the Spirit of God. If the chief officers of the Church, without regard to their character, are the organs of that Spirit, then all private Christians are bound to submit without hesitation to all their decisions. This, as is well known, is the doctrine and practice of all those churches which hold that the promises and prerogatives pertaining to the Church, belong to the Church as a visible society. All private judgment, all private responsibility, are done away. But according

to the Scriptures, it is the duty of every Christian to try the spirits whether they be of God, to reject an apostle, or an angel from heaven, should he deny the faith, and of that denial such Christian is of necessity the judge. Faith, moreover, is an act for which every man is personally responsible; his salvation depends upon his believing the truth. He must, therefore, have the right to believe God, let the chief officers of the Church teach what they may. The right of private judgment is, therefore, a divine right. It is incompatible with the ritual theory of the Church, but perfectly consistent with the Protestant doctrine that the Church is the communion of saints. The latter is consequently the true doctrine.

4. The fact that the teaching of the visible Church has so often been contradictory and heretical, that council is against council, one age against another age, one part of the Church against another part, is a clear proof that the prerogative of authoritative teaching was never given by Christ to any such erring body. And the fact that the external Church has so often excommunicated and persecuted the true people of God, is proof positive that hers are not the decisions which are always ratified in heaven.

There are many difficult questions respecting the "power of the keys," which are not here alluded to. All that is now necessary, is to show that this is a prerogative which cannot belong to the visible Church as such. It can belong to her only so far as she is the organ of the Church invisible, to which all the attributes, the promises and prerogatives of the true Church are to be referred. And no more wicked or more disastrous mistake has ever been made, than to transfer to the visible society of professors of the true religion, subject to bishops having succession, the promises and prerogatives of the body of Christ. It is to attribute to the world the attributes of the Church; to the kingdom of darkness the prerogatives of the kingdom of light. It is to ascribe to wickedness the character and blessedness of goodness. Every such historical Church has been the world baptized; all the men of a generation, or of a nation, are included in the pale of such a communion. If they are the Church, who are the world? If they are the kingdom of light, who constitute the kingdom of darkness? To teach that

the promises and prerogatives of the Church belong to these visible societies, is to teach that they belong to the world, organized under a particular form and called by a new name.

(To be continued.)

ART. VI.—*On the Correspondence between Prophecy and History.*

THE argument from prophecy, whatever be its rank among the proofs of inspiration, is admitted upon all hands to have some advantages peculiar to itself, arising partly from its very nature, partly from the form in which it is presented to the mind. As compared with miracles, it has the advantage of appealing to a surer test, or, at least, one less susceptible of being tampered with, as well as to a wider sphere of witnesses, the evidence not only remaining unimpaired, but actually growing stronger with the lapse of time. Yet, notwithstanding these advantages, this source of proof is less and less resorted to, at least in such a manner as to give it its legitimate effect, that of corroborating and confirming the internal tokens of divinity with which the word of God is pregnant. This has arisen, in a great degree, from a twofold perversion of the prophecies, the first of which consists in bestowing on the unfulfilled predictions that degree and kind of attention which is due only to those already verified; the other in transferring the attention from enlarged and comprehensive views of the prophetic Scripture to minute and disputable points, the importance of which bears no proportion to their darkness and complexity.

Hence, some have hastily inferred that this whole species of inquiry is unprofitable, and that it is better to content ourselves with the historical, and doctrinal, and practical instructions of the Bible, and let prophecy alone, as a superfluous, if not a dangerous auxiliary to the other grounds of our belief in the divine authority of Scripture. This may be a sound and wise conclusion with respect to certain forms of prophetic interpretation and dispute. But we cannot shut our eyes upon the whole range of prophetic

testimony to the truth of Scripture, without rejecting light from heaven, without stopping our ears against the voice of God, in one of its most solemn and significant utterances. It is this far-reaching foresight, this mysterious connection of the transient present with the distant future and the distant past, that seems most clearly to identify the God of nature, providence, and revelation. As one remote and half-forgotten promise or denunciation reaches its accomplishment, and rolls out to open view, as if from the concealed works of some vast machine, we are constrained to match the end with the beginning, and to recognize the presence of the same omniscience and omnipotence in both. In any clear case of the kind supposed, we can no more doubt the continuity of the mysterious process, than we can question that the stream which throws a flower at your feet, has issued from the spring into which your own hand cast it. The remoteness of the points of observation, if you can but identify the object, only serves to render your conviction of the oneness of the stream more irresistible. The proper remedy for the abuses which have been admitted to exist in this department of religious truth, is not a proud or indolent neglect, but a more profound attention. The remedy, especially for those evils which have been engendered by infinitesimal disputes upon detached points, or of things as yet inscrutable, is not to throw them out of sight for ever, but to bring them into due subordination to those general convictions of the real existence of prophetic foresight, which may be obtained without logomachies or trifling, and without transcending the well defined limits of prophecy already verified.

That such convictions are attainable, may best be shown by an example, one in which there shall be no room for dispute as to the meaning of particular expressions, as to the literal or figurative character of the prediction, or as to the reality of the event; in which nothing shall be taken for granted but what all acknowledge to be true; in which nothing whatever shall be left to depend upon chronological minutiae or rhetorical punctilios. If, in such a case, there can be clearly shown a correspondence between what is passing or has passed already, and the clear premonitions of this book—a correspondence too exact

to be fortuitous, and too remote for calculation and contrivance—the existence of prophetic foresight in the sacred writers must be granted, and a strong presumption raised in favour even of those prophecies not yet fulfilled, and those involving more minute details of time and place and other circumstances. In such a demonstration as the one proposed, the more enlarged the scope of the alleged prediction and the field of its alleged fulfilment, the more easy will it be to apply the test of truth or falsehood; and the more complete the demonstration of the presence of the same God in the prophecies of Scripture and the performances of Providence, the more undeniable the harmony of all his dispensations and the unity of all his works.

It is clear that the conditions which have been proposed cannot possibly be answered by any single passage of prophetic import, or by any prophecy confined to certain texts of Scripture, for in all such cases it is necessary to descend into verbal niceties, and weigh the grounds of opposite interpretations, to determine whether it is literal or spiritual, and to ascertain in what respects it corresponds to the event; all which is inconsistent with the general purpose of proving the existence of prophetic foresight from acknowledged undisputed data. To effect this purpose it is absolutely necessary to select a prophecy, or series of prophecies, so frequently repeated, and in forms so various, as to be wholly independent of precise modes of expression, because written, as it were, on every page of revelation, so that he who runs may read, and though a fool, need not err therein.

Such an example is afforded by comparing the actual condition of the world, and of certain critical events by which it has been brought about, not with particular predictions of the Bible, but with its general prophetic intimations. In exhibiting this parallel, it will be unnecessary, and indeed at variance with its purpose, to insist upon minute points, either of interpretation or chronology. What we want are those general impressions, both of prophecy and history, with which all are familiar, and to which we may appeal without the fear of being challenged. The objects of comparison are not invisible points or imaginary lines, which one sees and another does not, or which one sees here while another sees them yonder, but those

vast continental shadows which for ages have been silently projected on the field of prophetic vision, and those massive substances now rising, many of them for the first time, on the field of historical experience. The question is, are these indeed the shadows of these substances, or is their correspondence merely accidental?

Let us begin then with a fact beyond the reach of ingenuity or malice, and questionable only by the last degree of ignorance; the fact that there existed for a series of ages, in the south-western corner of Asia, a people in many points inferior to their neighbours, and yet an object of surprise and curiosity to all. Their territory was small, their political influence comparatively trifling, their foreign commerce almost nothing, their attainments in science very humble, their achievements in the fine arts none, their literature confined to their laws and their religion.

It has been the policy and the delight of certain writers to disparage and belittle, by all lawful and unlawful means, the national character and condition of the ancient Hebrews. Every deficiency has been exaggerated, every merit pared down to its lowest possible dimensions, with a zeal and ingenuity worthy of a better cause. Against this ungenerous perversion of history, an opposite party has contended no less zealously, explaining away every alleged proof of barbarism or meanness, and claiming for the Hebrews a degree of national improvement and importance possibly beyond the truth.

For certain purposes this vindication, or so much of it as seems to be well founded, may be eminently useful; but for ours it is quite superfluous. Let the condition and the character of this peculiar race be placed as low as its worst enemies can wish; let its unsocial, misanthropical seclusion from the rest of men be painted in the colours of a Juvenal or Tacitus; let worshippers of nature and of art decry the heartless, unimagi-native race who could submit to the proscription of all painting and sculpture; let the worst features of the modern Jewish character be traced to its original in that of their progenitors; in short, let Israel stand forth upon the page of ancient history a stain, a blot, a blank, a hideous impersonation of all national defects and vices—still the labour spent in

thus accumulating curses and reproaches on that hated race is labour lost. The more completely you succeed in thus degrading and defiling them, the more indissolubly do you rivet the successive links of the chain which you are foolishly endeavouring to bite asunder, or to stamp in pieces. For the next link of that chain is the indisputable fact that this contracted, rude, and feeble race, among their other strange pretensions, at which neighbouring nations laughed or raged, believed themselves to be, in some sense, the peculiar people of the Most High God, selected by him from among the rest of men, and distinguished by extraordinary privileges, but above all, by his manifested presence in the midst of them, and by his committing to their charge a written revelation of his will, and of the only method of salvation, with a system of accompanying rites, intended to illustrate and perpetuate this revelation through a course of ages.

The point to be insisted on is, not that they were right in this belief, but simply that they entertained it. You may laugh at it, with the Roman satirist or the French philosopher, but you may not deny that it existed, and that it was derived from those books which they looked upon as sacred. He who cannot see this there, can see nothing; he who wilfully denies it, would as soon deny any thing. But none do in fact deny it. That the Jews, through a course of ages, looked upon themselves as the peculiar people of the Most High, and as the depositaries of an exclusive revelation, is by none more steadfastly maintained than by their enemies. This is the head and front of their offending in the sight of unbelievers, ancient and modern, who insist on nothing as a more decided proof of ignorance, and bigotry, and selfishness, than this very fact, that the sacred writings of this people every where inculcate the doctrine that the Most High had himself distinguished them from other nations, and assigned them a secluded yet pre-eminent position, which was to be and was maintained for ages. If this required to be established by the quotation of particular texts, it would not answer the end for which it is adduced. But there is no such necessity. The doctrine just propounded is the spirit that breathes through the Old Testament, not only in the later books but in the oldest, where this expectation

is expressed as clearly and as strongly as at any later period; so that it may justly be described as a pervading prophecy, a kind of standing and perpetual prediction, not confined to this or that place, but escaping as it were at every opening of the book, and uttering it at every breath, as a fundamental doctrine of the Jew's religion, that Jehovah is God, and that Israel is his people, just as the Moslems now combine their two fundamental doctrines in that brief confession ever at their tongues' ends—"There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet!"

Now, that this ancient national belief should be found combined with other doctrines naturally springing from it, might be expected as a matter of course. But what is very strange is, that it actually stands connected with a doctrine which, far from springing from it, seems at first sight inconsistent with it, nay, subversive of it. This is the doctrine that the Jews' religion was designed to be universal, that all nations should one day embrace it. This is as really foretold as the previous continuance of their seclusion and pre-eminence. The two things are completely interwoven in the texture of the Jewish Scriptures. It was not more certainly expected by the Jews, that they should stand aloof for ages from the rest of men, than it was that they should afterwards be merged in the confluence of nations towards the centre of the true religion. This is the more remarkable for two reasons: first, because it does not tend to foster national pride; and secondly, because it cannot be evolved by any imaginable process, either logical or fanciful, from the original position that their national seclusion and pre-eminence should last for ages from the time when it began. The two things must have been believed as independent doctrines, equally true, but not deduced from one another.

The remark just made, that this expectation of the final prevalence of the Jews' religion, had no tendency to foster pride, may possibly seem open to exception, on the ground that they expected still to be the centre of attraction, towards which all mankind should gravitate, and that however numerous his spiritual seed might be, Israel should still be the first-born of Jehovah.

This might be so, if the two doctrines which have now been

stated stood alone; but intertwined with these mysterious threads of national belief and expectation, is a third, less obvious but not less real, the belief and expectation that, when Israel's God should thus become the God of the whole earth, Israel himself, instead of standing at his right hand as his first-born son, should, by some strange process, be thrust down from his pre-eminence, and cast out from his father's house. We have spoken of this doctrine as less obvious, because there is a singular reserve and ambiguity attending its expression in some places, which has occasioned their misapplication to events entirely different. So far as this part of the statement involves questions of interpretation, it is here irrelevant. There is enough of unequivocal language on the subject, to establish this as one of the perpetual predictions of the Jewish Scriptures, although not so clearly as the other two.

Let it also be observed, that the question here is not how far the people actually looked for this result, but how far they were warranted and bound to look for it, by prophecies still extant in their sacred books. Their national pride would of course revolt from the reception of this doctrine. Even those who could persuade themselves to own that Israel's exclusive honours should be one day terminated by the gathering of the nations to his altars and his banners, even these might naturally shrink from the confession that he should one day not only cease to hold his present place exclusively, but to hold it at all; not only cease to be a first-born, but a child. And yet this repugnance to receive the truth cannot erase it from the leaves of the Old Testament. The modern Jews themselves acknowledge that their present long continued exile and dispersion is a judgment constantly foretold, and more or less distinctly threatened by their prophets, and by none more frequently and clearly than by Moses, their founder and their lawgiver.

Here, then, are three great prophecies pervading the Old Testament, three mystic threads, distinct, and yet inseparably wrought into its texture, the first more obvious than the second, and the second than the third; the first more grateful to the natural feelings than the second, and the second than the third; the first, therefore, more incorporated with the character, and legible in the life of the people than the second,

and the second than the third; but all in existence, all there, all everywhere; running through the book from beginning to end, and constituting absolutely necessary parts of the Jewish revelation. To convince ourselves of this, we have only to attempt the elimination of these three great elements from the aggregate prophetic teachings of the Jewish Scriptures. Specific prophecies, which occur but once or seldom, might be struck out, and their absence pass unnoticed by a reader not apprized of their omission. Even the prophecies of Christ, the most explicit and most precious of all prophecies, might be expunged without destroying prophecy itself. The sun would be quenched in the heavens, but the heavens, although shrouded in darkness, might continue still extended, and not yet wrapped together as a scroll. But erase from the Old Testament all its prophetic intimations, whether more or less explicit, of these three great providential truths—the segregation of the Jews for ages by divine command, and for a special purpose—the ulterior admission of the gentiles to their privileges—and the exclusion of the Jews themselves from those very honours which they once monopolized—erase all this from the Scriptures of the Jews, and then determine, if you can, what is left in the mangled and mutilated system.

And as it may be thus contended that these things are necessary parts of the Jewish revelation, it may also be contended that they are, in form and substance, prophecies, predictions, revelations of the future. If these are not prophecies, what are? Does a prediction lose its character as such by frequent repetition, or by being wrought into the very substance of the writing which contains it? Does that which would have been a prophecy if formally propounded once, cease to be one when it is so perpetually intimated that it needs not to be formally propounded at all? Every condition of a prophecy is answered by these constant and pervading indications of futurity, especially that great and most essential condition of implying divine prescience if true, and, if actually verified by the event, establishing the inspiration of the author.

It becomes an interesting question, therefore, how and to what extent these prophecies have been fulfilled; and in attempting to resolve it, let us not lose sight of the position

which historians and philosophers assign to the people in whose sacred books these premonitions are contained, and in whose history their truth or falsehood must be brought to light. Let us remember what the infidel so often tells us, that it was a wretched, insignificant, contracted, unrefined, unsocial race of western Asia, that was thus taught by the books of its religion to believe itself the chosen people of Jehovah, to which all the other nations were to flow, and from which He himself would then take all in which they gloried. From this chosen point of observation let us trace for a moment the actual progress of events, and see how far we can account for it upon the supposition that the claim of the Jews to be in some peculiar sense the people of Jehovah, was an arrogant conceit, or a fanatical delusion.

By a singular coincidence we find this vain and self-sufficient race continuing for ages to sustain itself in opposition to the interest and influence of all surrounding nations, and maintaining its peculiar institutions and opinions in the face of enmity, reproach, and ridicule, and in contempt of what might seem to be the strongest earthly motives for renouncing them. All this, however, might be laughed at as the freak of an enthusiastic bigotry, for which no reasonable cause can be assigned; but this conclusion is forbidden by another strange coincidence, viz., that this conceited and absurd race were for ages in possession of the only pure religion, *i. e.*, the only common worship of one God, that can be traced in history, and that, notwithstanding their occasional defections, whether personal or national, they held it fast, refusing either to renounce or to communicate it, while their sacred books contain a system both of morals and theology, to which the ancient world besides does not exhibit even an approximation. All the material facts in this description are conceded by unanimous consent. Whatever men may think of the Old Testament theology or morals, as compared with their own systems or discoveries, the man is yet unborn who would venture to deny their measureless superiority to all contemporary theory and practice.

Now this remarkable concurrence of the purest, or, to speak more correctly, of the only pure religion and morality of ancient times, within the limits of that very people who were weak

enough to look upon themselves as the elect of God; this concurrence, if an accident, is certainly a very happy and a very strange one. Let us suppose for a moment, that it *had* been the divine intention thus to single out the Hebrews as a depository of the truth until the fulness of time should come. It cannot be denied that the event might properly have been expected to be just what it was. Particular circumstances might have been expected *a priori* to be differently ordered; but the main facts could not have been otherwise. If God had really chosen Israel to fill the place and execute the work in question, it is certain, it is necessary that this choice must have led to precisely that result which all admit to have existed in the case of ancient Israel, but which some allege to have existed there by accident. Even such accidents, however, are conceivable among the varied combinations and concurrences of God's providential dispensations. It is only when repeated, or combined with other accidental coincidences, that they begin to draw too largely on our faith or our credulity. To such an inconvenience the hypothesis of random and fortuitous agreement is exposed in this case. Let us grant that the pre-eminence of Israel among the ancient nations, in religion and morality, proves nothing by itself in favour of the truth of their pretensions to the character of God's peculiar people, or of the prophecies contained in their sacred books, that this pre-eminence should not depart from Judah until Shiloh came. Let us admit that the coincidence might in itself be wholly accidental, and that this possibility is not disturbed by any circumstances in the national condition of the Jews, which might be thought unfavourable to their growth in moral and religious culture, such as their want of intellectual refinement and of speculative habits, and of all enlarging and existing intercourse with other nations. The lower they are put in these respects, the harder it would seem to account for their pre-eminence upon any supposition but the one of special divine favour and communication, which we have agreed to waive for the present in favour of the theory that all was accidental.

At length we come to a surprising juncture in the history of Israel. Its claims to national pre-eminence are suddenly scattered to the winds, by the destruction of its state and the dis-

persion of its people. In this catastrophe appeared to perish, not only that superiority, in which the people gloried, and which seemed to be inseparable from their national seclusion, but the hope of that accession from the Gentiles, which appeared to be the next best thing for Israel, and which formed the subject of the second great prediction running through the Hebrew Scriptures. But this first impression is erroneous. When the shock and tumult of the great concussion has subsided, we perceive creeping forth, as it were, from under the ruins of the old Hebrew commonwealth, a new form of society, which beginning at Jerusalem, by rapid marches overspreads the empire. Some of its conquests are in process of time lost again, only to be more certainly regained hereafter. But the most important of them still remain, including the entire civilization of the world. The history of this new sect, as it was once called, is the history of human progress for the last eighteen centuries. Now, all this has come forth from ancient Israel, and from the Jews' religion. True, the doctrine thus triumphantly diffused, and thus identified with human happiness and elevation, is not Judaism in its crude, inchoate state, but it is Judaism in its consummation. It is the flower of which Judaism was the bud; the fruit of which it was the flower; the spreading tree of which it was the subterraneous root; the day of which it was the dawn; the life of which it was the infancy. Not by forced accommodation, nor by arbitrary choice, but by a natural succession and development, "salvation is of the Jews."

The truth of this representation is established by a single fact of perfect notoriety, viz: that every nation under heaven which professes Christianity, and every Christian Church and sect throughout the world, receives among its sacred books the Jewish Scriptures, and recognizes them as the foundation upon which its own more perfect revelation is erected. This is a fact which, on any supposition but the one of actual succession and historical deduction, is inexplicable. Great as the influence of Plato and his followers has been upon the Church in different ages, even platonizing Christians never dreamed of making Christianity an aftergrowth of that philosophy. Why, then, should all, without exception, own its filial relation to the ancient Jews' religion, the religion of a people whom so many

Christians still regard with scorn and hatred, but because the fact thus recognized is too notorious to admit of being palliated or concealed, disputed or explained away? It is true, it is certain, that in the perfected and sublimated form of Christianity, the religion of the ancient Jews has overspread the world.

Here, then, is another strange and troublesome coincidence to be accounted for. The religious books of an obscure and hated race, no longer in existence as a body politic, taught them, thousands of years ago, that the religion of which those books claimed to be the revelation, should be one day universal. Had this remained a prophecy on paper only, it would this day have been treated like the dreams of the Roman poets, with respect to the perpetual dominion of the eternal city. But, unhappily, this wild dream of the Jewish seers is not so easily disposed of; for by some strange combination of events, it has been realized, the prophecy has come to pass, and that not in a corner. Its fulfilment is written on the face of European and American society. The record of it cannot be erased from history, except by tearing out the leaves, and that, however some may wish for it, is now impossible. The sceptical sneerer at specific prophecies of doubtful meaning and fulfilment, stands aghast at this accumulation of incredible accidents, and sees his theory already vying as to probability with that of the creation of the world by the fortuitous concurrence of atoms. The Jewish Scriptures promised themselves universal influence, and after being laughed at for a thousand years, their promise was fulfilled. They lie at this moment at the deep foundation of the faith of universal Christendom, that is, of civilized humanity; and all that can be said in explanation of the change, is that it may be accidental.

But the chapter of accidents is not yet at an end. There might have been some foothold for the doubter, if the change which has been just described had pursued the ordinary course of such events, with no anomaly, no striking violation of analogy, to rouse attention, and recall the premonitions of the Hebrew Scriptures. But there is precisely such a breach of continuity, such a departure from the ordinary processes even of revolutionary change. It is afforded by the fact that, while

a doctrine sprung from Judaism has gone forth to subdue and civilize the nations, Israel himself has been excluded from the blessings and distinctions of this new economy. This would be less surprising if the Jewish race had perished with its government and national organization. But, as if to show that this exception was a marked one, and significant, they still exist, dispersed, but unmixed with the gentiles, clinging to their old religion in its unfinished state, and rejecting that new form of it for which the old, according to its own solemn teachings, was but a necessary preparation. Now, this exclusion of the Jews, as a nation, from the triumphs of their own religion, in its new and perfect form, is certainly no natural or necessary consequence of the events by which it has been brought about. And yet it is prophetically intimated, as we have already seen, throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, continually pointed to, if not explicitly foretold; and this concurrence of events, and expectations, and predictions so remote, must either be another happy accident, or another manifest fulfilment of prophecy.

Let these things be placed side by side, and honestly compared. Here is an ancient book, one of the many in which the nations of the old world sought the records of their faith. This book is distinguished, among other things, by its constant reference to futurity, its glimpses of the future condition of the world and of human society. Among the events which it contemplates as still future, yet infallibly certain, there are three remarkable, as well on account of the peculiar prominence here given them, as because they are precisely such as could not be inferred by any mere sagacity from the accustomed progress and succession of events. These are, first, the continued existence of the Jews themselves as a peculiar people, and the recipients of an exclusive revelation through a course of ages; then the subsequent extension of these privileges to the other nations; lastly, the exclusion of the Jews themselves from their own privileges thus extended. There is no necessary mutual dependence between these events. Yet the Hebrew Scriptures represent them as connected and successive, and in this same connection and succession they have actually come to pass, a fact attested both by history and by the actual

condition of the Jewish and the Christian world at this very moment. If these concurrences are accidental, then is chance as uniform and self-consistent as design itself; or rather words have changed their meaning, and men call that accidental which affords the clearest possible evidence of purpose and foreknowledge. Let us assume the frequent occurrence of such accidents, and we have all we need to prove the possibility and actual existence of prophetic foresight and possession by the writers of these ancient books, or rather by the author of the whole scheme of revelation which includes them, and in which, as we have seen, the most astonishing analogies exist; not merely with particular occurrences in later history, but with its whole development, as traceable in books, and in the actual condition of the world.

The true cause and meaning of some dark prophetic shadows may remain as long concealed from ordinary readers as the genuine philosophy of an eclipse from the uninstructed multitude, and in both cases ignorance may engender superstitious terrors or imaginative fictions. But the great standing prophecies in question, are like the broad and massive shadows of the Alps, projected on the lakes which they embosom, and which seem to the eye as well defined and almost as substantial as the everlasting hills which cast them. There is here no need of mathematics or philosophy to show the true relation of the cause to the effect. The sun, the object, and the eye, are all in harmony. Go tell the boatman, as he rows for hours in the shadow of Mount Pilate or Mont Blanc, that it has no connection with the mountain beyond that of accidental juxtaposition, and if he believes you, then believe that the gigantic figures which are following each other on the theatre of history have no connection beyond that of a fortuitous resemblance with their half-seen and mysterious but life-like images, which passed in the same order centuries ago, across the darkened surface of this great prophetic mirror. There is something in the vastness of the scale on which these prophecies were framed, and of the scale on which they are fulfilled, that almost places them beyond the scope of our contracted vision, and thus makes them less effective than if they were more diminutive, but for that very reason more completely at the eye's command. But

when the sight is once adjusted to the object, we are filled with wonder that we ever failed to see it, and beholding the coincidence, at once so grand and so minute, between the general prophetic teachings of the word, and the actual developments of Providence, we rest from our abortive efforts to explain it upon any sceptical hypothesis, and cry out, with the impotent magicians of the exodus, "This is the finger of God!" or with the Psalmist, "He hath not dealt so with any nation!"

This extraordinary correspondence of the history of Israel, not merely with particular predictions, but with the entire prophetic drift of Scripture, in relation to the subject, may encourage us to look for the analogous fulfilment of a fourth great prophecy, summed up in that significant expression, "So all Israel shall be saved." If the historical reality has hitherto kept pace with the prophetic shadow, we may confidently look for it to do so still. We may even calculate upon it as subjected to a certain law deducible from past events, just as the physical discoverer foretells that certain combinations must exist, though yet unknown, because they are required to complete a series, all the previous degrees of which have been determined by a law of uniform progression; so, for a very different reason, may we set it down as certain, that the cycle of prophetic fulfilments will be yet completed by the re-engrafting of the natural branches into their own olive-tree. Even the sceptic, who regards the previous fulfilments as fortuitous, may share in this hope, if he can but believe that an accident, already thrice repeated, may occur a fourth time. This will indeed be "life from the dead," in view of which the world may say, with far more emphasis than ever, "He hath not dealt so with any people!"

Another lesson, which we must not fail to learn, however hastily and briefly, from this interesting subject, is, that the general conviction thus obtained, of an intelligent connection between prophecy and history, when viewed upon the largest scale, should give us patience and tranquillity, in reference to those minute and disputable points which too much occupy the students and interpreters of prophecy. A general belief in the prophetic inspiration of the Scriptures, founded upon such a basis, cannot be shaken by the hardest questions in chronology or grammar. Not that due regard to these is superseded by

such faith, but because it goes before them and prepares for their solution. By a further but no less reasonable generalization, the confidence created by this process, in the promises and prophecies of Scripture, may be fairly extended to the whole system of revealed truth, whether doctrinal, historical, or practical, in form, as being the recorded word of One who "is not mocked," who "cannot lie," who must "do right," and who thus far "hath done all things well."

SHORT NOTICES.

The Grace of Christ, or Sinners saved by unmerited kindness. By William S. Plumer, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 12mo, pp. 454.

It is important to be remembered, that each successive age needs the great truths of religion to be presented anew, in the manner appropriate to its own period, and with variety of illustration and argument, such as only a diversity of authors can secure. Hence the existence of standard works, by great men of a former age, is no reason why we should refuse to welcome fresh books on the same topics. The production named above is on the most important subject which can exercise human thought and feeling, and we rejoice to see it thrown into the channels of our Board of Publication. It is warmly evangelical and thoroughly Calvinistic. We mean to commend it, when we say that it is written in the manner of treatises which appeared two hundred years ago. Were it not for numerous modern incidents and citations, we might suppose it to have proceeded from the hand of an old Puritan.

The theme is the gospel, or way of salvation; and this is treated scripturally, doctrinally, and experimentally. The main points are strongly argued, but with a constant application to the conscience and the heart. We do not remember to have read a work which more clearly shows itself to have been prepared for usefulness rather than for show. The ruined state of man by sin, the awful sovereignty of God, the work of redemption by Christ, the boundless grace of the offer, the means of obtaining justification, the influences of the Spirit in the new birth, and the progress of religion in the soul, are set forth with fulness, perspicuity, and affection. The whole is

enlivened by a very remarkable array of authenticated narratives. It is, therefore a suitable book to be put into the hands of those who err or waver about cardinal doctrines; those who need light as to the nature of vital piety; and especially those who are inquiring for the way of life. We are surprised at the number of theological topics which are included in this moderate volume. The division into very short chapters tends much to make it convenient, and to prevent weariness. It is destined, we confidently believe, to invite and conduct many into the right ways of the Lord.

The style of the performance is the author's own, on every page. It is eminently plain and clear; no one need ever pause for the meaning. It is, at the same time, nervous and striking, somewhat at a sacrifice of elegant smoothness. Dr. Plumer's mode of expressing himself is remarkably fitted to give impression and pungency to single sentences. He has cultivated this rather than the flow of periods and the delicate jointing of the details. In consequence of this, his short sentences sometimes seem bald and insulated, and his numerous and apt citations stand out frequently like great stones with too little mortar. Even in these cases, however, the attention is arrested, and there is a vehement strength which carries the truth home. Unless we greatly mistake, the work will be received with high approval by Christian readers, especially of the ancient type, and will hold its place.

Man's Ability. Old-school Theology. By an Old-school Minister (Rev. Aaron Church.) Princeton, Illinois. Published at the request of the Synod of Illinois. Chicago: Whitmarsh, Fulton & Co. 1853.

The doctrine of this sermon is—First, That the work of regeneration, “at its commencement, progress, and termination, is the work of the Holy Spirit.” Second, That the divine efficiency by which this change is effected, is not that providential agency by which God sustains second causes, and co-operates with them in the production of effects, but a special and supernatural exercise of divine power. Third, “That it is not in the power of the irreligious to renovate and change their own hearts; they are not able to awake in themselves the exercise of love to God and penitence for sin.” “I employ,” says the author, “the word *inability* to denote futile and unavailing endeavours, and so I think it ought to be employed. When we exert ourselves to the utmost for any purpose, and it is accomplished, it is proof of our ability; and when we exert ourselves to the utmost for any purpose, and it is *not* accomplished, it is proof of our inability. There is a certainty that stones will not move, and that dead bodies will not restore themselves to

life; but as they have no wishes or desires on the subject, and as there are no unavailing efforts, the term *inability*, as I have employed it, can have no application to cases of this description." Fourth, to illustrate the nature of this inability, the author refers, first, to the obvious fact that we have no such control over the affections, as we have over our outward actions. "If religion consisted wholly in the external discharge of outward duties, the impenitent would be able to do all that is required of them." But as the great command is to love God with all the heart, they are not able of themselves to do what the law demands. Secondly, he refers to the distinction between a *reluctant* and a *cordial* willingness. We are willing to have a limb amputated to save our life, but it is a reluctant willingness. We use the word in a different sense "when we speak of being willing to do what to us is a pleasure and satisfaction. The one is a cordial willingness flowing from the heart; the other an indirect, constrained, reluctant willingness." The impenitent may have the latter, but not the former kind of willingness to love God. The inability of sinners, therefore, "consists merely in a want of cordial willingness to obey God and keep his commands; still it is a *real* inability."

This the author himself feels is an objectionable form of stating the matter. For he says, "Using the term willingness in this guarded manner for a cordial willingness, there is no impropriety in saying of the unconverted, that if willing, they would be able to do all that is required of them; but if it be the habitual and uniform mode of speaking, it can hardly fail of producing erroneous views on the subject." Liability to be misunderstood, however, is not the only objection to the above statement. It is inaccurate. The word willingness, however qualified, properly expresses an act or state of the will. But the author uses it for a state of the affections. By reluctant willingness he means a preference connected with aversion; and by cordial willingness a preference connected with love. And, therefore, to say that a man is able to love God if he is cordially willing to do so, is only saying he is able to love God if he does love him, which sheds no light on the subject, and relieves no difficulty. The expression is inaccurate in another point of view. It refers the sinner's inability to the will, whereas it lies back of the will. The simple facts of the case, as taught by Scripture, by our own consciousness, and by universal experience, are, that the natural man, in consequence of his moral state, cannot know the things of the Spirit, because they are spiritually discerned; and without spiritual discernment there cannot be spiritual affections. To talk of a man's being able

to discern the beauty of a picture, if he was "cordially willing" to do so, would obviously be absurd. And it is no less inaccurate, to say that the unrenewed can discern the things of the Spirit, or love God, if cordially willing.

Our objection is only to the form of expression adopted by the author of this sermon. The great doctrine, that the sinner has not power to change his own heart; that this inability arises from his depravity, and is perfectly consistent with continued obligation; and that regeneration is the work of the omnipotent Spirit of God—this great doctrine, which lies at the foundation of all genuine Christian experience, the discourse fully and clearly sustains.

Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte, and Historic Certainties respecting the Early History of America. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1853.

The former of the two tracts included in this volume, has long been familiar as a successful *jeu d'esprit*. The second we never saw before. Our first impression was that it was a failure; but when we came to the "commentary," we found the author was a master of his subject and master of his art. We are disposed to believe that this little volume is worth more as an antidote to the sceptical historical criticism of the German school, than many a solemn refutation of fourfold the size.

Ancient Christianity Exemplified, in the Private, Domestic, Social and Civil Life of the Primitive Christians, and in the original Institutions, Offices, Ordinances and Rites of the Church. By Lyman Coleman. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 8vo. pp. 645.

Dr. Coleman is thoroughly acquainted with the literature of the wide department covered by his work. We know of no book in our language which contains the same amount of information on the antiquities of the Church. It is a work which, we doubt not, will long remain without a rival in that field.

An Appeal to the Churches: or the Cause and Cure of Remissness in the Support of Pastors. By a Hearer of the Word. Savannah: 1853.

We were so much impressed by the perusal of this pamphlet, that we are desirous to do our part to bring it to the general notice of the churches. The author begins with showing that the salary of the clergy in this country, as a general thing, is entirely inadequate. His estimate is that the average does not exceed three hundred dollars. He next inquires into the causes of this acknowledged evil. These causes are—1. Not that the services of the pastors are of little value; 2. Nor that the clergy are slothful and inactive; 3. Nor the want of resources in the

Church. Affirmatively the author states the causes as—1. Custom. The question commonly asked is not, What is needed? but, What have we and others been accustomed to give? 2. Ignorance among church members as to the proper standard of giving. 3. Bad management in raising funds. In many congregations there is no financial system at all; in others the worst conceivable. Having thus stated what he regards as the cause of the evil in question, he proceeds to propose the remedy. This consists—1. In light. Let the people be instructed in reference to their duty in this matter. Unpleasant as it may be, “Christian pastors are bound to instruct their congregations on this subject.” 2. Let “presbyteries positively refuse to settle any man over a congregation, unless that congregation shall in its call name a sum adequate, in the judgment of the presbytery, for the competent support of the pastor elect.” 3. Let some judicious system for the collection of funds be introduced, which shall have the several qualities of scripturalness, equality, and permanence.

There are several methods by which the support of the clergy has been more or less provided for. It has been attempted by the State, by the General State, and by each separate congregation. The first is out of the question. To the second plan, the author objects that the donations are equally distributed to poor and rich churches; that it supersedes the necessity of congregational efforts; that the support is fluctuating; and that this method tends to destroy that sense of mutual dependence which should ever be felt between a pastor and his people.

Our author, therefore, falls back on the congregational mode, which he thinks is the scriptural and the best method. Under this head he considers the several different plans generally adopted. As to the pew system, he objects that it has no scriptural authority, and is unequal, as the man with an income of ten thousand dollars, pays little more pew rent than a man whose income is only one thousand. Besides, this system, he says, converts an act of gratitude and faith into one of barter and trade. A man rents his pew as he does his house. The plan of annual voluntary subscription he considers the worst system of all. It is troublesome, inefficient, and must fail at last.

“We now come,” says our author, “to a plan which we wish strongly to recommend to our churches. It may, or it may not, include the pew system, just as individual congregations may choose. The plan is this: for every congregation to determine, not what they are able to give, (which is usually tried by a very low standard,) but *what is necessary for the comfortable support of a pastor in their congregation.* This determination should be

made, irrespective altogether of the probable incumbent. Whether a minister is popular or not, has a family or not, has been receiving heretofore a large salary or not, questions like these should not be introduced. There should be no *jockeying* in the call of a pastor; but the principle should be acted on—"the labourer is worthy of his hire." Having created a pastoral office, the question now is, "what compensation shall be annexed to it?" Let this compensation be a fair and a just one; one, at any rate, sufficient to place the pastor and his family above want, and to free him from "wordly cares." The sum thus being determined, let it be assessed, by a judicious committee, on the members of the congregation. This assessment should be governed strictly by the annual income of each member—"the rich giving of their abundance, the poor of their poverty." This plan would equalize the contribution, and place the chief burden of supporting a pastor just where it ought to be, upon the richer members of the church. Those congregations that wish to retain the pew system, could easily do so under this plan. The method is extremely simple. Let the pews be rented as usual, and the several amounts considered as a part of the assessment. As a family regulation in churches the system is excellent, and we should be sorry to see it abolished; we recommend only its modification."

We are not without our fears that the plan from which our author anticipates so much, would be found very difficult to carry into practical effect. Men generally dislike very much to be told what they ought to give. They think they are the best judges of that matter, and therefore we apprehend it would seldom happen that an assessment could be made which would not give offence. Still, the subject is of such vast importance, the evil and injustice of the present system are so flagrant, that any well-considered plan of redress is worthy of careful consideration.

There are two leading principles, of the divine authority and importance of which we are thoroughly convinced. The one is, that every minister of the gospel devoted to his work, is entitled to an adequate support; the other is, that the obligation to furnish that support, rests not merely on the individual congregation which a minister serves, but also on the general Church. We admit that it rests in the first instance on the individual congregations, but, if they are not able to furnish it, the obligation, the divinely imposed duty, or privilege, rests in the whole Church. To deny this, is to affirm that the poor and the heathen shall not have the gospel preached to them. We believe that no scheme of ministerial support, or of church extension, or of

missionary enterprise, can ultimately succeed, which does not embrace a fair application of the two principles above mentioned. The effort should not be to push our feeble churches as fast as possible on their own feet, but to rouse the strong to greater liberality. Our present object, however, is not discussion, but simply to call attention to a pamphlet which bears clear evidence of ability and Christian zeal. It can be procured from Messrs. John M. Cooper & Co., Savannah, Georgia, at the rate of ten copies for one dollar.

An Analysis and Summary of Thucydides. By J. Talboys Wheeler, author of "An Analysis and Summary of Herodotus, &c." Oxford: J. L. Wheeler, Cambridge: J. Talboys Wheeler. London: George Bell, Fleet Street, 12mo. pp. 376.

An Analysis and Summary of Old Testament History and the Laws of Moses. With an introductory Outline of the Geography, Political History, &c.; the Prophecies, Types, and intimations of the Messiah; Jewish History from Nehemiah to A.D. 70; chronologically added throughout; Examination Questions, &c. By J. Talboys Wheeler, author of "Analysis and Summary of Herodotus." pp. 285, 12mo.

The "Analysis and Summary of Herodotus," which gave form and character to this series of books, we have never seen. In the corresponding work on Thucydides, the author gives, by way of introductory matter, first, a very brief but carefully digested outline of the geography of Greece and her colonies; and then a chronological table of the principal events in the history; thus furnishing the student in advance with a good *coup d'œil* of the volume. Each of the eight books of the history, is then subjected, in the body of the work, to a careful and scholarly analysis, exhibiting its principal heads of division; followed by a summary of the events, sufficiently full to give the reader a complete view, in their order, of the contents of the book. In doing this, the terms employed to designate distances, money, &c., are reduced to English standards, so as to make the whole clearly intelligible to the English scholar. The plan of the book is conceived with remarkable clearness, and executed very completely.

The "Analysis and Summary of Old Testament History," is on the same plan suggested by the success of the other books, and executed with even more carefulness of detail. The book is a study in point of form, as a *multum in parvo* of information; the whole so arranged and displayed by its various typography, as to prevent crowding, and facilitate reference. The chronology, numismatics, weights and measures, distances, indexes of names both sacred and profane, with their correspondencies, the analyses of Mosaic laws and ordinances, com-

mercial regulations, &c., are all done with the utmost elaborateness; and yet so as to admit of easy reference and comparison with our most familiar standards. The analysis of each of the portions into which the history is divided is less satisfactory in our view, than the other features of the work. It is too artificial, and does not bring sufficiently into view the causal relation of the events embraced. It would be more suggestive if it were more philosophical, and less purely historical.

The reader will see that the plan of the book is never controversial; and yet the execution of so broad a scope cannot fail to raise questions, which divide different portions of the Church. In expressing our admiration of its plan, we are not to be understood as volunteering a general endorsement of its views. The author has drawn his materials from a great variety of sources; and they are generally those of high and unquestioned authority in all portions of the Church. His readers will form their own judgment, how far the mode of treatment exhibits the subject in its true light. The moral law, for example, is set forth in its Jewish relations, as furnishing rather the ground-forms out of which the civil laws of the Jews were evolved by a series of inspired commentaries, than as constituting the germ out of which the moral code of the New Testament ought to be developed and applied by the Church. No question is formally raised, however, and the object of the book at once carries it out of the range of controversy.

It ought to be mentioned, that the book was designed, like the Analysis of Herodotus and Thucydides, primarily, for the use of the students in the University of Cambridge, (England.) It is matter of congratulation that such a study of the Old Testament as is contemplated in this work, and especially in the University Examination Papers, printed in the volume, is incorporated into the course of study in that old and influential seat of learning.

Sabbath Day Readings, or Children's own Sabbath Book. By Julia Corner. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 207.

The "Sabbath Day Readings," is an attempt to throw the Scripture history, and other allied topics, into a succession of brief narratives, sufficiently entertaining to avert the repulsive associations which cling to the memory of the Sabbath in the experience of so many light-hearted children. The object aimed at is one of indisputable importance. The relations of the Sabbath to childhood and youth, it is no easy task to trace. The earliest and often most abiding impressions of the spirituality, or want of spirituality (as the case may be), of the Christian religion, are no doubt often derived from the answers given

to the questions of Sabbath casuistry, with which a sprightly child will flood patient Christian parents. We hold it to be desirable to prevent these questions, if possible, from coming up, until there is a reasonable probability of being able to answer them, without giving a bias to the starting conceptions of the child to one dangerous extreme or the other. Anything which will relieve or postpone the difficulties of the subject will be welcomed by many a parent as well as many a child.

The Faithful Promiser. Pp. 64, 32mo, for the pocket.

A spiritual gem; containing, in each of the thirty successive openings of the book, a promise, as of pardoning grace, sanctifying grace, dying grace, etc., illustrated from Scripture. Reprinted from an English edition.

The Mine Explored: or Help to the Reading of the Bible. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. Pp. 382, 12mo.

Is substantially a reprint of a well known publication of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge. It is a compact Thesaurus of information, on all subjects bearing on the divine authority and the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. Sunday-school teachers and students of the Bible will find it invaluable in the absence of those larger and more pretending works devoted to the same general purposes. There is scarcely any topic likely to come up in the ordinary intercourse of teachers and pupils, or in the common line of biblical studies, which it will not contribute to elucidate. It is chiefly remarkable for compression, comprehensiveness, and facility of reference. In addition to full indexes, and a variety of tables, the volume is furnished with a series of clear, appropriate, and useful maps.

Songs for the Little Ones at Home. American Tract Society.

One of the most attractive books of its class yet published. It contains the best portions of our older juvenile poetry, from Dr. Watts, Jane Taylor, &c., with liberal additions of a more recent stamp, from Mary Lundie Duncan, and others; beautifully printed, and plentifully interspersed with spirited wood-cuts.

The Gentle Shepherd. A Pastoral Comedy, by Allan Ramsay. With a Life of the Author. To which is added a greatly improved Glossary, and a Catalogue of the Scottish Poets. New York: William Gowans. Pp. 132, 12mo.

The edition before us of this great English, or rather Scotch classic, can hardly fail, for all common purposes, to meet the wishes of its admirers. The text has been the object of the most scrupulous and intelligent care; while the form has been

determined by a regard to convenience and good taste. The catalogue of Scottish poets, with specifications of the best editions of their works, forms a very useful appendix to the student, as well as a creditable one to the bibliographical knowledge of the compiler. For most purposes we should have preferred a chronological order of arrangement; but we are thankful for so complete a catalogue in any order.

A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a systematic view of that science. By Samuel Davidson, D. D., of the University of Halle, and LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1852. Volume I. The Old Testament, pp. 446. Volume II. The New Testament, pp. 472.

Dr. Davidson is well known from his previous publications in this and kindred departments of Biblical learning. Besides his *Lectures on Biblical Criticism*, published thirteen years ago, out of which has now grown the present work, there have appeared from his pen a thick octavo on *Sacred Hermeneutics*, a volume of lectures on the *Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament*, and an *Introduction to the New Testament*, in three volumes, as well as several articles in *Kitto's Cyclopaedia of Religious Literature*, and in theological journals. It has been known for some time that Dr. Davidson was rewriting his *Biblical Criticism*, with a view of correction and enlargement, and of bringing it up to the present state of the science. The result we have in the volumes before us. They contain unquestionably a fuller and a better presentation of the subject of which they treat, than any other in the English language with which we are acquainted. The author is well read in all the recent, and especially the German literature of the subject. Indeed upon this he chiefly prides himself, and there is a magisterial air about his decisions, as though his word was that of a master, and he expected his authority to be promptly deferred to.

We hail the appearance of these volumes as an advance, a very considerable advance in this department of English literature. To our regret, however, we do not find in them all that we had expected, and we are not able to say in their praise all that we could wish. The author has the requisite knowledge and research. But he lacks independence. He lacks also the power of condensation and of judicious arrangement. The author has presented us with a storehouse of materials, from which a much better book might be made than he has made. As it stands, it is a simple compilation, borrowed it is true, in most cases, from the latest and best existing sources, but without having been wrought over by himself. Instead of his mastering his materials, they have mastered him.

Consequently, the book is sadly deficient in homogeneousness. It is not a unity, but a patchwork, the several pieces still retaining their original colour and texture, so much so that they are readily distinguishable, and the quarter from which each comes can without difficulty be assigned. Our readers know the story of the captious hearer of a sermon made up from pieces taken without acknowledgment from certain masters of pulpit eloquence. Were we disposed to imitate him, it would be very easy to say, as we pass along, This is Gesenius—this is Winer—this is De Wette—and occasionally, perhaps, we would have to say, This is his own. De Wette, however, seems to have been the chief favourite. Not only is he very generally followed in his critical judgments, but he is often paraphrased, and in some cases *whole chapters are literally translated without a syllable of acknowledgment*. As a specimen, see Vol. I. Chap. 5 entire, and several pages of Chap. 6. Other authorities are generally referred to. De Wette himself is often referred to in other places. But in all the pages named above as abstracted bodily, his name does not once occur, although Hupfeld and others are mentioned, as if for the purpose of calling attention away from its real source. This wholesale borrowing has more than once been the occasion of conflicting statements. He has allowed De Wette to carry him unawares where he has no notion of going himself. For example, on page 66 of Vol. I., the variations in 2 Sam. xxii. from Ps. xviii., and in 1 Chron. xvi. from Ps. xvi., are put under the head of errors in the text. (This is De Wette.) On pages 73 and 74, they are denied to be errors. (This is himself.) We are utterly at a loss to account for this in a writer of such distinguished reputation; though we must confess that the same thing had attracted our attention before in the articles contributed by him to Kitto's Cyclopedia. We hope that there may be some explanation not involving intentional dishonesty. But Dr. Davidson is the less excusable, on account of his own sensitiveness in regard to a use far more inconsiderable of his books, on the part of others without proper acknowledgment.

It is a cause of additional regret, and more seriously impairs the value of the work, that the author is so much under the influence of De Wette and others of the same stamp, even where he does not directly borrow his language from them. He follows on until he meets something that completely shocks his theological sentiments, when he suddenly recoils, not perceiving, meanwhile, that some of what he admits flows from no higher nor purer source than what he indignantly rejects. With the view of being liberal and candid, he makes concessions

which he need not and ought not to make, to a criticism whose spirit and tendencies are wholly sceptical. True, he means to save evangelical truth at last; but he makes the battle harder for himself than is necessary. We are no friends to that bigotry which denounces scientific research, no matter in what direction, or which would ignore its well established results, and tortoise-like draw itself into the shell of old opinions, refusing to modify them, even though truth clearly demands a change. But the opposite error is no less dangerous and no less contrary to the truth. There can be no objection to the wise, conscientious, and well considered application of just principles of criticism to the text, whether of the Old Testament or of the New, with a view to its more complete restoration, if that be possible, to its pristine condition. But there was no necessity for Dr. Davidson to be for ever reiterating that there are errors in the text, and that they ought to be corrected, as though everybody were denying it, or were ready to pounce down upon him for having the hardihood to assert it. His whole procedure is calculated to make an exaggerated impression, and to lead his readers to suppose the sacred text to be crowded with errors. He is beyond doubt not liable to the charge which he brings against Hengstenberg and Hävernick, that of being "too ready to revert to old opinions, when such men as Gesenius and De Wette have discarded them."

It must be condemned, too, as unjustifiable in the author, when he states a conjectural and doubtful hypothesis, as though it were an ascertained and established fact; as he does, for example, when treading in the track of Bunsen, he goes back for the earliest representative of the primitive language, to the old Egyptian, or, as he pedantically calls it, "primitive Hamism."

These strictures, which we have felt compelled to make, must not, however, be permitted to draw attention away from the merits which the book has already been acknowledged to have. A work truly representing the present state of biblical criticism, has long been felt to be an important desideratum. Here is an attempt to meet this want, made by a distinguished scholar. He brings to the task no small amount of erudition, gathered by the patient study of years. The results are given of researches made by the ablest continental scholars. And it has been done by a friend to evangelical truth, and one determined to hold it fast. While we could have wished, therefore, that it was in many respects different from what it is, we have no hesitation in regarding it as the best book now accessible to

English readers upon this subject. It is immensely in advance of those which, like the Introduction of Horne, drift on in profound and self-satisfied ignorance of all the charts and soundings of the ablest explorers of the age, provided they speak another language than that of the British isles.

This book was, prior to its appearance in Britain, announced for republication in this country by a firm in Philadelphia. A Boston house, however, having made arrangements with the foreign publishers to import the sheets, and reissue them under their own name in this country, the former design was, we believe, given up. Its usefulness would no doubt be more extended, however, if it could be made accessible at a cheaper rate than it is now necessary to pay for it.

Christian Patriotism: or the Duties which Christians owe their Country. A Sermon delivered on the 4th of July, 1852, in the Presbyterian Church at Mordisville, Alabama. By Rev. Robert H. Chapman, A. M. Published by request.

The Importance of Knowledge to the Soul of Man: An Educational Discourse, delivered by request, in the Male Academy of Mordisville, Alabama. By Rev. Robert H. Chapman, A. M. Published by request.

The importance of the subjects discussed in these discourses, and the correct views which they inculcate, justify the favourable judgment indicated by the request for their publication. Mr. Chapman's style, however, is so much more of the oratorical than the didactic character, that his sermons probably lose much of their impressiveness by passing through the press.

Memoir of the Rev. John E. Emerson, First Pastor of the Whitefield Church, Newburyport, Mass. By Rev. Rufus W. Clark. Abridged by the Author. Published by the American Tract Society.

Mr. Emerson was born in Newburyport, Sept. 27, 1823. He graduated at Amherst College in 1844. He entered the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J., in 1846. He was ordained over the Whitefield Church, in Newburyport, Jan. 1, 1850, and died March 25, 1851. His was a short career. We well remember the impression made by his mild, devotional spirit, during his residence in Princeton, and the high hopes which his instructors cherished of his future usefulness. God seems to have ordained that his principal work should be wrought after his death. His memoirs, composed in great measure of extracts from his journal and letters, we trust will do more good than many men accomplish even in a long life.

Spiritual Religion and Ceremonial Contrasted: Being the substance of a Discourse delivered in the Presbyterian Church at Barboursville, Va. By Rev. J. H. Bocock. Published by request. Richmond: 1852. pp. 29.

Elemental Contrast between the Religion of Forms and of the Spirit, as exemplified in Popery and Puseyism on the one hand, and genuine Protestantism on the other: Being an enlargement of a Discourse delivered before the Synod of Western Pennsylvania, October 4, 1852. By S. S. Schmucker, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg. Gettysburg: 1852. pp. 58.

These pamphlets discuss with ability and force one of the great theological questions of the day. The discourse of Mr. Bocock is far above the ordinary standard of printed sermons. He shows with great clearness that salvation depends, not on submission to any external rite, but on vital union to the Lord Jesus Christ. This is the doctrine of his text: "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." He proves first, negatively, that salvation does not depend on ceremonies; and then affirmatively, that it is secured by an inward change of heart and union with Christ. While the sermon is full of important and seasonable truth, we think it is defective in two respects. In the first place, it takes too limited a view of the doctrine of sacramental grace. The author considers baptism only in reference to "the remission of sins," and therefore examines only the three passages, Mark i. 4, Acts ii. 38, and xxii. 16, where that expression occurs in connection with baptism. Of these he says: "This is about all the real evidence. These are about the only places in the Bible where baptism is even apparently and superficially connected with the remission of sins." The advocates, however, of the system which he is opposing, regard baptism as designed to secure not merely the remission of sins, but also to convey spiritual regeneration. The above passages are a very small portion of those on which they rely as the scriptural foundation of their doctrine. They lay far more stress on such passages as the following:—Mark xvi. 16: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. John iii. 5: Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. Rom. vi. 3, 4: We are buried with him by baptism into death. 1 Cor. xii. 13: By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body. Gal. iii. 27: As many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. Col. ii. 12: Buried with him in baptism. Titus iii. 5: Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost. Eph. v. 26:

Where Christ is said to cleanse his Church by the washing of water by the word. 1 Pet. iii. 21: The like figure whereunto, baptism doth now save us, (not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God) by the resurrection of Christ. These and other passages have ever been understood by the great majority of Protestants, as well as Romanists, to refer to baptism, and ought not to be overlooked in the discussion of the relation of that rite to grace and salvation.

The second point in reference to which we think this sermon deficient, is the exhibition of the true doctrine concerning the sacraments. The author's plan did not call for any extended discussion of that subject, and therefore the absence of such discussion is not a legitimate ground of criticism. What we refer to as a defect is, the unsatisfactory nature of what is said on this point. In the conclusion of his discourse, the author says: "The proper place of baptism and the Lord's Supper, is as outward badges and signs of the Christian profession. In them God gives a blessing to his own children, by the working of his Spirit in them that receive them in faith." The latter of these two sentences may be construed to teach the whole that our standards teach on this subject. And we doubt not the author so intended. All we wish to say is, that the formal statement that "the proper place of baptism and the Lord's Supper is as outward badges and signs of the Christian profession," is very far from being a full account of their nature and design. They are, according to our standards, efficacious means of grace, which not only represent and seal, but apply to believers the benefits of the new covenant. *By the right use* of baptism, says the Westminster Confession, Chap. xxviii. 6, "the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost, to such (whether of age or infants) as that grace belongeth unto, according to the counsel of God's own will, in his appointed time." It is not, therefore, the efficacy of the sacraments which Protestants deny, but that their efficacy is due to any virtue in them, or in the administrator; or that it is tied to the time of administration; or that it uniformly attends them. They teach that their power, as means of grace, is due to the attending influences of the Spirit, and conditioned by faith in the recipient. They go neither with the Remonstrants, in making them mere badges of profession, nor with Ritualists, in ascribing to them an objective supernatural power. They regard them as they do the word, which is effectual to salvation, neither by its own inherent power, nor to

all who hear it, but only in virtue of the demonstration of the Spirit, and to those who by faith receive it.

Dr. Schmucker's pamphlet is more elaborate and extended, and well deserves to be printed in a more permanent form. He first shows what is the doctrine of the Church of Rome as to the Scriptures, the Church, the ministry, the sacraments, justification, and the care of souls. He then exhibits the coincidence between Romanism and Puseyism. With this ritual system he contrasts the doctrine of the Protestant Church on the several points. Much the larger part of the pamphlet is devoted to proving that the "Religion of Forms," as exhibited in Popery and Puseyism, is not, and that the "Religion of the Spirit," as exhibited in the Protestant system, is genuine Christianity.

With the general tenor of his argument, and with the greater portion of what he says, we cordially agree. On some points he goes beyond what we regard as the true teaching of Scripture, and the general doctrine and practice of Protestant Churches. In repudiating the authority claimed by Romanists to decree articles of faith, he opposes all creeds which contain more than the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. He complains with reason of the "colossal symbols" of the Lutheran Church in Germany, which, he says, are not enforced either in Europe or America, very few churches requiring more than "the Bible and the substance of the Augsburg Confession." "And why," he asks, "should Lutheran ministers rob themselves of the liberty wherewith Christ, and Luther, and their American fathers, made them free? Why should they not trust themselves with that amount of liberty which the entire Church of Christ enjoyed for five hundred years?" The author, as we apprehend, makes here the common mistake of confounding Christian and ministerial communion. He quotes, in proof that nothing beyond fundamentals can properly be admitted into our Confession of Faith as a test, Paul's command to receive those who are weak in faith. This command, however, relates to Christian communion, and clearly teaches what is so patent on the face of Scripture, that no Church has the right to demand as a condition of fellowship any thing beyond evidence of true piety, and consequently, so far as doctrine is concerned, no Church can make non-essentials a term of communion. This, however, is very far from proving that a man should be allowed to teach, who is not sound in the faith. More is in itself necessary, more is required in Scripture, and more may be justly demanded by the Church to qualify a man to be a teacher of the faith once delivered to the saints, than is

requisite to give him a right to church privileges. Our Church, therefore, while it demands of its members simply knowledge, faith, and holy living, justly requires all her ministers to adopt the system of doctrine taught in the Westminster Confession.

A New Edition of the Authorized Version of the Bible. In foolscap quarto. Part I., containing Genesis. London: Robert B. Blackader. 1853.

This edition is framed on the model of the Chronological New Testament, which was issued in 1851, under the conviction "that something could be done to make our invaluable English version more intelligible to devout students of the word of God, by some little helps in arrangement and printing." These helps were as follows:

- I. The text was newly divided into paragraphs and sections.
- II. Dates and places of transactions were marked.
- III. The translators' marginal renderings were given.
- IV. The parallel illustrative passages were quoted at length, with the view of carrying out the words of Bishop Horsley, "It were to be wished that no Bibles were printed without references. Particular diligence should be used in comparing the parallel texts of the Old and New Testament."
- V. Quotations from the Old Testament were printed in capitals.

And several other useful minor contrivances and arrangements for the full, profitable, suggestive, and edifying use of the sacred volume.

In the present edition these improvements have been more completely carried out. And, in addition, the following have been attempted to be given:

I. *The most important Variations of the Versions*, viz:—The Chaldee Paraphrases, Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate, Arabic, Persic, and Ethiopic. The ordinary reader is thus put in substantial possession of all that is valuable in the Polyglot of Bishop Walton and of Drs. Stier and Theile; and in the most recent editions of the Versions.

II. *Critical Notes from the best sources, Continental and British*.—The object has been to explain, as clearly and thoroughly as possible, all difficult passages, and thus to put the English reader in possession of those helps which modern research and scholarship have produced.

III. *Elucidations from Modern Discoveries and Travels*.—Great attention has been paid to the geography and history of the Bible; and the best and most recent sources of information have been consulted—all which sources are carefully given.

Pastoral Theology: or the Theory of the Evangelical Ministry. By A. Vinet. Translated and edited by Thomas H. Skinner, D. D., Professor of Pastoral Theology in the Union Theological Seminary of New York. With notes, and an additional chapter by the translator. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853. Pp. 387.

Lectures on Pastoral Theology. By the Rev. James Spencer Cannon, D.D., Professor of Pastoral Theology and Ecclesiastical History and Government in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Dutch Church, New Brunswick, N. J. New York: Charles Scribner, 1853. Pp. 617.

There are so few books in our language treating directly of Pastoral Theology, that the simultaneous publication of two such important works, and from such different sources, must be considered as an event of no little interest and significance. The work of the admired and lamented professor of Lausanne partakes of the philosophical character which distinguishes his other well known writings, and is imbued with an elevated devotional spirit. The lectures of the venerable Dr. Cannon take in a wider range of subjects, and embrace many topics which are usually comprehended in systems of didactic and polemic theology. This only adds to the value of the work, which furnishes not only wise counsels on the ordinary duties of the pastoral office, but also extended discussions on the sacraments. Both the works above mentioned are highly valuable, and merit an extensive circulation.

The Bible, the Missal, and the Breviary: or Ritualism self-illustrated in the Liturgical books of Rome: containing the text of the entire Roman Missal, Rubrics, and Prefaces, translated from the Latin; with Preliminary Dissertations, and notes from the Breviary, Pontifical, &c. By Rev. George Lewis, Ormiston. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1853. Two vols., pp. 809.

It was just as our last sheets were passing through the press we received the interesting volumes above mentioned. We can, therefore, do nothing more at present than announce their publication. The author says in his introduction, "The object of this work is not to present Romanism as an ecclesiastical system, nor yet as a scheme of doctrine, for this has been done in a way that leaves little to be desired; but as a system of ritualism, a devotional and religious life. This is the aspect of herself which Rome loves to present to inquirers. It is her fair side, which, along with the educational and benevolent use she now makes of her monastic orders of both sexes, has done most to soften asperities, and to seduce the simple. In estimating the religious life of Rome, we have allowed her to speak for herself, and to tell of her own way and manner of life. Our desire has been to furnish a self-evidencing book, in which any

plain man may see the Bible and the Breviary, Ritualism and Scriptural Christianity, confronted.

Reply to the Strictures on the Remarks made on the Translation of Genesis and Exodus, in the Revision of the Chinese Scriptures. By M. S. Culbertson. Canton: 1852, pp. 25.

Our readers are probably aware that delegates from the several missions in China, have for some time been employed in a joint revision of the Chinese translations of the Bible, with the view of producing a version worthy of general confidence. They are also probably informed of the fact that serious difficulty has occurred in the prosecution of this work, arising from difference of opinion among the delegates; the Rev. Dr. Medhurst and the Rev. Messrs. Stronach and Milne, representatives of the missions of the London Missionary Society, taking one view of the proper principles of translation, and Bishop Boone, Mr. Culbertson, and the other delegates from American Missions, taking another. This difficulty led at last to the withdrawal of the distinguished representatives of the London Society from the Committee, with the view of producing a translation of their own. Mr. Culbertson was requested by his associates, to prepare Remarks on the version of the Committee as far as completed, not for publication, but, as we understand, principally to bring the points of difference fairly before the Directors of the Bible Societies, by whose funds and under whose sanction the revised version was to be printed. On these Remarks the London Missionaries published "Strictures," and to these "Strictures" the pamphlet before us is a reply. It is written in a dignified, Christian spirit, and effectually rebuts the charges of unfairness, discourtesy, and improper motives, which the seceding members of the committee had allowed themselves to make against the writer of the Remarks. So far, also, as we can judge from this exhibition of the case, we fully agree with Mr. Culbertson and his associates as to the principles on which the word of God ought to be translated. The main question in dispute is, Whether the translator is bound to render the original, word for word, so far as difference of idiom permits? or, Whether he is required simply to express what he conceives to be the true sense, without strictly adhering to the phraseology? The American Missionaries take the former, the English the latter ground. In so doing, they feel at liberty to omit words and phrases found in the original, and to introduce others into the translation for which there are no corresponding terms in the original. And still further, they do not hesitate to depart entirely from the

language of the Bible, and give what they regard as the sense in their own words. A flagrant example of this is furnished on page 20 of the pamphlet. "Exod. x. 27: the expression, 'Jehovah hardened Pharaoh's heart,' is rendered in this version, 'Pharaoh hardened his heart, and Jehovah permitted it.'" Such a version could not be given by men who had any just appreciation of the difference between a translation and a commentary. The experience and acquirements of the London Missionaries give them great authority as Chinese scholars, but can give no sanction whatever to the loose principles of translation which they seem to have adopted.

Two things have been renewedly impressed strongly on our mind in the perusal of this pamphlet. The one is the great responsibility involved in the conduct of the work of missions. Here are a few men, who undertake to tell hundreds of millions what is the true meaning of the Greek and Hebrew words and phrases in which God has revealed the way of salvation. The other is the high order of talent and the extent of learning required for certain departments of missionary labour. All the appliances of modern scholarship should be at the command of men who have to discuss such questions as are brought to view in this pamphlet. This being the case, young men to whom God has given talents and learning, should feel a special call to consider the demands of the missionary enterprise on them; and those who are looking forward to this work, should feel the necessity of making the most thorough preparation possible for their future labours.

The Lives of the Brothers Humboldt, Alexander and William. Translated and arranged from the German of Klenke and Schlesier. By Juliette Bauer. With Portraits. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853. Pp. 398, 12mo.

We accept with gratitude and pleasure this brief biography of two of the most remarkable men of this age. It is a stirring book—how could it be otherwise? For patient grappling with difficulties which seem insuperable and endless, for enthusiastic love of nature and truth, for wild and curious adventure, for lofty, far-reaching generalizations in physical, ethnographical, and philological science, the whole crowned with honour, reputation, and emolument, this little volume, meagre and insufficient as it is, will furnish a rare treat, and will set before our younger class of scholars, models worthy of their imitation. Of the gigantic extent of the results which flowed from the researches in South America, conducted by Alexander Humboldt and M. Bonpland, some conception may be formed, from the fact that the original work, "*Voyage aux Régions equi-*

noixiales du Nouveau Continent," filled three folio and twelve quarto volumes, besides the "Atlas Geographique et Physique," and a large collection of picturesque drawings. The preparation of the materials collected in the various sciences, was worked up with the aid of most eminent philosophers of the day, each in his special sphere. Among these collaborators we find the names of Oltmann, Arago, Gay Lussac, Cuvier, Latreille, Vauguelin, Klaproth, Kunth, &c. Notwithstanding this array of assistants, the completion of the work ran through a period of near forty years. Besides the proper contents of this great work, which we are half tempted to specify, materials were furnished to men of science, for separate works, on a scale of no common magnitude. One of the two works prepared from the collections so distributed, by the botanist Kunth, we believe, reached to seven folio volumes.

Besides the invaluable researches directed to specific objects in physical science, such as meteorology, volcanic agency, electrical and magnetic influences, isothermal lines, &c., the greatest of Humboldt's achievements was the attempt at reducing and generalizing scientific data, so as to bring the multiform and perplexing details into the simplicity and unity of nature. His earliest efforts in this line were in the form of tentative lectures, chiefly in Paris and Berlin; and which much of the subsequent portion of his busy life was employed in moulding into the great work which may be regarded as an epitome of Humboldt's scientific life, the *Kosmos*. The conception of the one idea of "*Kosmos*," fixes his place in the front rank of philosophic minds, and the elaborate and varied contributions to science, evolved in its execution, places him with equal certainty among the very foremost contributors to science.

William Von Humboldt was probably a man of greater original endowments, and especially of higher genius and quicker sensibilities than Alexander, while gifted with at least equal penetration and breadth of intellect. He early became immersed in politics and diplomacy, to an extent that leaves us to wonder how he could have achieved so much as a scholar. Long and intimately associated with Schiller and Wolf, and others, his cultivation ran in the way of literature and philology, until he rose to a rank among the very first linguistic philosophers of the Continent. We cannot dwell on the results of his laborious and learned achievements. His researches on the Malay tongues of Eastern Asia, and the Islands of the Pacific, display that reach of intellect and perception of true analogies, which at once set the stamp of greatness upon their author, and leave mankind for ever their debtor. The ethnological

contributions of Humboldt, may be regarded as settling the question of the unity of the race, against any possibility of overthrow, from the side philology or science.

Annual of Scientific Discovery: or Year Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1853. Exhibiting the most important discoveries in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities, &c. &c. Edited by David A. Wells, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1853. Pp. 411, 12mo.

This annual compilation has passed from the class of luxuries, to that of necessities of intellectual and scientific life. In carefulness, completeness, and condensation, in the presentation of the details which fall within its scope, this volume is quite equal to the best of its predecessors. We need not say that it is full of information that will be found invaluable to thinking men, and especially in the departments of science and the arts.

The Preacher and the King; or Bourdaloue in the Court of Louis XIV., being an account of the Pulpit Eloquence of that distinguished era. Translated from the French of L. Bungener, Paris, 12th edition. With an introduction, by the Rev. George Potts, D. D., Pastor of the University Place Presbyterian Church, New York. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1853. pp. 338. 12mo.

The pulpit eloquence of France is a subject of which more is said than known among us. The usual mode of treating it is both critical and inexact. We want fresh material and unhackneyed modes of exhibition, to revive the interest which really belongs to so important a chapter in the history of homiletics. Both these desiderata are here furnished, in the facts collected from original, not second-hand authorities, and clothed in a new French, not a worn-out English or American costume. The version is spirited and evidently faithful, as appears from the occasional retention of French idioms, which, though sometimes puzzling to mere English readers, are, even in point of taste, decidedly better than the rapid periphrases of what is praised by some as "free" or "elegant translation."

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

—
GERMANY.

The 11th number of the Condensed Exegetical Manual has appeared, containing Genesis Explained by Prof. Dr. Aug. Knobel. 8vo, pp. 350. Leipsic. 1½ thaler. He is at work upon the rest of the Pentateuch and Joshua. The view taken of this portion of the Scriptures, in general is very much what the previous publications of the writer have prepared us to expect. The Pentateuch and Joshua, according to him, form one connected body of history. A previous work lay at the basis throughout its whole extent, whose author was distinguished by the exclusive use of the divine name Elohim. It was reduced to its present form by a writer employing for the most part the divine name Jehovah, who drew his materials from various sources not easily distinguishable at present, and who lived after the time of David and Solomon. The forty-ninth chapter of Genesis was the composition of a cotemporary of David, perhaps the prophet Nathan. The Introduction is reserved for the close of the commentary. We do not say that there is anything either especially new or attractive in the way that this worn out Documentary Hypothesis has been presented in this volume. Almost every possible change has been rung upon it already, and the answers to it are abundant and satisfactory.

The next number of this manual is to contain Bertheau on Chronicles, which is now in press. It will be followed by a Commentary on the Psalms, by J. Olshausen, of Kiel.

Job metrically translated (into German), by Dr. Mor. Spiess. 16mo. pp. 211. ¾ thaler.

Hengstenberg on the Song of Solomon has appeared. 8vo. pp. 264. Berlin. 1 th.

H. A. Hahn, Song of Solomon translated and explained. 8vo. pp. 98. ½ th.

Bruno Bauer has finished his (destructive) Criticism of the Epistles of Paul, and published the 4th vol. of his Criticism of the Gospels and of the History of their Origin, containing the Theological Explanation of the Gospels.

Privatdocent K. R. Köstlin in his Origin and Composition of the Synoptical Gospels follows in the wake of Bauer and Ewald. He finds, as had been found before him, eight or nine

constituents in these Gospels, marking as many stages in their growth, and is willing to admit that they may have assumed their present form in the interval between A. D. 80 and 110.

M. Baumgarten, the Acts of the Apostles, or the Development of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome. A Biblico-historical Essay. Part II., Division 2d. From Corinth to Rome. 8vo. pp. 525. 2 th. 12 ngr.

F. Duesterdieck, The Three Epistles of John, with a complete Theological Commentary. Vol. I. Containing the introduction to the first epistle, and the commentary on 1 John i. 1—ii. 28. 8vo. pp. 392. Göttingen. 2 th.

Ad. Schumann, Christ, or the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament concerning the person of the Redeemer, biblico-dogmatically unfolded. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 443—872. Hamburg and Gotha. 2 th. Thoroughly sceptical, but without accepting all the results of the higher criticism, and with some peculiarity of theological views.

Neander's Life of Christ. 5th edition. 3 th. 22 ngr.

The Psalms in Hebrew, with the German translation of Martin Luther. 12mo. pp. 200. Leipsic. $\frac{1}{2}$ th.

Psalmi hebraice cum septuaginta interpretum versione græca. 12mo. pp. 200. Leipsic. $\frac{1}{2}$ th.

The concluding number of Gesenius's Thesaurus of the Hebrew and Chaldee language of the Old Testament has at length been completed by Prof. Roediger, and is in the press. Its speedy appearance is announced.

C. A. Wahl, Clavis Librorum veteris Testamenti apocryphorum philologica. Sect. prior. 4to. pp. 320. 2 th. 24 ngr.

D. B. Haneberg, History of the Revelation of the Bible as an introduction to the Old and New Testament. 2d edition. 8vo. pp. 792. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ th.

C. G. Wilke, Biblical Hermeneutics according to Catholic principles in strictly systematic connection, and with reference to the latest approved hermeneutical text books especially Lib. I. II. De interpretatione scriptur. sacr. of P. Franc. Xav. Patritius, published at Rome in 1844. 8vo. Würzburg, pp. 660. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ th.

E. Reuss, History of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament. 2d greatly enlarged edition. Part I. 8vo. pp. 265. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ th. The peculiarity of his method, upon which he chiefly prides himself, is that of throwing the subjects of introduction more completely into a historical form than is customary. This volume undertakes to present the author's views as to the literary history of the remains of primitive Christianity, including not only the New Testament proper, but all writings which

have ever been attributed to the apostles, and attained, in consequence, any ecclesiastical authority. Reuss belongs to the hypercritical school, though he does not go quite to the extreme that some have done.

C. Steiger, *The Prayer-book of the Bible, or the praying persons, the prayers, and the answers to prayer in the Holy Scriptures.* 2d edition, 8vo. pp. 683. 1 th. 24 ngr.

E. H. Merz, *Some Signs of the Times considered, in view of the words of the prophecy, Rev. i.—vii. Including a sketch of the economy of a Christian state.* 8vo. pp. 399. 1 th. 7½ ngr.

H. Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics.* (From the Danish.) 2d improved edition. 8vo. pp. 249. 2 th. 27½ ngr.

C. G. Theile, *For the Religion of the Confession against the Theology of Confessions.* With a triple Appendix. 8vo. pp. 149. 3 th. The Appendix contains, 1. Outlines of a system of Christian Rationalism, from the stand-point of Religiosism. 2. Outlines of a criticism of the Augsburg Confession. 3. The task of dogmatics in the present.

J. Giese, (priest) *Discussion of the question in dispute respecting the use of unleavened bread as an element of the Holy Eucharist. A historico-liturgical treatise.* 8vo. pp. 111. 12 ngr.

E. Güder, *The Doctrine of the appearing of Jesus Christ among the dead. In its connection with the doctrine concerning the last things.* 8vo. pp. 381. 2 th.

C. H. Weisse, *The Christology of Luther, and the christological task of evangelical theology.* 8vo. pp. 253. 1 th. 22½ ngr.

K. R. Hagenbach, *Compend of History of Doctrine.* Third edition. 8vo. pp. 771. 4 th.

T. Tobler, *Fountain of Siloah and Mount of Olives.* 8vo. pp. 326. 1 th. 18 ngr.

T. Tobler, *Memoranda from Jerusalem.* With three views and a map. 8vo. pp. 761. 3 th. 18 ngr.

F. A. Steglich, *Biblical Geography, with Hebrew Antiquities.* 8vo. pp. 144. ½ th.

J. G. Müller, *History of the Christian Festivals, a development of their origin and their significance.* 8vo. pp. 104. 12 ngr.

J. H. Kurtz, *Manual of Universal History.* Third edition, to be enlarged into two volumes. Vol. I. Part 1. 8vo. pp. 332.

C. Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Times. Beginnings and Prospects of Christianity and Humanity.* Vol. I. Criticism, with a portrait of Hippolytus. 8vo. 3 th.

J. Gassman, *Champions of the Faith in the Christian Church of the first six centuries.* 8vo. pp. 165. 12 ngr.

K. R. Hagenbach, *The Christian Church of the first three centuries.* 8vo. pp. 349. 1½ th.

Songs, Ecclesiastical and Religious, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, partly translations of Latin hymns (with the Latin text), partly original pieces from the MSS. of the Royal Library at Vienna, for the first time published. By J. Kehrein. 8vo. pp. 288. 1½ th.

E. E. Koch, *History of the Christian Church-Poetry and Church-Music, especially of the German Evangelical Church.* Part I. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 400. 27 ngr.

F. F. Damberger, *Synchronistic History of the Church and the World in the Middle Ages.* From the sources critically prepared, with the assistance of some learned friends. Vol. XIV. pp. 963.

J. C. Gieseler, *Manual of Church History.* Vol. III., 2d Division. Part I. 8vo. pp. 480. 2 th.

Gregory of Tours, Church History of the Franks, in 10 books. From the Latin. 16mo. pp. 720. ¾ th.

J. Köstlin. *The Scotch Church, its inner life, and its relation to the state from the Reformation to the present.* 8vo. pp. 447. 2 th.

K. A. Crener, *Hessian Church Reformation-Order of Philip the Magnanimous.* Published from manuscript sources, translated, and prefaced with relation to the present. 8vo. pp. cclxxxvi. and 123. 1½ th.

D. Schenkel, *The Principle of Protestantism, with special reference to the most recent transactions.* 8vo. pp. 92.

Fraternity Book of the Convent of St. Peter at Salzburg, from the eighth to the thirteenth century. By Th. G. v. Karajan, with two plates of fac-similes. Vienna: 1852. pp. lxii. and 64. 4 th. This is a list of the friends and benefactors of the Convent, for whom prayers were to be offered. It is probably the oldest, and without doubt the largest, of the kind in existence in any of the convents of Germany. It contains upwards of 8,000 names, extending back to the time of Charlemagne, and not confined to Germany. The original MS. consists of 56 pages, in large folio, twenty of which form the Fraternity-book; the rest are taken up with records of the convent. The editor thinks that he has discovered 78 different hands in the entry of the names, and about 450 names of princes, princesses, bishops and abbots.

J. M. Jost, *Adolph Jellinek and the Cabbala.* 8vo. pp. 15.

Adolph Jellinek, *Selection of Cabbalistic Mysticism.* No. 1.

In part after MSS. at Paris and Hamburg, with historical investigations and characteristics. 8vo. pp. 87. $\frac{1}{2}$ th.

Midrasch Ele Eskerà, from a MS. of the Hamburg City Library, published for the first time, with additions. By A. Jelinek. 8vo. pp. 23. $\frac{1}{8}$ th.

Abraham Ben David Halevi, The Book Emunah Ramah, or the Exalted Faith. (comp. A. D. 1160.) Translated into German and published by S. Weil. 8vo. pp. 238. $1\frac{3}{8}$ th.

G. Julius, The Jesuits. History of the Founding, Spread, &c., of the Society of Jesus. Continued and completed by E. T. Jäkel. No. 26. 16mo. Vol. II. pp. 821—884.

J. v. Gumpach, The Chronology of the Babylonians and Assyrians. With Excursus and a table of time. 8vo. pp. 170. $1\frac{1}{8}$ th.

J. v. Gumpach, Assistant in Calculating Chronology, or Largeteau's Abbreviated Tables of the Sun and Moon, for astronomers, chronologers, historians, &c., extended and explained, with examples of their practical application. 8vo. pp. 110. $\frac{3}{8}$ th.

G. Erbkam, On the Structure of the Tombs and Temples of the Ancient Egyptians. Nos. 7 and 8. 8vo. pp. 46.

W. Gentz, Letters from Egypt and Nubia. 8vo. 1 th.

E. Gerhard, Select Grecian Vase Figures, especially those found in Etruria. Nos. 37 and 38.

W. Zahn, The finest Ornaments and most remarkable Pictures from Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae. Third series, No. 5.

C. Zell, Manual of Roman Epigraphics. Part II. 8vo. pp. 385.

Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani Latinæ. Edid. Theod. Mommsen. pp. 550, folio. 20 th. This is spoken of as the most complete and satisfactory work that has yet appeared upon the subject.

K. B. Stark, Gaza and the Philistine Coast. Investigations into the History and Antiquities of the Hellenic East. 8vo. pp. 648. 3 th.

Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes, par H. de Luynes. 8vo. pp. 54, with 12 folio plates. Paris. This is an investigation of some coins and monuments whose legends no one has yet been able to read. The author thinks that they belong to Cyprus. The alphabet appears to contain eighty signs, with signs for numbers and interpunction, and seems to have an affinity with the Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic character, with the Phœnician and the Lycian. He does not pretend to have deciphered the inscriptions, but thinks he can make out

the names of Salamis and of Amathus with considerable confidence, as well as some others with less certainty.

II. Ewald, Deciphering of the recently found Punic Inscriptions. 8vo. pp. 32. 6 ngr.

H. A. Zwick, Grammar of the West-Mongolian, *i. e.*, the Oizad or Kalmuck language. 4to. pp. 149. 2½ th.

List of the Sanscrit MSS. in the Royal Library, by Dr. Weber. 4to. pp. 481. Berlin. 12 th.

The Works of the Troubadours in the Provencal Language, from MSS. of the Paris National Library. Vol. IV. 8vo. pp. 254. 2 th.

J. H. Lindemann, Four Treatises on the Religious and Moral Conception of the World, formed by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, and the Pragmatism of Polybius. 8vo. pp. 94.

J. A. Hausmeister, (Missionary,) Instruction and care of Jewish Proselytes. 8vo. pp. 124. 16 ngr.

F. Hettinger, Ecclesiastical and Social Condition of Paris. 8vo. pp. 408. 1½ th.

G. Klemm, Universal History of Human Culture. Vol. X., or History of Christian Europe. Vol. II. Eastern Europe. 8vo. pp. 396. 2½ th. (Complete, 27¼ th.)

Monumenta Germaniæ historica inde ab A. Christi 500, usque ad A. 1500: auspiciis societatis aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum mediæ ævi ed. Geo. H. Pertz. Tom. XII. pp. 654.

G. W. Nitzsch, Die Sagenpoesie der Griechen kritisch dargestellt. 1 Abth. 8vo. pp. 294.

E. Curtius, Peloponnesos, a historico-geographical description of the peninsula. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 639. 4½ th.

H. W. Stoll, Manual of the Religion and Mythology of the Greeks and Romans. 8vo. pp. 327. 1 th.

L. Ranke, French History, particularly of the 16th and 17th century. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 580. 3 th.

F. Wüstenfeld, Register to the Genealogical Tables of the Arab tribes and families. With historical and geographical remarks. 1st half. 8vo. pp. 192. 1½ th.

F. Harms, Prolegomena to Philosophy. 8vo. pp. 215.

L. Noack, Condensed History of Philosophy. 8vo. pp. 352. 1½ th.

M. Steinthal, Development of Writing. 22½ ngr.

Ibn Jubair (al-Kanini) Travels. Edited from a MS. in the University Library of Leyden, by William Wright. 8vo. pp. 398. 3½ th.

The Propaganda, its Provinces and its Right. With special

reference to Germany, by O. Mejer, Prof. of Law in Rostock. Part I. 8vo. pp. 562. 2 th. 20 ngr.

Lettere al Senato Veneto di Giosafatte Barbaro, Ambasciatore ad Usun Hasan di Persia. Tratte da un codice originale dell' J. K. Biblioteca di Vienna e annotate per Enr. Cornet. 8vo. pp. 128. 20 ngr. Giosafatte Barbaro was a diplomatic agent of Venice in the East, in the 15th century. He is known to the public already from his accounts of his travels in India and Persia. He went to Tana (Bombay) in 1436, and remained in that region sixteen years. In 1473 he went to Persia, as ambassador to the court of the Shah Usan Hasan, who had entered into treaty with Venice and some other Italian States against Mahmoud II. Of this journey and its incidents, Barbaro wrote an account at the request of his superiors in 1487. The present publication contains twenty-nine letters which he wrote to the Doge of Venice respecting the affairs which he was managing. The editor has facilitated the reading of it by supplying in his remarks the modern and customary words and names in place of the antiquated ones, and many difficult passages have been illustrated from the writings of his cotemporaries, or those of more modern scholars.

The *Akademische Monatsschrift* for last October, contains, among other things, a statistical review of the German Universities for about 100 years.

Rudelbach und Guericke's *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Luth. Theologie u. Kirche* for 1853. No. 1. A. G. Rudelbach, The Parochial System and Ordination, Part 1. II. E. Guericke, Conciliatory on Burning Church Questions. (Art. 2d.) Voss, "Ἀποθνήσκειν" John iii. 3—6, exeget. histor. doctrin. C. W. Plass, Theses on Diabology. R. Rudel, A Type of the Trinity. Bibliography of the most recent theolog. literature. Studien und Kritiken, 1853. No. 2—Bleek, On the position of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament in the Christian Canon. Laufs, On the Temptation of Jesus.—Thoughts and Remarks.—Reviews.—Ecclesiastical.—Miscellaneous.

Dr. J. A. Dorner, author of the *History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, and Professor in the evangel. theolog. faculty at Bonn, has received a call to the University of Göttingen, as ordinary professor of theology.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The life of the Duke of Wellington is now occupying the attention of the literary world. And long before his posthumous papers shall have been issued by Lord Mahon, we may expect many publications throwing great light upon his history.

Three we already notice—"The Speeches in Parliament of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, arranged with the Duke's permission, by the late Colonel Garwood," and "Three Years with the Duke of Wellington in Private Life, by an ex-Aid de Camp;" and also the Private Journal of F. S. Larpent, Esq., Judge Advocate General, attached to the head-quarters of Lord Wellington, during the Peninsular War, from 1812 to its close." This is edited, with illustrations, by Sir George Larpent. The best life is said to be by Stœqueler, now just completed. The press swarms with "sermons," "eulogies," "lives," "scenes," "reminiscences," all relating to the old hero.

There have been very few works from the ideal school of infidelity lately. F. W. Newman, one of its prophets, has just put forth a translation of the Odes of Horace, in unrhymed metre, which, if well done, will be a desirable work for those who do not read the original.

"Philosophumena, Origenis? (sive Hippolyti) e codice Parisino, nunc primum edidit Emmanuel Miller. Oxonii e Typographeo Academico. 8vo." This was the basis and occasion of the elaborate work of the Chevalier Bunsen, lately published, and now Dr. Wordsworth is about issuing "The History of the Church of Rome in the early part of the Third Century, from the newly discovered Philosophumena, with a dissertation, translation, and notes."

The Recommendations of the Oxford University Commissioners: with selections from their Report, and a history of the University Subscription Tests, including notices of University and Collegiate visitations. By James Heywood.

"The Second Burmese War:" a narrative of the operations at Rangoon in 1852. By Wm. F. B. Laurie. With illustrations by the officers of the force serving in Burmah.

"Revised Statistics of Missions in India." By Josh. Mullen. 8vo.

"Elementary Grammar of the Greek Language," by D. L. Schmitz.

A second letter to the Rev. S. R. Maitland, D. D., on the genuineness of the writings of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage.

"Researches into the History of the Roman Constitution;" with an Appendix upon the Roman Knights. By W. Ihne, Ph. D.

Mr. Layard has published "A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh," including bas-reliefs from the Palace of Sennacherib, and bronzes from the ruins of Nimroud, from drawings made on the spot, during Mr. Layard's second expedition. 70 plates, folio." This second expedition was under-

taken for the Trustees of the British Museum, and the "Results," "Fresh Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert," is to be issued at once in a cheap, unabridged, and fully illustrated edition, for popular sale in England and America.

"The fourth volume of Colonel Mure's *Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*," has appeared. It comprises historical literature from the rise of prose composition down to the death of Herodotus.

"Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa," performed in the years 1850-51, under the orders, and at the expense of Her Majesty's Government. By the late James Richardson, author of *Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara*.

"The Institutions, Politics, and Public Men of Spain." By S. T. Wallis, Esq., author of "*Glimpses of Spain*."

"Akerman's Remains of Pagan Saxondom." 4to. with coloured plates. Parts I. II. III. 2s. 6d. each. Mr. Akerman is a great antiquarian authority.

"The Castlereagh Correspondence," edited by the Marquis of Londonderry. This is the third and last series, and comprises the letters written during the Congress of Vienna, Battle of Waterloo, &c.

The eleventh volume of Grote is announced. It carries forward Grecian and Sicilian Affairs from the accession to the death of Philip of Macedon.

Also, *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski, and Incidents of an Arctic Boat Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin*. By Lieutenant W. H. Hooper, R. N., with map.

Also "*The Personal Narrative of an Englishman in Abyssinia*." By Mansfield Parkyns; with map and illustrations. 2 vols.

Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific, including the Feejees. By John Elphinstone Erskine, Capt. R. N.

Siluria; or, Primeval Life. A popular view of the older sedimentary rocks and their imbedded organic remains. By Sir R. J. Murchison, F. G. S.

A new work is about to appear, which will be probably of considerable importance in the history of Napoleon, viz: "*The Letters and Correspondence of the late Sir Hudson Lowe, relating to the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena; from official and other authentic sources, not before made public*."

Stowe, the estate of the Dukes of Buckingham, had been, during a long course of years, so deeply burdened with debt that a visit of the Queen put the finishing stroke to extravagance,

and three or four years ago the present Duke determined to give up the estate, and sell off all the personal property, not even excepting the ancient heirlooms of the family. Among these was a great mass of valuable MSS., among which are the second and last volume of "The Grenville Papers;" the Diary of George Grenville, during his administration as First Lord of the Treasury; together with his Private and Political Correspondence during a period of thirty years.

The fourth volume of William Jerdan's Autobiography, with his Literary, Political, and Social Reminiscences, and Correspondence during the last forty years. This completes the work.

England is beginning in the number of its organs to rival Germany, where every clique, however small, must have its periodical. The Photographic Society have commenced the publication of a journal, the first number of which appeared last month.

The first volume of the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, edited by Dr. Traill, is now out, and the remaining twenty volumes will be published very rapidly. The first edition of this work was commenced in 1771, and the seventh completed in 1842. The aggregate sale of the different editions has exceeded 35,000.

The enterprise of American publishers, in first furnishing complete collections of the works of De Quincey, Præd, Proctor, Maginn, and the speeches of Macaulay, is inciting English publishers to the like. An authorized edition of Præd's works, prepared by his family, is announced, and also a selection from the works of De Quincey.

"Adventures in Australia." By Mrs. R. Lee.

"Paris after Waterloo. Notes taken at the time, and hitherto unpublished."

"A Tour of Inquiry through France and Italy." By Edmond Spencer.

"The Fine Arts, their Nature and Relations, with detailed criticisms on certain pictures of the Italian and French schools. By M. Guizot. Translated from the French, with the assistance of the author. With seventeen illustrations, drawn on wood, by George Scharf, Jr."

Parker of Oxford has commenced the publication of a complete series of Greek and Latin Classics, on better paper than that of the Tauchnitz edition. To each author a biographical introduction is prefixed, together with chronological tables, historical indexes, and brief summaries, which are often wanting in the Leipsic editions.

The Scottish Temperance League have commenced the publication of the "Scottish Review."

Miss Sinclair is publishing a series of tales and essays, entitled "Common Sense Tracts."

Lord John Russell's *Life of Fox* is expected immediately to appear.

Bogue has issued an exquisitely printed edition of Longfellow's *Hyperion*, with one hundred illustrations, taken during a journey through Germany, Switzerland, Salzburg, and the Tyrol, undertaken for the purpose.

"A Catalogue of Greek Verbs, irregular and defective, their leading tenses and dialectic inflections, arranged in a tabular form, with an appendix, containing Paradigms of Conjugation. By James Skerrett Baird."

"The Revival of the French Emperorship anticipated from the necessity of prophecy. By the Rev. G. S. Faber, B. D."

"Hints for the General Management of Children in India, in the absence of professional advice. By H. H. Goodeve."

"Manual of Buddhism, in its modern development. Translated from Singalese MSS. By R. Spence Hardy."

"History of Rome, from the earliest records to the fall of the Western Empire. By the late Thomas Arnold, D. D., Head Master of Rugby School; J. A. Jeremie, D. D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; Rev. J. H. Brooke Mountain, D. D.; Rev. J. B. Ottley, D. D., M. A.; E. Pococke, Esq.; Rev. G. C. Renouard, B. D.; the Right Rev. Bishop Russell, D. C. L., LL.D., and the Hon. Sir T. N. Talfourd, D. C. L. Illustrated by three hundred and fifty-three engravings on wood. 29s. 6d.

The third volume of Kitto's *Evening Series of Bible Illustrations*, is the "Life and Death of our Lord."

"The New Reformation in Ireland. By the Rev. S. W. Jones, M. A., Curate of Oswestry."

"The Mission and Martyrdom of St. Peter. Containing the original texts of all the passages in ancient writers, supposed to imply a Journey from the East; with transactions and Roman Catholic comments. With Prefatory Notices by the Rev. Dr. McCaul and the Rev. Dr. Cumming. By T. C. Simon, Esq."

We also notice a carefully revised edition of Landon's *Ecclesiastical Dictionary*. It contains an account of the Sees, Patriarchates, Religious Foundations and Brotherhoods, together with a list of the Archbishops and Bishops throughout Christendom, from the earliest times; history of sects; explanations of rites and ceremonies, and of ecclesiastical and ecclesiological

terms; biographies of eminent ecclesiastical persons, and lists of their writings.

A Life of Dr. Abernethy, by George Macilwain, with a view of his writings, lectures, and character, is now in press.

Dr. Cumming manages to keep before the public, in sermons, addresses, introductions, and in his "Church before the Flood," and his two series of "Scripture Readings" from the Old and New Testaments, which are publishing together monthly.

American Literature is appearing more and more in England. We notice eight or ten different forms in which "The Wide, Wide World," has been published.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JULY, 1853.

No. III.

ARTICLE I.—*Idea of the Church.*

[Concluded from the April number.]

The doctrinal argument.—The relation between theology and ecclesiology is so intimate, that the one of necessity determines the other. The Protestant scheme of the doctrines of Christianity unavoidably leads to the Protestant theory of the Church; and the Romish system of doctrine, with a like necessity, leads to the Romish view of the nature of the Church. This being the case, all the arguments, which sustain the true doctrine concerning the plan of salvation, are conclusive in favour of the true theory of the Church. This is the real strength of the Protestant cause. The doctrines of Christianity are not only revealed with far more distinctness than the nature of the Church, but they enter so deeply into the experience of Christians that they cannot be renounced. Every evangelical believer, therefore, feels, when called upon to embrace the Ritual doctrine concerning the Church, that he is called upon to renounce his entire faith, so far, at least, as the method of salvation is concerned.

If we leave mysticism out of view, there are three radical forms of doctrine, with which are connected corresponding views of the nature of the Church. The first of these forms is

the Rationalistic, which more or less completely banishes the supernatural element from Christianity. Some Rationalists deny even the supernatural origin of the gospel. Others, while they admit that Christianity is an immediate revelation from God, make its doctrines as little mysterious as possible. Matters of faith are brought, as much as may be, down to the comprehension of the human reason, and accommodated, as far as possible, to the desires of the human heart. According to this system, the moral state of man is but little affected by the fall, either as to his character or powers. The conditions of acceptance with God are acts of virtue; and the only assistance needed or granted is the moral influence of the truths and institutions of Christianity. These three points embrace the distinctive features of that system of Rationalism, which, under the names of Pelagianism and low Arminianism, has so extensively prevailed.

To those who hold this view of the nature of Christianity, the Church can be nothing supernatural. The epithet *mystical*, as applied to it, can have no sense. There are, however, three views of the nature of the Church, one or another of which is commonly embraced by those who hold this system of doctrine. 1. That the Church is simply a voluntary society; founded, it may be, by Christ, and therefore having so far a divine origin, but differing in nothing essential from other voluntary associations of men. It has the same, and no higher powers; its members can modify it at pleasure, prescribing whatever mode of organization and conditions of membership they see fit; and it enjoys no special promise of the divine guidance and protection.

2. A second theory is the Erastian. This system denies that the Church is a self-governing society, having its own laws, prerogatives, and officers. It is regarded as a mere phase of the State. The State has for its end the general good, and therefore has the right to regulate every institution which has the public good for its object. As it organizes and controls an army for the protection of its subjects, and a system of schools for their instruction in secular knowledge; so it has a right to determine what religious doctrines shall be taught, and to commission those who are to teach them.

3. A third theory takes somewhat higher ground. The Church is a divine institution: an external society, with its doctrine, organization, and worship, prescribed by Christ. To it all the promises belong. There is no covenant mercy to any out of its pale; though "the uncovenanted mercies of God" are, by the advocates of this doctrine, commonly regarded as abundantly sufficient for all moral and sincere men, especially among the heathen. The Church, however, is a kind of peerage, an aristocratic and exclusive circle. This peculiar distinction, however, of the members of this society, does not depend on any supernatural grace connected with its services. It is much more analogous to the peculiar privileges of the aristocracy, where an order of nobility exists. Being a member of that privileged class, neither supposes a man to be better, nor does it render him better, than other men. Or it is analogous to the ancient theocracy. It was not because descent from Abraham made a man a saint, or that the rite of circumcision changed the moral character, that the Jews regarded themselves as the exclusive favourites of heaven. It was simply because they belonged to a community to which God had, as they assumed, promised his saving goodness. This is the common high-church theory of the Church, as distinguished from Ritualism, which is a higher and more mystic doctrine, and supposes that the Spirit of God is in all the members of the Church, considered as an external society. High-churchism, of the character just referred to, proceeds on the denial of all experimental religion. It supposes that the conditions of salvation are a reputable mode of life, and fellowship with the church organized in a certain way, and having a regular succession.

The second comprehensive form of Christian doctrine is called Ritualism, because it makes the rites of the Church the exclusive channels of grace and salvation. This system admits the doctrines of the fall and of original sin, of the Trinity, of redemption, and of grace. But it teaches 1. That the benefits of redemption, and especially the grace of the Holy Spirit, are not communicated in any other way than by means of the sacraments. 2. That the sacraments, when properly administered, always convey grace to those who do not interpose the obstacle of mortal sin. 3. That it is only the sacraments

administered by duly authorized ministers in communion with the Church, which have this saving efficacy.

According to this view of the method of salvation, it necessarily follows that the visible Church is a storehouse and channel of grace; that all out of its pale perish, and that all within its communion are saved. Ritualists teach that Christ gave the Holy Spirit, and the power to forgive sin, to his apostles. The apostles committed these gifts to prelates as their successors. The prelates, in unbroken succession, preserve these powers in the Church, and commit to priests, by the imposition of their hands, the ability to render the sacraments efficacious, and to grant absolution for sin. Every man, therefore, in baptism, is both justified and sanctified. He is translated from a state of sin and condemnation into a state of habitual grace. Grace is strengthened by the rite of confirmation, and by receiving the eucharist. It is lost by mortal sins, and then can only be restored by the sacrament of penance, which includes contrition, confession (to a priest), and satisfaction on the part of the penitent, and absolution on the part of the priest. The only method, according to this system, by which we can become united with Christ, and partakers of his redemption, is by union with the visible Church. This system places the salvation of men in the hands of the clergy, and enables them to sell pardon and holiness for money, or for obedience. This is the "mystery of iniquity" which has exalted itself, or rather enabled antichrist to exalt himself, in the temple of God; showing himself as God; claiming the prerogatives, and the obedience which belong to God alone. The whole Romish system of doctrine is true, if this theory of the Church be true; and this theory of the Church is false, if the theology on which it is founded be false.

The third system of doctrine is the evangelical, which teaches 1. That all men, in consequence of the fall of Adam, are in a helpless state of sin and misery. 2. That the eternal Son of God, having assumed our nature, and having been made under the law, has brought in everlasting righteousness. 3. That this righteousness, with all the benefits of redemption, is freely offered to all men. 4. That it is by faith in Christ that we become united to him, and that he dwells in us by his

Spirit. 5. That all who, by the power of the Spirit of God, are thus united to Christ by faith, are partakers of justification, adoption, and sanctification, together with all the benefits which do, here and hereafter, either accompany or flow from them. 6. That union with the visible church, and participation of the sacraments, are not the indispensable conditions of our union with Christ, neither are they the means of communicating, in the first instance, his benefits and grace, but rather the appointed means by which our union with Christ is acknowledged, and from time to time strengthened and renewed.

It is conceded that the Church is the body of Christ, and therefore consists of those who are in Christ; and as, according to the evangelical system, faith is the means of union with Christ, it follows: 1. That none but believers are in the Church; and 2. That all true believers are as such and for that reason alone, members of the Church of Christ. 3. The Church, therefore, in its true idea or essential nature, is not a visible society, but the company of faithful men—the *coetus sanctorum*, or the communion of saints. The turning point, therefore, between the two systems, that on which all other matters in dispute between Ritualists and the Evangelical, Romanists and Protestants, depend, is the answer to the question, What unites us to Christ? If we are united to Christ by faith, then all believers are in Christ, and constitute the Church. If we can come to Christ only by union with the visible Church, and through the ministrations of the priesthood, then the whole Romish theory of the Church must be conceded. Many Ritualists freely admit that the above-mentioned question is the hinge of the whole controversy. Thus, Archdeacon Manning says: "Here in fact is the question:—Is the Church a means to an end, or is it a separable consequence of that end which may be otherwise effected? Are we, by means of the Church, made partakers of Christ; or being otherwise made partakers of Christ, are we, as it may be or not, made partakers of the Church? Or again, are we, by means of baptism, made partakers of Christ; or, being otherwise made partakers of Christ, are we, as it may be or not, made partakers of baptism?"* This is indeed the question, Are we made partakers

* *Unity of the Church*, New York edition, p. 233.

of Christ by a personal act of faith, or by union with the visible Church?

The Protestant answer to that question may be given in the language of Hooker, "That which linketh Christ to us is his mere mercy and love towards us; that which tieth us to him, is our faith in the promised salvation revealed in the word of truth."* In proof of this point it may be remarked, 1. The Scriptures teach concerning those who are in Christ, what is true of none others than true believers. There is no condemnation to those who are in Christ, Rom. viii. 1. If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature, 2 Cor. v. 17. To those in Christ, he is made of God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, 1 Cor. i. 30. They are sure of eternal life or a blessed resurrection, 1 Cor. xv. 22. They are quickened, reconciled to God and forgiven, Col. ii. 11-14. These things are not true of unbelievers, and therefore none but believers are in Christ, and faith and not union with the visible Church unites us to him. 2. To be in Christ means the same as Christ being in us, or the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us. But these forms of expression are applicable to none but true believers. Therefore to be in Christ implies the possession of truth faith. 3. The Scriptures teach that our union with Christ is not an external connection, but is vital and saving. It is analogous to the union between Adam and his posterity. As all in Adam die, in all Christ shall be made alive. It is like the union between the vine and branches, or between the head and members of the same body. All who are in Christ are partakers of his Spirit and life; hence it is productive of all the effects above ascribed to it, viz., justification, sanctification, sonship, and eternal life. See Gal. iii. 26. 4. All these saving benefits which are ascribed to union with Christ, are also ascribed to faith. Therefore faith is the bond of that union. We are saved by faith, we are justified by faith, we are sanctified by faith, we are the sons of God by faith, Eph. iii. 17; Gal. iii. 26, &c. Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God, 1 John iv. 15. We receive the promise of the Spirit by faith, Gal. iii. 14. Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Son of God, is born of God, 1 John

* Sermon on Jude.

v. 1. Wherever there is genuine faith, there, according to the Scriptures, are found in greater or less degree, peace with God, access into his presence, hope of his glory, assurance of his love, purity of heart and victory over the world. The faith which has all this power is not a mere historical assent to the gospel, but a cordial acquiescence in its truths, founded on the testimony of God with and by the truth through his Spirit. From these considerations it is abundantly evident that none are in Christ but true believers; and, as it is conceded that the Church consists of those who are in Christ, it must consist of true believers.

The gospel is a message from God to individual sinners. It calls each man to repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. These are personal duties. They cannot be performed by one man for another; by the priest for the people. Every man must repent for himself, and believe for himself. And to all and every one, no matter who, or where he is, in the midst of a Christian community and within the pale of the visible Church, or a benighted heathen poring over the inspired page, with no other teacher than the Holy Spirit, to all, without exception, the divine promise is, "Whosoever believeth shall be saved." Christ says to every human being to whom his gospel comes, "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life." The Bible declares that the way of access to God through Jesus Christ is now open to all. We do not need any mediating priest. Our only priest is Jesus the Son of God, who, having by the one offering up of himself, purged away our sins, is set down on the right hand of the majesty on high, where he ever lives to make intercession for us. Having such an high priest, we are authorized and commanded to come boldly unto the throne of grace, to obtain mercy and find grace to help in every time of need.

Romanism (Ritualism in all its forms,) denies all this. It denies that the way of access to God is thus thrown open. It says to the trembling sinner, who would draw near to God, "Stand back, you have not the right of entrance. I, the priest, must go for you, and obtain the blessings you need. Your only access to Christ and God is through me." Here again, in another form, we have the turning point between Protestantism

and Romanism. "Is the Christian ministry a priesthood? or, are all believers priests, as having, through Christ, immediate access unto God?" It is written with beams, not of solar, but of celestial brightness, to which nothing but the god of this world* can blind the eyes of men, that by Christ we all have access, through one Spirit, unto the Father. As soon therefore, as the Scriptures became accessible to the people, this was one of the truths which commanded universal assent. It will be remembered that at the time of the Reformation, the three radical points in which all Protestants united, were 1. The denial of the authority of tradition as part of the rule of faith. 2. The denial of the priesthood of the Christian ministry. 3. The denial of the authority of the Pope. With these three protestations against error, was of course connected the affirmation of the opposite truths, 1. That the word of God, as contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, is the only infallible rule of faith and practice. 2. That Jesus Christ is the only priest or mediator between God and man, and that through him every believer has free access unto God, and is therefore a member of the universal priesthood of the saints. 3. That Jesus Christ is the only head of the Church. The denial of any one of these points is a denial of Protestantism. The second is the more immediately connected with the method of salvation, and is on that account, it may be, the most important. What the apostle says, Gal. v. 2—4, concerning circumcision, may be said of the doctrine that ministers are priests. Paul tells the Galatians that if they were circumcised, Christ should profit them nothing. If they were circumcised, they were bound to do the whole law. Christ had become of none effect to them; they had fallen from grace. Circumcision was not an isolated service, it was part of a whole system. That system was a legal one, and of necessity opposed to the system of grace. Those, therefore, who were circumcised, did thereby renounce the whole doctrine of gratuitous salvation, through Christ the Redeemer. In like manner, the doctrine of the priesthood of the Christian ministry, is an inseparable part of the Ritual system. If that one doctrine be adopted, the whole system is adopted. If any

* See 2 Cor. vi.

man comes to God through a human priest, he thereby rejects the whole Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of Christ, and of the way of salvation through him. The Anglican, or Oxford system, therefore, which admits the authority of tradition, and the priesthood of the Christian ministry, is essentially antagonistic to Protestantism. All its sympathies, all its logical tendencies, and all its affinities, are with Rome. It is but Romanism spoiled. And as we have chemistry and astronomy for children, so Puseyism is Popery for babes.

The nature of the Church is then determined by the nature of the gospel. The Church, by common consent, consists of those who are in Christ. The condition of union with Christ is, therefore, the condition of membership in the Church. If we become the members of Christ and partakers of his salvation, by an external connection with a visible society, and if there is no other way of union with him, then of course that body to which the attributes, promises, and prerogatives of the Church belong, is in its essential nature a visible society. But if, on the other hand, the Bible teaches that a faith which works by love and purifies the heart, is the bond of union with Christ, then a man may be in the visible Church and yet not in Christ, and he may be in Christ, and yet not in the visible Church. The visible Church, therefore, and those who are in the Church, are not conterminous; they are not different designations for the same class of persons. The attributes, promises, and prerogatives which belong to those in Christ, do not belong to the visible Church. This is the sum of the Protestant doctrine on the nature of the Church. It is a company of believers; faith is therefore the condition of membership, and none but believers are members of that Church which is the body of Christ.

The Historical Argument.—The history of the Idea of the Church would be one of the most interesting chapters of a history of doctrine. Such a history would naturally divide itself into the following periods: 1. The apostolic period. 2. The transition period, during which the attributes of the true Church came to be gradually transferred to the external society of professed believers. 3. The period of the com-

plete ascendancy of the Ritual theory of the Church:—and 4. The Reformation period. Such a history would fill a volume. Our design is merely to exhibit the nature of the argument in favour of the true doctrine concerning the Church, as drawn from the history of that doctrine.

The truth was taught in its purity by the apostles; that truth was gradually obscured; it was, however, never lost, but was preserved under all the corruptions heaped upon it; and in God's appointed time was revived in its original brightness. As this is true of all the great doctrines of the Gospel, especially of those which relate to the nature of man, and to the method of salvation, so it is no less true with regard to the doctrine of the Church.

We have seen that during the apostolic period the Church was regarded as a company of faithful men, a *cœtus sanctorum*, or body of saints, and that true faith was the indispensable condition of membership, so that none but believers were considered to belong to the Church, and all believers were regarded as within its pale. The very word ἐκκλησία, during this period, was never used except as a collective term for the *κλητοι*; for those whom God, by his word and Spirit, had called out of the world or kingdom of Satan, into the kingdom of his dear Son. None, therefore, were ever addressed as members of the Church, who were not also called believers, saints, the sanctified in Christ Jesus, the children of God, and heirs of eternal life. They were all described as members of the body of Christ, in whom he dwells by his Spirit, and who, therefore, are the temple of God. They constitute the family of God, the flock of the good Shepherd, and the bride of Christ. They are holy because the Spirit of God dwells in them. They are also united by that Spirit into one body, having the same faith, the same hope, the same baptism, the same Lord, and the same God. They are, therefore, bound together in the bonds of Christian fellowship and love. To them God has promised his continued presence to guide them into the knowledge and belief of the truth; to protect them from all their enemies, from without and from within; and to keep them through faith unto eternal life. During this whole period it was taught that there is but one Mediator between God and man, and one High Priest of

our profession, Jesus, the Son of God, who has passed through the heavens, and who ever lives to make intercession for us. Through him all men were exhorted to draw near to God with full assurance of faith, because we all have access through him by one Spirit, unto the Father. For we are all the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ. Believers, therefore, are Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise. They, and they alone, constitute that body of which all these attributes are predicated, and to which all these promises are made.

Such being the nature of the Church, as it is described in the apostolic writings, it follows of course that all out of the Church perish, and all within the Church are saved. This, therefore, is a doctrine most clearly revealed in Scripture. The Church consists of believers; all believers are within the Church; faith is the indispensable condition of salvation. These are plain scriptural truths, and they of course include the doctrine that salvation is confined to the limits of the true Church; i. e., it is confined to the holy, to those who exercise repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. This was the doctrine concerning the Church which prevailed during the apostolic period.

The transition period cannot be marked off by precise limits. It is difficult and unnecessary to say definitely where it begins or where it ends. The characteristic of this period, as the name imports, is indistinctness. No one definite conception of the Church is presented and adhered to. Sometimes it is represented as consisting of true believers, sometimes of all who professed to be Christians. The distinction between the visible and invisible, the nominal and true Church, is neither formally inculcated nor explicitly denied. It is sometimes recognized and sometimes overlooked. It is here as with the doctrines of sin, grace, and redemption; we sometimes meet with the clearest declarations of the truth, and at others with the no less unequivocal assertion of error. "The general character of the period" (before Cyprian,) says Rothe, "is that of indistinctness. We constantly meet with a conception of the Church in which variable and inconsistent representations are combined. One is soon perplexed when he endeavours to reduce the declarations of the fathers of this period to any consistent

theory. We often find the same fathers, either overlooking or directly denying consequences, which flow with logical necessity from the principles which they elsewhere advance; so that it is impossible to arrive at any precise apprehension of their idea of the Church.”*

By the common consent of Christians the Church is one, catholic, holy, and apostolical. We find, therefore, these attributes, in all their modifications, freely ascribed to the Church by the fathers of the first three centuries. By the Church, however, they often meant the aggregate of believers; this is the true idea of the Church. In this sense all the attributes above mentioned do truly belong to it. But as believers actually and visibly exist in this world, as they manifest themselves to be believers by the profession of their faith; by their union in the worship of Christ; and by their holy life in obedience to his commands, the body of those who professed to be believers was called the Church. To the aggregate then of these professors of the true faith, all the attributes of the Church were referred. This was a very natural process, and had the semblance of scriptural authority in its behalf. In the Bible all who profess to believe are called believers, and everything that is, or can be predicated of believers, is predicated of such professors. From this, however, it is not to be inferred that the attributes of believers belong to unbelievers. The only thing this scriptural usage teaches us is that the Church consists of believers; and that all that is predicated of the Church is ascribed to it as so constituted. The fathers, however, went one step beyond the usage of Scripture. They not merely addressed professed believers as believers, and spoke of the aggregate of such professors as the Church, but they transferred to the body of professors the attributes which belonged to the body of believers. Even this was in their day a much more venial error than it is in ours. For the great body of professors were at first, and especially in times of persecution, sincere believers; and the distinction between the visible Church and the world, was then the distinction between Christianity and heathenism. It was natural, therefore, to

* Rothe's *Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche und ihrer verfassung*. I Bd. s. 575.

speak of this band of united and suffering Christians, separated from their idolatrous countrymen, as indeed the Church of which unity, catholicity, and holiness could be predicated, and out of whose pale there is no salvation. It is also to be remembered that it was mainly in opposition to heretics, that the fathers claimed for the body of professors the attributes of the true Church. They could say, with full propriety, that out of the pale of the visible Church there is no salvation, because out of that pale there was then no saving truth. All were in the visible Church except the heathen and heretics, who denied all of Christianity but its name. The Church, therefore, in the sense of these early fathers, included all who professed faith in the true gospel: and, therefore, their claiming for such professors the attributes of the true Church, is something very different from the conduct of those who, in our day, set up that claim in behalf of a small portion of the professed followers of Christ.

There was, however, during this period, a constant manifestation of a consciousness that something was wrong about this doctrine of the Church. There was a manifest incongruity between the empirical or actual Church, and the Church as described in Scriptures. According to the Bible, the members of the Church were members of Christ's body; they were filled with his Spirit, and were united with each other, not only outwardly, in the same society, but inwardly, in the bonds of Christian love. In experience, however, it was found that multitudes were members of the Church, who were not members of Christ, and who were entirely destitute of his Spirit. As the Church increased in numbers, and especially when outward peace had for a while prevailed, it was found that this incongruity between the actual and the true Church, became more and more apparent.

There were three methods of meeting this difficulty, all of which were adopted. 1. A distinction was made between the visible Church and the true Church. It was denied that every man was a Christian who chose to assume the Christian name, or join in the services of the Christian Church. It was urged that the same distinction must be made here, that Scripture and reason make in all similar cases, between the sincere and

insincere, the nominal and real. It was held to be preposterous and fatal to affirm of nominal Christians all that was said of true believers. It was therefore denied that the attributes and promises belonging to the Church pertained to any but the living members of Christ's body. This is the true doctrine, and differs in no essential particular from the doctrine afterwards revived at the Reformation, and universally adopted by Protestants. It was substantially their distinction between the visible and invisible Church. This was the method adopted by Origen, and afterwards by Augustin. The former makes the distinction between the external Church and the *κνρσίως ἐκκλησία*, the real Church. The latter consists of the holy, and it is of them only that what is said and promised in Scripture concerning the Church, is to be understood.* The latter distinguished between the *Corpus Christi verum* and the *corpus Christi simulatum*, between the true and the nominal Church. Only the holy really belong to the Church. The wicked are in it only in appearance. He illustrates this idea in various ways. The holy constitute the Church as the temple of God; they are the living stones of which it is composed. The wicked make no part of it, but are simply externally attached to it. The saints are the wheat, the wicked are the chaff; the latter are no more the Church than chaff is wheat. The human body consists of bone and muscle; the evil humours which circulate within it, make no part of the body. Augustin uses these and similar illustrations to teach just what Protestants teach, that the Church consists of true believers, and that the attributes, promises, and prerogatives of the Church, belong to the communion of saints, and to any external society only so far as it conforms to that idea.† To Augustin the same objec-

* See the proof passages as cited by Rothe in his *Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche*, Bd. i. s. 616, Hase's *Dogmatik*, s. 352. Baumgarten Crusius, *Dogmengeschichte* ii. s. 360.

† *Augustin, de Doctrina Chr.* iii. 45. Non revera Domini corpus est, quod cum illo non erit in æternum, sed dicendum fuit de Domini corpore vero atque *permixto*, aut vero atque *simulato*, quia non solum in æternum, verum etiam nunc hypocritæ non cum illo esse dicendi sunt, quamvis in ejus esse videantur ecclesia.

De Baptismo contra Donatistas l. vi. § 5. Habere autem baptismum et tradere et accipere malos nequaquam in melius commutatos, et de scripturis canonicis

tion was made by the Donatists that is now made by Romanists against Protestants, viz: that the distinction between the Church visible and invisible supposes there are two churches. He answered the objection, just as Protestants do, by saying there is but one Church, the wicked are not in the Church; that the distinction between sincere and insincere Christians, does not suppose there are two gospels or two Christs. It is one and the same Church that appears on earth, with many impenitent men attached to it in external communion, which in heaven is to appear in its true character.

2. A second method adopted to reconcile the actual with the ideal Church, the visible with the invisible, was the exercise of discipline. The Scriptures clearly teach that the Church consists of true believers. As soon, then, as the doctrine began to prevail, that all that the Scriptures say of the Church applies to the society of professed believers, a strenuous endeavour was made, and long continued to make that society correspond to the Scriptural account of the Church. None but those considered saints were admitted; all who gave evidence of not being saints were cast out. The period when the discipline of the Church was most severe, viz: the end of the second and the first half of the third century, was precisely the transition

et de Cypriani literis satis, ut arbitror, demonstravimus: quos non pertinere ad sanctam Ecclesiam Dei, quamvis intus esse videantur, ex hoc apertissime apparet, quia isti sunt avari, raptores, fœneratores, invidi, malevoli et cetera hujusmodi; illa autem columba unica, pudica et casta, sponsa sine macula et ruga, hortus conclusus. . . .

Though Augustin adopted substantially Cyprian's theory of the Church, yet it is apparent he did not adopt the fundamental principle on which that theory rested, or at least to which it led. To the question, What constitutes membership in that body to which the attributes and prerogatives of the Church belong? Cyprian, or at least those who adopted his theory, answered, Baptism and subjection to regular bishops. This is the Romish and Ritual answer. Protestants say, Faith, whose fruit is a holy life. And this is Augustin's answer. This is the turning point. According to the one view, the Church consists of "all sorts of men;" according to the other, it consists of believers. That this is Augustin's doctrine is beyond dispute. De Unitate Eccl. § 74, he says: *Et multi tales (openly wicked) sunt in sacramentorum communione cum ecclesia, et tamen non sunt in ecclesia.* In the same connection he teaches that a man who is reconciled to the visible Church is not inserted in the Church, unless his heart be changed. And in like manner, if any one within the outward Church is opposed to the truth, he ceases to be a member without and before any excommunication.

period of which we are now speaking; the period in which the attributes and prerogatives of the true Church came to be ascribed to the society of professing Christians. To this source is also to be referred the rise of the Novatians, and afterwards of the Donatists. These schismatics assumed, 1. That the external Church is the true Church. They overlooked the distinction between the visible and invisible Church. 2. They insisted, therefore, that the outward Church should consist only of saints. 3. They held that any society which admitted the unrenewed to their communion, ceased to be a Church, because it ceased to be holy. 4. They, therefore, refused all communion with such societies, and maintained that they alone constituted the Church of God on earth. There is no doubt that many of the best men of their respective periods belonged to these dissenters. Their object was most praiseworthy. They desired to secure the holiness of the external Church; but as all their efforts arose from a false theory, they came to nothing. The external society of professing Christians is not the body of Christ, and all attempts to make it appear as such must fail.*

* On this whole subject, see in Neander's *History of the Church*, his account of the Novatian and Donatist schisms. As to the former, he says: "Novatian, and his opponents were involved in the same fundamental error, and differed only in the application of it. It was the fundamental error of confounding the notions of the visible and the invisible Church. Hence was it, that Novatian transferring the predicate of purity and unspotted holiness, which belongs to the invisible Church, the community of the saints as such, to the visible form in which the visible Church appears, drew the conclusion, that every community which suffered unclean members to remain in it, ceased to be any longer a true Church. But the opponents of Novatian, who started with the same fundamental error, differ from him only in laying at the basis of their speculations the notion of the Church as mediated by a succession of bishops." Vol. i. p. 247, *Torrey's Translation*. Again, vol. ii. p. 203, when speaking of the Donatists, the author says: "Both parties were involved in the same grand mistake with regard to the conception of the Church, by their habit of confounding the notions of the invisible and of the visible Church with each other." Hence the Catholic fathers maintained, that separated from the one visible Church, with its succession of bishops, there is no salvation. And hence, too, on their side, the Donatists maintained that any community which tolerated unclean members, ceased to be a true Christian Church." See the following pages for Neander's criticism on the "confused mixture of conceptions" as to the nature of the Church, manifested in Augustin's controversy with the Donatists. How near Augustin came, however, to the true doctrine is shown by Neander, in p. 212.

A third method of getting over the difficulty was unhappily adopted and sanctioned. The whole theory of the Church was altered and corrupted. It was assumed that all the attributes of the Church belonged to the visible society of professed Christians. It was, however, apparent that such society did not possess these attributes according to the scriptural account of their nature. The view taken, therefore, of the nature of these attributes was changed. As the visible Church did not suit the attributes of the true Church, the attributes were made to suit the Church. According to the Scriptures, the Church is one as the body of Christ, animated by one Spirit, and having the same faith and love. In this sense the external Church was not one; and, therefore, unity was made to consist in something external and visible. The Church is holy; but the external Church was seen to be impure. The holiness of the Church was therefore made to consist, not in holiness, but in the power to make holy. The Church is catholic, because it includes all saints; but this was made to mean that out of the pale of an external society, there is no salvation even for the most orthodox and exemplary of men. Thus every thing was corrupted and degraded by those who insisted on transferring to the society of professed believers, what the Scriptures say of the Church.

It was, however, only by degrees, and under the stress of external circumstances, that this false theory was introduced and adopted. At first Christians found themselves in the presence of none but Jews and heathen. The Church, as distinguished from them, was composed of believers in Christ. Its bond of union was a common faith. It was catholic, because it included all professed believers. It was exclusive, because none out of Christ could be saved.

The case was not materially different when Christians found themselves confronted with heretics. In opposition to heretics it could still be said, as the early fathers did say, that the Church was one, catholic, exclusive, and apostolic. Heresies were novelties. Those who adopted them departed from the Church, because they renounced the faith which all Christians professed, and which is essential to the Christian character.

Soon, however, men separated from the main body of Chris-

tians, who professed the same faith, who had the same sacraments and form of government. Were these schismatics in the Church? Could everything which the fathers had affirmed of the whole body of believers, as opposed to Jews, pagans, and heretics, be still affirmed of the majority of professing Christians, in opposition to schismatics? If so, it must be in a sense entirely new. Here, therefore, was the true turning point. A theory of unity, catholicity, and apostolicity, was now gradually framed so as to suit this new emergency. The unity of the Church could no longer be placed where the Bible places it, in the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, nor in the profession of the same faith, nor in having the same sacraments, nor in the same form of government. All these the Novatians and Donatists had, as well as others. The only difference between them and others was, that they were in communion with different bishops. The bond of unity must therefore lie in the episcopate; not in the office, for that both had, but in its true succession. Every other attribute was subjected to a like perversion. The Bible says there is no salvation out of the Church, for the Church includes all the saints. The early fathers said there was no salvation out of the Church, for there were none out of the Church but heathen and heretics. It was a very different matter, however, when Cyprian came to deny salvation to his brethren holding the same faith, and giving the same evidence of being in Christ, with himself. To them he says there is no salvation, because they were not in communion with the right bishop. There must be some adequate reason for this. Why could not the Novatians be saved? The gospel declares that all who are in Christ, all who are partakers of his Spirit, shall be saved. If, therefore, there is no salvation but to those in communion with certain bishops, it must be because there can be no union with Christ, and no participation of the Holy Spirit, except through such bishops. Thus the whole theory and nature of the Church was changed. Instead of every man having access to God through Jesus Christ, and being made a partaker of the Holy Ghost in virtue of union with Christ, the Spirit is given exclusively to the bishops, and to others mechanically or magically by episcopal ministrations. This was the perversion of the true doctrine effected by Cyprian. The

bishops are the Church. The Church is one because the episcopate is one. The Church is holy because the bishops have the power to give the Holy Ghost. There is no salvation out of the Church; because none can receive the Spirit but through the bishops. In all this Cyprian was doubtless sincere. He had been led to the conviction that all the attributes and promises pertaining to the Church belong to the visible society of professed believers. So long as that society embraced all who professed to be Christians, the incongruity involved in this theory, though great, was not so apparent. But when some of the best men of the age came, on conscientious, though mistaken grounds, to separate from the external communion of their brethren, and when they were declared to be out of Christ, and destitute of his Spirit, because out of communion with the dominant party, it became necessary in order to justify such a judgment, to assume such a theory of the Church as should exclude from its pale, and from all fellowship with Christ, those who were not obedient to bishops regularly descended from the apostles. This was the parent corruption, the fruitful source of almost all the other evils which have afflicted the Church.*

* See Neander's account of the Novatian and Donatist controversies, and his estimate of Cyprian and Augustin. Of the former, he says: "In bringing the episcopal system to its completion, we have seen the important part acted by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. Not less important was his agency in converting the Church into an outward system of mediation, and confounding together the Old and New Testament positions generally. In this regard, his work, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, written after the middle of the third century, amidst the divisions with which he had to contend, constitutes an epoch. . . . His chain of ideas is this: Christ communicated to the apostles, the apostles to the bishops by ordination, the power of the Holy Ghost; by the succession of bishops, the power of the Holy Ghost, whence alone all religious acts can receive their efficacy, is extended through the channel of this outward transmission, to all times. Thus is preserved in this organism of the Church, ever unfolding itself with a living progression, that divine life, which, flowing from the fountain-head through this point of mediation, is thus distributed to all the members united with the organic whole; and whosoever breaks off his outward connection with this outward organism, does, by so doing, exclude himself from participating in that divine life, and from the way of salvation. No one, by himself alone, can, by faith in the Saviour, have any share in the divine life that flows from him; no one can, by faith alone, secure to himself all the blessings of God's kingdom; but all this remains necessarily mediated through these organs and the connection with them—the connection with the Catholic church, derived from Christ, through the succession of bishops. . . . The Church, once conceived as wholly outward, it must also be conceived

It is plain from this brief survey, that the theory concerning the Church passed, during the first few centuries, through these several stages. The apostles represented it as consisting of true believers; many of the fathers considered it as including all the professors of the true religion, as distinguished from Jews, pagans, and heretics; and then it came to be regarded as consisting of those professors of the true religion who were subject to bishops having succession; and to such society of professors all the attributes, promises, and prerogatives belonging to the true Church were referred. As, however, it was seen that such attributes did not in fact belong to the society of professed believers, some made the distinction between the visible and invisible Church, referring these attributes and promises only to the latter; others endeavoured to make the one identical with the other; and others perverted the nature of these attributes to make them answer to their preconceived conception of the Church.

The third period of the history of the doctrine of the Church bears the same relation to the preceding, that a tree bears to a sapling. The one arose out of the other by a simple process

as having necessary outward unity; and this principle being established, it came next to be thought necessary to settle on some outward representation of this outward unity, at some determinate point. This was at first a thing wholly vague and undefined; but it was the germ from whence sprang the papal monarchy of the middle ages." Vol. i. p. 210.

See also Rothe's *Anfänge*, i. § 64. It was Cyprian, he says, who took the decisive step of asserting that "separation from the empirical catholic Church was, in itself, separation from the fellowship of Christians, and thereby a forfeiture of the benefits of redemption, and of union with Christ; in other words, that the attributes of the Christian Church belong to the empirical or visible Church," p. 636. The exposition which Rothe gives of the gradual development of this theory is the more trustworthy, as he himself holds a doctrine for which he finds no such appropriate expression as the language of the philosophical Romanist, Mœhler. Thus, p. 289, he says, "The central point of the conception of the Catholic Church, is the thought, that in a definite human society, in an essential manner, redemption has become a historical potency, and the Redeemer has attained a real historical existence and efficiency, and no where else; or in the appropriate language of Mœhler (*Symbolik*, s. 334,) that in a definite human society and only therein, the incarnation of the divine Logos is continued and constantly advances." This those conversant with the subject will recognize as the precise idea of the Church, given by a large class of the disciples of Schleiermacher in Germany and in this country. It is one, it seems, which the strictest Romanist can adopt.

of development. After the principle was once established that the outward Church is the true Church, that all the attributes and prerogatives of the mystical body of Christ, belong to the society of his professed disciples, the whole Papal system follows, by a sort of logical necessity. Thus, if the visible Church is one, it must have a visible head; and that head must be the centre of unity; separation from him must be separation from the Church. The bond of union between the several provinces, or states of a kingdom, is not language, customs, laws, but the king. Subjection to him is the essential condition of membership. Whatever regard a man may profess to the laws or to the inhabitants of a kingdom, he does not belong to it unless he recognizes the authority of its head. The same thing is true with regard to the Church. If its unity is external; if it is one as a visible kingdom, it must have one head; and submission to that head must be the essential condition of membership in that kingdom. This is only one step in advance of the doctrine of Cyprian. At first the unity of the Church was made to rest on the indwelling of the Spirit, producing unity of faith and fellowship. Next, it was conceived of as belonging to the external body of professors as distinguished from infidels and heretics. But when orthodox men separated from this external society, Cyprian asserted they were not of the Church. Why not? They had the same faith, the same sacraments, and the same discipline or polity, but they were not subject to legitimate bishops. Soon, however, apostolic bishops separated. What was to be said now? Some other external bond of unity than the episcopate became essential, if the external unity of the Church was to be preserved. For the very same reason, and with quite as much show of right as Cyprian said no man was in the Church who was not subject to a regularly consecrated bishop, did Gregory say, no bishop was in the Church who is not subject to the Pope. The papal monarchy of the middle ages was, therefore, the natural product of Cyprian's theory of the Church.

The second great distinguishing feature of the doctrine concerning the Church, during this period, was the assumed priesthood of the Christian ministry. This also was a necessary deduction from principles already established.

It has been seen how the notion that the attributes of the true Church belong to the visible society, lead to the perverted views of the nature of those attributes. The Church is holy; but the members of the external Church are in many cases corrupt. The holiness of the Church, therefore, was made to consist, not in the purity of its members, but in its power to render holy. But as schismatics were not in the Church, they had not this power. They had, however, the truth, sacraments, and bishops. They had everything but the succession. Hence, in order to exclude them from the Church, and to deny to them the power to render holy, it became necessary to confine this power to bishops having succession. The holiness of the Church, however, in whatever it consists, or wherever it resides, is of course connected with the presence of the Holy Spirit. If that holiness, therefore, consists in the power to make holy, and if that power resides in the bishops having succession, it follows that the Holy Spirit must dwell in them. Hence the doctrine that the Spirit was given to the apostles, and by them to their official successors, the prelates, in whom he dwells, and who, in virtue of that indwelling, have power to confer grace by the imposition of hands. Such grace is conferred in ordination, by which power is conveyed to render the sacraments efficacious. Thus far the theory was wrought out in the preceding period.

This theory inevitably led to the doctrine, that Christian ministers are priests. A priest is a mediator, one who approaches God in behalf of those who have not themselves liberty of access. He is also one who procures remission of sin and acceptance with God for others by means of sacrifices. This is the office assigned to the ministry by the theory above mentioned. The mass of men who hear the gospel, are required, instead of going to God through Christ, in the exercise of penitence and faith each one for himself, to go to the ministers of the church, through whom alone they can find access to Christ. The benefits which these ministers are supposed to obtain are such as none but priests can procure. Those benefits are the remission of sins, and the consequent gift of the grace of God. It is only through the sacraments as administered by them that the merits of Christ are conveyed

to the soul, or the sanctifying influences of his Spirit imparted. One at least of the sacraments must therefore assume the character of a propitiatory sacrifice. The main thing, however, is that the theory which supposes the Holy Spirit to dwell in the bishops, and to be by them communicated in ordination, which ordination is necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments, of necessity devolves on the ministry the essential prerogatives of a priesthood. They become the mediators of the people, and through them alone are the remission of sins and the grace of God to be procured. This is not only the logical connection, but the historical relation of these doctrines. The doctrine that ministers are priests did follow in the order of time as well as in the order of logic, the doctrine of the Spirit being given to the clergy in distinction from the people. From this latter doctrine also followed the immense distinction which came to be made between the clergy and the laity. And no wonder. Here was a set of men in whom the Spirit of God dwelt; by whom alone his presence and influence in the world were continued, and through whom alone his benefits could be obtained. Such men might well be looked up to as holy. It became all other men to bow at their feet, and submit to their commands. What were any worldly distinctions compared to these spiritual prerogatives! What would any earthly monarch give comparable to what the poorest priest could grant to the proudest noble! That noble's dependence on his sovereign from whom he held his lands, was nothing compared to his own dependence on his priest, from whom he looked for heaven. This view of the nature of the Church and of the ministry, necessarily led to the domination of the clergy, and gave them a controlling ascendancy in all the concerns of life, civil and religious. If ministers are priests—if access to Christ, the remission of sins, and the grace of God can only be obtained through them, they are our legitimate and absolute masters.

The third characteristic of this period was the full development of the doctrine of the Church as an infallible teacher. It is plain from the New Testament that Christ did commission his Church to teach all nations; that he promised to her his presence and assistance in the discharge of this duty; that he declared his purpose to sanction in heaven what his Church

taught on earth; and assured his disciples that he would give the Holy Spirit to guide them into the knowledge of the truth, and to give effect to their instructions. It is universally conceded that the prerogative and ability of the Church to teach, depend upon the presence of the Holy Spirit. It is only so far as she is the organ of the Holy Ghost that her teaching is the teaching of Christ, or that obedience to her is obedience to him.

This being the case, the prerogative in question must belong to the body of Christ, in whom he dwells by his Spirit, whose minds he enlightens, and whose lives he governs. It is the communion of saints, the body of true Christians, which he has set as the light of the world, a pillar of cloud and of fire for the guidance of all the generations of men. But as soon as the doctrine was established, that the Holy Ghost is the peculium of the bishops, then, of course, this prerogative of teaching was claimed as their peculiar right. It belongs to them, not in virtue of their character, but of their office. It is not because they are united to Christ, and the subjects of spiritual illumination, but simply because they are the regular successors of the apostles, that they are the organs of the Spirit. They may be personally heretical or infidel; they may be unholy in heart and life, they are none the less the men whom Christ has promised to guide in teaching, and whose instructions all the faithful are bound, on the peril of salvation, to receive and obey. This is the obvious, the unavoidable, and the actual sequence of the doctrine that the bishops are the successors of the apostles, and the class to whom the command to teach and the promise of the Holy Ghost were given.

Not only does the theory of the Church under consideration, depart from Scripture, in making the bishops, instead of the true people of God, the subjects of the promised guidance of the Spirit, but it perverts the nature of that guidance. What Christ promised is spiritual illumination. He promised to send his Spirit to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; to make men sensible of their just exposure to condemnation; to reveal to them his glory, so as to satisfy them of his righteousness in claiming to be the Son of God and the only Saviour of the world, and to convince them of the

certain overthrow and final destruction of Satan and his kingdom. Flesh and blood were not to reveal those things unto believers. They were to be taught of God; they were to have an unction from the Holy One, which should teach them the truth, and that no lie is of the truth. This, however, was no more a promise of infallibility than the promise of grace was a promise of perfection, or the assurance of consolation was a guaranty of perfect blessedness. All that the promise of divine teaching secured was saving knowledge of the truth, and perseverance in its belief and profession. In this sense, and to this extent, the Spirit guides all believers into the knowledge of the truth, so that dissent from them (of course as to what they have thus been taught of God) is dissent from God himself. But this by no means satisfied the advocates of the Romish theory of the Church. Divine illumination of all believers is not what that theory demands, but infallibility in the teachers of the visible Church. If separation from the bishops was separation from the source of holiness, it was no less a separation from the source of truth. If the Spirit dwells in them so as to render them the source of the sanctifying power of the sacraments, it must render them also the sure instructors of the Church in matters of faith. The Church is designed to preserve the doctrines of Christianity, and to extend its saving influence. For this end the Holy Ghost is granted to the bishops to render them infallible as teachers, as well as effective as regenerators. Separation from them, therefore, is at once separation from the truth and saving power of the gospel.

The bishops of any one age therefore cannot err in matters of faith. Their teaching is for the existing generation the teaching of God. Of course, the bishops of a preceding age were alike infallible; and so of every age up to the times of the apostles. It is this teaching of the successive generations of bishops which constitutes tradition, which in the language of the council of Trent, is to be received *pari pietate*, as of equal authority with the written word of God.

This completes the theory. The Church is an external kingdom, having a visible head, who is the centre of unity. Separation from him is, of necessity, separation from the

Church. When Christ left the world, he constituted this Church his representative. It is only therein that he is accessible and operative here on earth. To the Church are entrusted his prerogatives as prophet, priest, and king. She has absolute authority, infallible knowledge, and the priestly power of mediation and atonement. All these powers centre in the bishops, who rule, teach, and impart the Holy Spirit to all who are in the Church. Disobedience to them is rebellion against Christ; dissent from their teaching is heresy; separation from them is schism, a crime more certainly deadly than murder. The apostles were a set of inspired men, invested with plenary power over the Church, infallible as teachers, and having the sole power to communicate the Holy Ghost. Peter was their head and the bond of union between them. This is the form Christ gave his Church, and without which it cannot exist. There is still a body of infallible teachers invested with plenary power as rulers and priests, and there is still a supreme bishop to give unity to the whole. This is the simple, the logical, and sublime theory of the Church, gradually elaborated after the days of Cyprian, and which has had such a powerful and enduring hold upon the minds of men.

Against this system the Reformation was a protest. The Reformers protested, first, against the fundamental error of the whole theory, viz: That the visible Church is in such a sense the true Church; that the attributes, promises, and prerogatives pertaining to the latter belong to the former. In opposition to this doctrine, they maintained that the Church consists of true believers; that it is a company of faithful men, a communion of saints, to which no man belongs who is not a true child of God. Secondly, they, of course, protested against the supremacy of the Pope, denying that the unity of the Church was that of a visible monarchy. Thirdly, they protested against the doctrine that the Spirit is promised to the bishops to render them infallible as teachers, and make their instructions as handed down by tradition a constituent part of the rule of faith and practice. Fourthly, they protested against the doctrine that ministers are priests, through whom alone men can obtain either pardon or grace. They maintained, on the contrary, that Christ having washed us from our sins in his

own blood, hath made us all priests, because, through him we all have access, by one Spirit, unto the Father. This is the essential character of the protest entered by all the Churches of the Reformation. In proof of this it will be sufficient to advert briefly to the teachings of those Churches, in their symbolical books, as to the nature of the Church.

The Lutheran Church was the eldest daughter of the Reformation, and on this subject her standards are very explicit. Aug. Con. § vii. "The Church is a congregation of saints, in which the gospel is properly taught, and the sacraments rightly administered. And to the true unity of the Church, agreement in the doctrine of the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments is sufficient." § viii. "Although the Church is properly a congregation of saints and of true believers, yet, as in this life many hypocrites and wicked persons are included, it is lawful to use the sacraments administered by wicked men."*

The fourth head of the apology of the Augsburg Confession is a defence of the definition of the Church as the congregation of saints. After saying and proving that it was so defined in Scripture, it refers to the language of the creed, "which requires us to believe that there is a holy catholic church." But the wicked are not the Church. And the next clause, "communion of saints," is added to explain what the Church is, viz: "the congregation of saints, having fellowship in the same gospel or doctrine, and in the same Holy Spirit, who renews, sanctifies, and governs their hearts."

Again: "Although, therefore, hypocrites and evil men are connected with the Church by external rites, yet when the Church is defined, it is necessary to describe it as the true body of Christ, that which is in name and reality the Church." "If the Church, which is the true kingdom of Christ, is distinguished from the kingdom of the devil, it is clear that the wicked, who are in the kingdom of the devil, are not the Church,

* Hase's *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiæ Evangelicæ*. Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur sacramenta. Et ad veram unitatem ecclesiæ satis est consentire de doctrina evangelii et administratione sacramentorum.

Quænam ecclesia proprie sit congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium, tamen cum in hac vita multi hypocritæ et mali admixti sint, licet uti sacramentis, quæ per malos administrantur. p. 11.

although in this life, since the kingdom of Christ is not revealed, they are mixed with the Church, and bear office therein."*

"The creed speaks of the Church as catholic, that we may not conceive of it as an external polity of a certain nation, but as consisting of men scattered throughout the world, who agree in doctrine, and have the same Christ, the same Holy Spirit, whether they have the same human traditions or not."†

The Lutheran theologians, with one accord, adhere to this doctrine concerning the Church. By Calovius it is defined as "cœtus fidelium, qui sub uno capite Christo per verbum et sacramenta collectus alitur et conservatur per eadem ad æternam salutem." Hollazius says the Church is regarded, 1, in its true nature, as the company of saints united to Christ their head by faith, and constituting his one mystical and living body; 2, improperly for all those professing the true faith, believers and hypocrites. The former is the Church invisible, and the latter the visible Church.‡ Gerhard says to the same effect, "Our view of the nature of the Church is clearly exhibited in the Augsburg Confession, viz: that the Church, pro-

* Sic definit ecclesiam et articulus in Symbolo, qui jubet nos credere, quod sit sancta catholica ecclesia. Impii vero non sunt sancta ecclesia. Et videtur additum, quod sequitur, sanctorum communio, ut exponeretur, quid significet ecclesia, nempe congregationem sanctorum, qui habent inter se societatem ejusdem evangelii, seu doctrinæ, et ejusdem Spiritus Sancti, qui corda eorum renovat, sanctificat et gubernat. *Ibid.* p. 145.

† Catholicam Ecclesiam dicit [Symb. App.,] ne intelligamus, ecclesiam esse politiam externam certarum gentium, sed magis homines sparsos per totum orbem, qui de evangelio consentiunt, et habent eundem Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, et eadem sacramenta, sive habeant easdem traditiones humanas, sive dissimiles. Et in hanc sententiam multa leguntur apud patres. Hieronymus enim ait: Qui ergo peccator est aliqua sorde maculatus, de ecclesia Christi non potest appellari, nec Christo subjectus dici. *Ibid.* 156. See also Articuli Smalcaldici xii. De Ecclesia. Nequaquam largimur ipsis, quod sint ecclesia, quia revera non sunt ecclesia; non etiam audiemus ea, quæ nomine ecclesiæ vel mandant, vel vetant. Nam (Deo sit gratia) puer septem annorum novit hodie, quid sit ecclesia, nempe credentes, sancti, oviculæ audientes vocem pastoris sui. Sic enim orant pueri: Credo sanctam ecclesiam Catholicam sive Christianam. Hæc sanctitas non consistit in amiculo linceo, insigni verticali, veste talari, et aliis ipsorum ceremoniis, contra sacram scripturam excogitatis, sed in verbo Dei et vera fide.

+ Hase's *Hutterus Redivivus*, p. 316.

perly speaking, is the congregation of saints and true believers, with which, however, in this life many hypocrites and unrenewed men are externally united." *

The Reformed Church in this matter agrees perfectly with the Lutheran. Indeed as this was a subject of constant controversy between Protestants and Romanists, it seems hardly worth while to appeal to any particular assertions. Bellarmine sets it forth as the doctrine of all Protestants "that only the just and pious pertain to the true Church." "If," he adds, "those destitute of inward faith neither are nor can be in the Church, there is an end of all dispute between us and heretics as to the visibility of the Church."† The Lutherans, he says, define the Church to be "the congregation of saints who truly believe and obey God," and the Reformed, as consisting of believers predestinated to eternal life. A distinction, in this case, without a difference. In opposition to the views of both classes of Protestants, he asserts the Church to consist of all the professors of the true faith, whether sincere or insincere, who are united in the participation of the same sacraments, and subjection to the same pastors, and especially to the Pope, as vicar of Christ.

We find the doctrine of the Reformed Churches clearly stated in all their confessions of faith. In the Second Helvetic Confession, the seventeenth chapter is devoted to the exposition of this subject. The Church is declared to be "a company of believers, called out from the world, or collected, i. e., a communion of saints, who, through the word and Spirit, truly acknowledge and rightly worship the true God, in Christ the Saviour, and who, through faith, participate in all the benefits freely offered through Christ." "It is of them that the article in the creed, 'I believe in the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints,' is to be understood." . . . "All who are numbered in the Church are not saints, or true living members

* *Loci Theologici*, tom. xi. p. 159.

† The Protestants, he says, teach "*solos justos et pios ad ecclesiam veram pertinere. . . . Si ii, qui fide interna carent, non sunt, nec esse possunt in ecclesia, nulla erit inter nos et hæreticos, amplius quæstio de ecclesiæ visibilitate. Disputationes de Ecclesia. lib. iii. c. x. col. 139.*"

of the Church." . . . "Such, though they simulate piety, are not of the Church."*

In the Belgic Confession, art. 27, it is said, "We believe one catholic or universal Church, which is the congregation of saints, or company of true believers, who look for their entire salvation in Christ alone, being washed by his blood, sanctified and sealed by his Spirit." Art. 29. "We do not here speak of the company of hypocrites, who, although they may be mixed with the good in the Church, are not of it, though (corpore) externally they are in it."†

In the Geneva Catechism, it is asked, "What is the Church? Answer—The society of believers whom God hath predestinated to eternal life."‡

In the Gallican Confession, the 27th article contains these words: "We affirm that the Church is the company of believers, who agree in following the word of God, and in the exercise of true religion," &c.§

In the Heidelberg Catechism the question: "What believest thou concerning the Holy Catholic Church of Christ?" is answered, "I believe that the Son of God, from the beginning

* *Oportet omnino semper fuisse, nunc esse, et ad finem usque seculi futuram esse Ecclesiam, id est, e mundo evocatum vel collectum cœtum fidelium, sanctorum inquam omnium communionem, eorum videlicet, qui Deum verum, in Christo servatore, per verbum et Spiritum sanctum, vere cognoscunt et rite colunt, denique omnibus bonis per Christum gratuito oblati fide participant. . . De quibus omnino intelligendus est Symboli articulus, Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem.*

Rursus non omnes qui numerantur in ecclesia, sancti et viva atque vera sunt ecclesiæ membra. Sunt enim hypocritæ multi, qui foris verbum Dei audiunt, et sacramenta palam percipiunt . . . sed intus vera Spiritus illuminatione, et fide animique sinceritate, et finali perseverantia destituuntur. . . . Dum hi simulant pietatem, licet ex ecclesia non sint, numerantur tamen in ecclesia. Niemeyer's Collectio Confessionum, pp. 499 and 504.

† *Conf. Belg. art. 27. Credimus unicam ecclesiam catholicam seu universalem, quæ est congregatio sancta seu cœtus omnium vere fidelium christianorum, qui totam suam salutem in uno Jesu Christo expectant, sanguine ipsius abluti et per Spiritum ejus sanctificati atque obsignati. Art. 29. Nequaquam hic de hypocritarum cœtu loquimur, qui quanquam bonis in ecclesia permixti sint, de ecclesia non sunt, etiamsi corpore in ea sint.*

‡ *Quid est Ecclesia?*

Corpus ac Societas fidelium, quos Deus ad vitam æternam prædestinavit.

§ *Conf. Gall. art. xxvii. Affirmamus ex Dei verbo, ecclesiam esse fidelium, cœtum, qui in verbo Dei sequendo, et pura religione colenda consentiunt. . .*

to the end of the world, from the whole human family collects, defends and preserves for himself by his word and Spirit, a company chosen unto eternal life, and that I am and always will remain a living member of that Church.”*

The standards of the Church of England teach the same doctrine. The Church is declared to be a “company of faithful men;” or as in the communion service, “the blessed company of faithful people.” This definition is expanded in the homily for Whit-Sunday: “The true Church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God’s faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.” Bishop Ridley, with whom agree all the other English reformers, says: “That Church which is Christ’s body, and of which he is the head, standeth only of living stones and true Christians, not only in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth.”† Hooker says: “Because the only object which separateth ours from other religions is Jesus Christ, in whom none but the Church doth believe, and whom none but the Church doth worship; we find that, accordingly, the apostles do everywhere distinguish hereby the Church from infidels and from Jews, ‘accounting them which call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be his Church.’ If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either in deed, or in men’s opinions or councils.”‡

Dr. Jackson, another of the lights of the Church of England, says: “The Catholic Church, in the prime sense, consists only of such men as are actual and indissoluble members of Christ’s mystical body, or of such as have the Catholic faith not only

* *Quid credis de sancta et Catholica Christi ecclesia? Credo Filium Dei, ab initio mundi ad finem usque, tibi, ex universo genere humano, cœtum ad vitam æternam electum, per Spiritum suum et verbum, in vera fide consentientem, colligere, tueri, ac servare: meque vivum ejus cœtus membrum esse, et perpetuo mansurum.*

† Ridley’s Works. Parker’s Society edition, p. 126.

‡ Ecclesiastical Polity, book v. § 68. See also the opening of the third book, where a full exposition is given of the Protestant, or evangelical theory of the Church.

sown in their brains or understanding.”* Again, “Unto the attributes or prerogatives bestowed on the Church in the Apostles’, or Nicene creed, or unto the promises annexed unto it in the Scriptures, the visible Church, as we say, taken in the Roman sense, hath no claim or title, save only in reversion and by reflection; that is, the true mystical body of Christ is only instated in the blessings, prerogatives, or promises made unto the Church,” p. 34. Dr. Jackson’s book is devoted to the proof of that point. According to him and to the Protestant faith, it is the company of true believers, the communion of saints, and no external organized society, which is one, holy, catholic, and apostolical; to which the prerogatives of teaching and discipline, or power of the keys belong, and which Christ has promised to guide, keep, and save.

That this is the common doctrine of Protestants the above extracts are sufficient to prove, were any one disposed to question a fact so notorious. Winer, in his comparative view of the doctrines of the various Christian churches, says: “The Catholics make the Church the community which Christ has founded upon earth, consisting of those baptized in his name and united under the Pope as his vicar and visible head of the Church. Protestants, on the contrary, make the Church the communion of saints; that is, of the pious who truly believe in Christ, and among whom the gospel is purely preached, and the sacraments properly administered. The latter conceive of the Church according to inward or spiritual marks, ideally, and exclude from it those destitute of piety; the former, on the other hand, regard the Church as something outwardly existing, whose members are divided into two classes, the good and the bad. The bond, which, according to the Protestant doctrine, unites the members of the Church together, is living faith or true piety; according to the Romish doctrine, it is the confession made in baptism.”† Romanists are obliged to repre-

* *Treatise of the Holy Catholic Faith and Church*, Philadelphia edition, p. 152.

† Die Katholiken nennen Kirche Christi die von Christus auf erden gegründete, unter seinem stellvertreter, dem Papste, als sichtbarem Oberhaupte, vereinigte Gemeinschaft der auf Christus getauften; die Protestanten dagegen die Gemeinschaft der Heiligen, d. h. der an Christum wahrhaft glaubenden Frommen, in welcher das Evangelium lauter verkündigt und die sacramente recht verwaltet

sent the Church as a visible society, if they would prove the Church of Rome, as it actually exists, to be identical with the Church of Christ; and Protestantism destroys itself, if it acknowledges the Church of Christ, in its essential nature, to be an external institution.”*

The history of the doctrine of the Church, even as imperfectly sketched above, serves to confirm the true view of its nature. Almost all the great practical doctrines of the gospel, after having been presented in their purity by the apostles, were gradually deteriorated until they came to be almost entirely perverted; and then, by the interposition of God, they were rescued from the load of corruption under which they were buried, and exhibited anew in their original brightness. During the whole period of declension, however, these doctrines never ceased to be recognized. They were not only distinctly apprehended and openly avowed, by here and there a chosen witness, but they underlay the religious experience of thousands, who never framed them into doctrinal propositions; and they gave form and character to the very corruptions of which they were the subjects. These corruptions were not so much errors entirely foreign to the gospel, as perverted forms of truth. A leper is still a man; and the lineaments of the human form may be traced under all the disfiguring effects of disease. So the truth is always to be discerned under the grossest corruptions to which it has been subject. When the Church of the middle ages taught that there could be no regeneration or holiness but by means of certain rites, this was not a denial of the necessity of grace, but a false view of the mode and conditions of the Spirit's operations. When it was taught that pil-

werden. Letztere fassen also die Kirche nach inneren (geistigen) merkmalen in idealem sinne, und schliessen von ihr die Unfrommen aus; ersteren dagegen ist die Kirche etwas sinnlich Existerendes, und ihre Glieder theilen sich in Fromme und Unfromme. Das Band, welches die Mitglieder der Kirche als solche zusammenhält, ist somit nach Protestanten, Lehrbegriffe der lebendige glaube (die Christliche Frömmigkeit,) nach Katholiken das auf die Taufe gegründete äusserliche Bekenntniss. Darstellung, s. 166.

* Als äusserliche, sichtbare Gemeinschaft muss der Katholicismus die Kirche betrachten, wenn er die Römische Kirche in ihrem empirischem Bestehen als identisch mit der Kirche Christi erweisen will; so wie der Protestantismus sich selbst vernichtete, wenn er die Kirche Christi ihrem wesen nach als äusserliche Anstalt anerkennen wollte. *Ibid.*

grimaces and penances obtained the pardon of sins, it was still asserted that they were the means of securing an interest in the merits of Christ, to whom all their efficacy was referred. When the priest interposed himself between the sinner and God, it was not that he dared to deny the priesthood of Christ, but that he assumed that Christ's priesthood was exercised through the Church. Behind these fearful corruptions, therefore, which hid the truth from the view of the people, were still to be discerned the great doctrines of the Bible. As this is true with regard to other points, it is no less true with regard to the doctrine of the Church. All the corruptions of that doctrine, great and destructive as they have proved, are but perversions of the truth. They are all deformed exhibitions of the idea that the Church is the communion of saints, composed of the true people of God, so that none are his people who are out of its pale, and that all within it are his children. This doctrine is not only openly asserted by witnesses of the truth in all ages, but it evidently lies at the foundation of the whole Romish or hierarchical theory. Those who deny, are still forced to teach the truth. Their very error is but truth defaced.

In proof of this it will be sufficient to advert to the following particulars. 1. Ritualists always speak of the Church as holy. Its members are addressed as "the faithful." They are described as believers, as the children of God, the disciples of Christ. No pastoral letter, no prelatial charge, no papal missive, assumes any other language in addressing the members of the Church. It is instinctively taken for granted that the Church consists of believers, and therefore all within its pale are addressed as such. This could not be, if the Church were a visible society, consisting of all sorts of persons. It is simply because in its true and essential character it is a communion of saints, that all its members are addressed as saints. They profess faith and piety in professing to be members of the Church.

2. In all ages of the Church, and in all parts of the world, in the times of the apostles, before the rise of the papacy, and since the establishment of the Pope's dominion, the profession of repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ,

has ever been made the condition of admission into the Church. Men have differed as to the nature of faith and repentance; they have had conflicting views as to what is Christianity, but they have agreed in demanding a profession of Christianity of those whom they admit as members of the Christian Church. This demand, however, proceeds on the assumption that the Church consists of Christians. Why else must a man profess to be a Christian, in order to his admission among its members?

3. The liturgies of all churches are constructed on the true theory of the nature of the Church. They all assume that to be a member of the Church is to be a true Christian and an heir of salvation, and that to be out of the Church is to be in a state of alienation from God. Even infants dying unbaptized are denied Christian burial. Baptism is regarded as uniting them to the Church, and hence it is assumed to confer regeneration, justification, and a title to eternal life. All who continue in the communion of the Church, do, in the prayers and offices in which they engage, use the language of Christians. The Church puts into their mouths the confessions, and professions, which none but the true children of God can use with sincerity: and when they die, they are committed to the grave as Christians, in the sure hope of a blessed resurrection. Those separated from the Church by excommunication or schism, are treated as out of the state of salvation. Reconciliation to the Church is, in all these prescribed formularies, represented as involving reconciliation to God. It is vain, therefore, for Ritualists to deny the Protestant doctrine of the Church. Their own liturgies condemn them. The Church, in all her solemn services, assumes to be just what Protestants declare her to be, a company of believers, a communion of saints, and not a promiscuous assembly of believers and unbelievers, of children of God and children of Satan.

After this evidence, derived from the general consciousness of the Church, it is hardly worth while to refer to the testimony of individuals. It is, however, of interest to remark, that although a false theory may, under the stress of inward and outward influences, be adopted as a theory, the truth still extorts an unwilling testimony even from its opponents. We have

seen how Cyprian and Augustin were induced, as the only available argument against the schismatics of their day, to make the external Church the possessor of the attributes and prerogatives of the body of Christ; and yet both those fathers frequently avowed the opposite doctrine.* So in every age, wherever there is any evidence of spiritual religion, there is evidence of a conviction that the promiscuous body of nominal Christians, is not that Church of which so much is said, and to which so much is promised in the word of God. All the forerunners of the Reformation were the advocates of the true doctrine concerning the Church. And the most determined Romanists are forced to make admissions fatal to the whole Ritual theory. Even the Romish Catechism says, the relation of the wicked to the Church is that of the chaff to the wheat.† Every definition of the Church, however, is a definition of the wheat. Our whole controversy with Romanists is, that they insist on ascribing the attributes of the wheat indiscriminately and equally to the wheat and the chaff.

The Protestant doctrine on this subject can hardly be stated with greater precision than in the *Enchiridion of Christian Instruction*, published by the Romish Provincial Synod of Cologne. "The Church militant," it is there said, "is to be considered in a twofold light: in the first place strictly; as when we say those are in the Church, who are so in the house of God, that they themselves are the house of God, or temple of the Holy Spirit, who constitute the new Jerusalem descending out of heaven, prepared of God, constructed of living stones, concerning whom the apostle says: We being many

* Cyprian Epist. 55. Domine, ad quem ibimus? verba vitæ æternæ habes, et nos credimus et cognovimus, quoniam tu es Filius Dei vivi, significans scilicet et ostendens eos qui a Christo recesserint, culpa sua perire; ecclesiam tamen quæ in Christum credat, et quæ semel id quod cognoverat teneat, nunquam ab eo discedere, et eos esse ecclesiam, qui in domo Dei permanent; plantationem vero plantatam a Deo Patre non esse, quos videmus non frumenti stabilitate solidari, sed tanquam paleas dissipantis inimici spiritu ventilari.

† Catechismus Romanus. Quamvis autem bonos et malos ad ecclesiam pertinere catholica fides vere et constanter affirmet, ex iisdem fidei regulis fidelibus explicandum est, utriusque partis diversam admodum rationem esse; ut enim paleæ cum frumento in area confusæ sunt, vel interdum membra varie intermixta corpori conjuncta, ita etiam mali in ecclesia continentur. Ch. x. Qu. 7.

are one body in Christ Jesus; whom, in another place, he calls a people cleansed from all iniquity, acceptable to God, zealous of good works. The Church, thus considered, is known only unto God, as the apostle says: The Lord knoweth them that are his.* The doctrine of this passage is, that true believers constitute the Church. It is of them the body of Christ, to which the attributes of the Church belong, consists. This is all that Protestants contended for.

Hofmeister, a Romish theologian, admits that Melancthon's doctrine that "the Church properly and primarily signifies the congregation of the righteous who truly believe in Christ and are sanctified by his Spirit," is undoubtedly orthodox.†

Mr. Palmer says: "It is generally allowed that the wicked belong only externally to the Church."‡ Again: "That the ungodly, whether secret or manifest, do not really belong to the Church, considered as to its invisible character—namely, as consisting of its essential and permanent members, the elect, predestinate, and sanctified, who are known unto God only, I admit."§

Möehler, the most philosophical of the modern advocates of Romanism, endeavours to unite with the Romish theory the entirely incongruous element of an invisible, as distinguished from the visible, Church. The former consists of true believers, and is after all the true Church. It by no means follows, he says, because a man professes the true faith, that he is "absolutely a member of the true Church." "The Catholics hold that besides the true visible Church, there is a true invisible Church, and that a man may be excluded from the latter, while he is included in the former." It is of the members of this invisible Church, he says: "It is not to be doubted that Christ

* Enchirid. Christian. Institut. fol. 65, quoted by Dr. Jackson in his Treatise on the Church, p. 51.

† Quoted by Gerhard, Loci Theolog. tom. xi. p. 59.

‡ Treatise on the Church, vol. i. p. 28. He refers in a note to Field on the Church, b. 1. chap. 7-8., and adds, "The Romish Theologians generally concur in the same doctrine. Tournely says, Solos electos ac justos ad nobiliorem ecclesiam partem, quæ anima ipsius dicitur et in virtutibus consistit, reprobos vero et malos ad illius dumtaxat corpus, hoc est externam fidei professionem ac eorum sacramentorum participationem pertinere. De Eccl. qu. 1. art. 2."

§ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 143.

maintains his Church in vigour by means of those who live by faith in him, who belong to him in spirit and heart, and who long for his appearing. It is not to be doubted these are the bearers of his truth, and that without them it would certainly be forgotten or corrupted, or merged into empty formalism. It is assuredly these, the members of the invisible Church, who have been transformed into the image of Christ, who are the supporters of the visible Church. The wicked in the Church, the unbelieving formalists, dead members on the body of Christ, could not for a day sustain the Church even in its outward form.”*

The true doctrine concerning the Church, may, therefore, be fairly said to have universal consent in its favour. It has forced itself on the recognition even of its opponents. It can be traced through all ages, and is visible under all the corruptions to which it has been subjected. It has been distinctly avowed by all the witnesses of the truth, and unwillingly or unconsciously admitted by those most interested in denying it. The very pretensions and usurpations of the visible Church, are founded on the assumption that the true Church is the communion of saints, the body of Christ, animated by his Spirit. Such, therefore, is its true nature; and this is the point in which all the controversies between Romanists and Protestants meet, and in which they find their true solution.

Recapitulation.—That body to which the attributes, promises,

* Anch ist nicht zu zweifeln, dass Christus seine Kirche mittels Derjenigen in siegreichen Kraft erhält, die in seinen glauben leben, ihm mit geist und sinn angehören, und seiner wiederkunft sich erfreuen; es ist nicht zu zweifeln, dass diese die Träger seiner Wahrheit sind, und dass ohne sie dieselbe zuverlässig vergessen, in lauter Irrthum übergehen, oder in hohles, leeres Formelwesen sich verwandeln würde. Ia gewiss Diese, die Unsichtbaren, die in das Bild Christi Uebergangenen und Vergöttlichten sind die Träger der sichtbaren Kirche; die Bösen in der Kirche, die Ungläubigen, die Scheinheiligen, todte Glieder am Leibe Christi würden keinen Tag die Kirche, selbst in ihrer Aeusserlichkeit zu bewahren vermögen. “Symbolik, oder Darstellung der dogmatischen gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten.” Sixth edition, p. 425.

“Various as are the oppositions and distinctions, by which these separating principle of the Reformation may be characterized, it is really the doctrine concerning the essence of the Church where the difference is concentrated, where the one party must affirm what the other must deny; and whence alone all other points of difference can be understood in their true import.—Baur's Gegensatz des Katholicismus und Protestantismus, p. 537.

and prerogatives of the Church belong, is not a visible organized society, but the communion of saints, the blessed company of faithful people, scattered abroad through the earth. This is proved, 1. From the constant use of the word *church* in the New Testament. According to the Scriptures, all mankind are in a estate of sin and misery. To redeem them from that condition, God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life. By his word and Spirit he calls men to repent of their sins, and to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Those who obey this vocation (*κλησις*) are "the called;" (*οἱ κλητοι*, *οἱ ἐκκληστοι*) a people called out of the world, distinguished from Jews, Pagans, and all others who do not obey this heavenly vocation. They constitute the Church. In its Christian, or religious sense, the word *Church*, always in Scripture designates the called collectively considered; either the whole number of them in heaven and on earth, or all on earth considered as a whole, or all in a particular city, or even in a family. It is not disputed that the *ἐκκλησια* consists of the *κλητοι*, and it cannot be disputed that the *κλητοι* are those who obey the call to repentance and faith. The Church, therefore, consists of penitent believers.

2. Hence every body of men addressed in Scripture as a Church, are called believers, saints, the sanctified in Christ Jesus, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling. They are the children of God, the faithful in Christ Jesus. The fact that any man is in the Church is a sufficient reason, in the view of the sacred writers, for addressing him as a believer. It is true many profess to be believers, who have not faith; and it is equally true that many profess to be members of the Church, who are not its members. But it is nevertheless plain that in professing to be a member of the Church, a man does profess to be a believer, and therefore the Church consists of believers. That is its idea. That the faith assumed to exist in all who constitute the Church, is not mere speculative assent; and that the sonship attributed to its members, is not an external adoption, is evident, because all who are addressed as believers and the sons of God, are also addressed as in fellowship with Christ, and partakers of his Spirit. They

are said to be washed, sanctified, and justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. The wicked are called the Church, or are said to be included in it, in no other sense, and on no other grounds, than that they are called saints, and are said to be the children of God and partakers of eternal life. They are denominated according to their profession, and not their real character.

3. All the descriptions given of the Church in the Bible, suppose it to consist of true believers, for to no others are those descriptions applicable. No others stand in the relation to Christ which the Church is said to sustain to him. The Church is his body; it is a partaker of his life, animated by his Spirit, and indissolubly associated with him in suffering and in glory. This is true of none but sincere believers. The Church is the temple of God; none but those in whom God dwells by his Spirit, can constitute that temple. Wherever the Spirit of God dwells there is knowledge, holiness, and peace. The ignorant, the unholy, and the despairing or slavish, are therefore not his temple. The Church is the family of God; it is composed of his children. But none are the children of God but those who have the Spirit of adoption, who love, reverence, trust, and obey their heavenly Father, and therefore none others belong to the Church which is his family. The Church is the flock of Christ; it consists of his sheep, who hear his voice, who follow his steps, and confide in his protection. The Church is the bride of Christ, it consists of those who love him and devote themselves to his service; of those whom he loves, and for whom he gave himself that he might sanctify and cleanse them, and present them to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing. Such descriptions can be applied to none but true believers, and therefore such believers constitute the Church of which the Scriptures thus speak.

4. The attributes which belong to the Church can be predicated of none but true believers, and therefore they must constitute the Church. The Church is holy; it is a communion of saints. Hypocrites and unbelievers are not holy, and consequently are not members of that holy communion. The holiness attributed to the Church in Scripture, includes inward

purity and outward consecration to God. In neither of these senses can holiness be predicated of any who are not true believers. None others are renewed after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness; and none others are really consecrated to his service. The men of the world are devoted to the world; they do not belong to the peculiar people whom God has called out of the world and set apart for himself.

None but true believers have that unity of faith which belongs to the Church, and which is the effect of the teaching of the divine Spirit. No others are united in those bonds of love and fellowship, with which the Spirit of God binds together the members of Christ's body. None others have that sympathy with their Head and with their fellow members which invariably and necessarily follows from union with Christ. This communion of saints is the holy, catholic Church: all within its pale are saved, and all beyond it perish. It includes all the holy, all who are in Christ, all true believers, wherever they may be found, of every name or denomination. To this mystical body of Christ alone belongs that perpetuity which is an attribute of the Church. This is the Church which is apostolical, or historically one. It is one and the same Church which the apostles founded. It traces up its descent to Christ, the Head, without a breach or flaw. It has never ceased to be. It has never ceased to be holy and to be orthodox. Though often dispersed and hidden from the sight of men, it has continued in the sight of God, who has ever reserved to himself a company that never bowed the knee unto Baal. Every external Church has lapsed from faith and purity. But the true Church lives on, in mystic union with its Head, receiving and giving life, from age to age.

5. The promises made to the Church have never been, and, according to the Scriptures, never can be fulfilled to any other class of persons than true believers. Therefore, the Church must consist of such believers. Christ has promised to be with his Church to the end of the world, to guide it by his Spirit into the belief and obedience of the truth; to guard it from all the assaults of Satan, preserving it from inward corruption and outward apostacy; thus keeping it by his mighty power, through faith, unto eternal life. To all the members of

his body, he gives these assurances of instruction, sanctification, and salvation. If the Church therefore is an external society, of which all professors of the true religion are members, irrespective of their character, then all such professors must not only be saved, but they must be assumed, contrary to the fact, to be holy and orthodox.

As our Lord has promised to be ever present with his Church, guiding her by his Spirit into the knowledge of his truth, and making her his organ in the instruction of the nations, he has also promised to authenticate her doctrines, and to ratify her decisions. The teaching of the true people of God, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, is the teaching of Christ. Those in communion with them, are in communion with God; and they who have no fellowship with the saints, have no fellowship with Christ. The teaching of no external society, however, is the teaching of Christ, nor does communion with any such society imply communion with God. Therefore no such society can be the Church.

6. The Church, as is conceded, consists of those who are in Christ. Whatever, therefore, is the condition of union with Christ, is the condition of membership in the Church. It is one of the plainest of all the doctrines of the Bible, that faith is the bond of union with Christ in such sense, that no unbeliever is united to him, and that all who have faith are the members of his body. Consequently if the Church consists of those who are in Christ, it consists of true believers. If Christ, by his once offering up of himself, has purged away our sins, and opened for us free access unto God; if every man, in any part of the world, who hears the gospel, is authorized at once to draw near to God, with full assurance of pardon, sanctification, and eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord, then must the Church embrace all such true believers. Nothing can be necessary to union with the body, but union with the head. We need no other priest than Christ to bring us near to God. We need no other mediator or advocate. Our access to the Father and to the merits of the Redeemer, is not suspended on the ministrations of any human priesthood; but we all have access, through Christ, by one Spirit, unto God. None, therefore, can be excluded from the Church, who by faith is united to Christ and reconciled to God; and faith

being essential to union with Christ, it is essential to membership in the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.

7. This has really been the faith of God's people in all ages. This view of the nature of the Church is clearly presented in the Scriptures; it was retained uncorrupted for a while, and when a different view was gradually introduced and established, the true doctrine was still not only often asserted and defended, but was unavoidably and unconsciously admitted by those who most strenuously denied it. That the Church consists of true believers is conceded by the Church demanding the profession of faith and repentance from all those whom she admits to membership. It is conceded by her always addressing her members as believers. It is implied in all her services for the living and over the dead, that those within her pale are the children of God and fellow heirs with Jesus Christ, and all out of her communion are without God and without hope in the world. By the whole Church, as of necessity, the avowal is made in every age and in every language, that the Church is the communion of saints, the blessed company of faithful people. This doctrine is holy and healthful. It tends to promote holiness and brotherly love. It is the palladium of civil and religious liberty. It elevates the people from thralldom to the priesthood, by teaching that Christ has made us all kings and priests unto God. As this doctrine demands true faith, sincere repentance, and holy living, as the conditions of membership in the Church, and denies the possibility of the impenitent and unbelieving being members of Christ's body, it has always been asserted when the Church was pure, and overlooked or denied when the Church became corrupt.

If, on the other hand, the Church is an external society, and profession and submission are the conditions of membership, then it follows: 1. That all the members of this society will be saved. 2. That all out of its communion must perish.

But as salvation supposes faith, holiness, and the forgiveness of sin, it follows that this society must possess exclusively the truth, the means of purification, and the power to forgive sins. This supposes: 1. That the Church is infallible. 2. That her sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato*. 3. That her officers can absolve from sin.

These attributes and prerogatives of this external body, presuppose: 1. That the Holy Spirit dwells in the bishops in virtue of their office and succession, guiding them into all truth. 2. That the gift of the Spirit is conveyed by the imposition of their hands, and that by "the grace of orders" thus imparted, the sacraments are rendered efficacious as channels of grace, and power is given to forgive sin. 3. That Christian ministers are truly priests, the mediators of the people, who can come to God only through them.

The visible Church is thus Christ. What she teaches he teaches; what she decides, he ratifies; what she does, he renders effectual. The same obedience, trust, and reverence are, therefore, due to the Church as to Christ, because he pervades and controls all her actions by his Spirit; or, as the philosophical school of Romanists and Protestants unite in saying, because the Logos is incarnate in the Church. Departure, therefore, from the doctrine of the visible Church, in any point, is heresy; separation from her is, of necessity, separation from Christ. From all this follows: 1. On the part of the people, the duty of absolute submission. Any disobedience to the Church is rebellion against Christ. 2. On the part of the Church, the ability and the right to rule with sovereign authority over all persons and things. Any infallible body is, of necessity, supreme. It must have the right to determine the sphere within which its judgments are to be regarded as the judgments of God. The State is consequently entirely subordinate to an infallible Church. It must and ought to be so. 3. It also follows from these premises that persecution is a duty. Heresy is not only a sin against God, but a crime against society. Liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment suppose an essential equality among men in their means of knowing the truth. In the presence of an infallible Church we can have no more right to judge for ourselves, than in the presence of God. The Church, therefore, having the ability, infallibly, to determine what is heresy, is bound to suppress it.*

* This is so obvious a deduction, that even Mr. Palmer, though nominally a Protestant, insists that it is right to suppress false doctrine and dissent by the power of the sword.

It thus appears that everything depends on the answer given to the question, What is the Church? If the attributes, prerogatives, and promises which pertain to the body of Christ, belong to the external visible society of professing Christians, then the whole Romish system follows by a logical necessity. Anglicanism is an illogical abortion. It violates the principle of its own life. There is no *via media* between Protestantism and Popery; and there is no middle ground between Popery and the universal theocracy of Hildebrand. It is absurd that men should contend with God, or with God's vicegerent. If the salvation of all men is in the hands of the priesthood, and if that priesthood is infallibly guided in all their decisions as to matters of faith and practice, then, by the two most commanding of human motives, conscience and the desire of salvation, are men held in absolute subjection. If this doctrine is true, all half-way measures are paltry tamperings with immortal interests.

This portentous system has not only the power of logical consistency, it overawes the imagination by its magnificence. Think of a body of men infallible as teachers and judges; the dispensers of the Holy Ghost, regenerating all who come to them, filling them with the Spirit of God by the imposition of hands, gathering round them a society, all whose members are the children of God and the heirs of eternal life; a society which stands out as a refuge to all nations and from all evils, guided by Christ's own vicar, to whom all kings are but children, conscience bound, on the peril of eternal perdition, to implicit obedience. What does the millennium, or Christ reigning personally on earth, promise more than this?

Another element of power in this system is its verisimilitude—its likeness to the truth. Bossuet says: The Church is visible, the Church is perpetual, the Church teaches the truth, are the three immovable pillars of Romanism. No Protestant denies either of these propositions. All that Romanists assert of the Church is, in one sense, true. It is true, the Church is one, is holy, is divinely guided, is perpetual, is visible, that out of her pale there is no salvation, and within it no perdition. All this is true, and therefore has the power of truth over the reason, the heart, and conscience. It is true of the Church, but not

of what they call the Church, which is only one form of the world. It is, however, by this verisimilitude, this truth-like sound and appearance, that Romanism exerts its power. So Satan takes the form of an angel of light, so like, and yet so different.

Just in proportion to the logical consistency and magnificence of this system, if true, are its concrete enormity and horror, if false. Then for infallible guides we have erring men; for truth, heresy; for holiness, sin; for regeneration, outward cleaning; for salvation, the more certain perdition; for the Lord Jesus Christ, the real Teacher, Sanctifier and Redeemer, antichrist, who deceives, degrades, and enslaves the nations by pretending to be Christ, while he is really the man of sin, and son of perdition. The doctrine then that the Church is a visible organized society, whose rulers, in virtue of their office, are authorized to determine what all men must believe and do, and have the power to forgive sin, which forgiveness can only be obtained through their absolution, granted on specific confession, is the constituent principle of that power which has debauched and enslaved the world; the power which sits in the temple of God, declaring itself to be God, claiming divine power and divine homage. It is the mystery of iniquity, sustained by the working of Satan, with all power, the power of logic, the power of plausibility, the power of superstition, the power of an evil conscience, the power of the sword, and the power of lying wonders. It is a power which has held and will hold the world in subjection, until the Lord shall consume it with the Spirit of his mouth, and the brightness of his coming.

Objections.—Of the objections commonly urged against the doctrine that the Church is the communion of saints, consisting of true believers, those only which demand notice in this connection are—First, that as the societies at Ephesus, Corinth and Rome were undoubtedly churches, and as they were composed of insincere, as well as sincere professors of faith, it follows that the Church does not consist exclusively of true believers. This objection has already been answered. The fact referred to proves only that those who profess to be members of the Church, are addressed and treated as members. In the same manner those who professed to be believers, saints, the children of God, are constantly in Scripture addressed as

being what they professed to be. If therefore addressing a body of men as a Church, proves that they are really its constituent members, addressing them as believers and saints must prove they all have true faith, and are really holy. The objection, therefore, is founded on a false assumption, viz: that men are always what they are addressed as being; and it would prove far more than the objector is willing to admit, viz: that all the members of the external Church are saints and believers, and would thus establish the very doctrine the objection is adduced to refute.

A second and more plausible objection is founded upon those parables of our Lord, in which the kingdom of heaven is compared to a net containing fish, good and bad, and to a field in which tares grow together with the wheat. As the Church and kingdom of heaven are assumed to be the same, it is inferred that if the one includes good and bad, so must also the other.

In answer to this objection it may be remarked, in the first place, that it is founded on a false assumption. The terms "kingdom of God" and "Church," are not equivalent. Many things are said of the one, which cannot be said of the other. It cannot be said of the Church that it consists not in meat and drink, but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Nor can it be said that the Church is within us; neither are we commanded to seek first the Church; nor is the Church said to be at hand. All these forms of expression occur in reference to the kingdom of God, but are inapplicable to the Church. It is evident, therefore, that is not safe to conclude that something is true of the Church, simply because it is a parcel of the kingdom of God.

Again, it is a sound rule in the interpretation of parables, not to infer from them what they were not designed to teach. The parable of the ten virgins was designed to enforce the duty of watchfulness. We are not to infer from five of the virgins being wise and five foolish, that just one half of professing Christians are to be saved, and one half lost. Nor can we fairly conclude, from the foolish virgins having lamps, oil, and light as well as the wise, that true believers can fall from grace. Whether these things are so, cannot be determined by this parable, because these are evidently not what Christ intended

to teach. As, therefore, the parables in question were not intended to teach us the condition of membership in the kingdom of heaven, they cannot decide that point. In one place Christ asserts didactically, that regeneration by the Holy Spirit is essential to admission into his kingdom; shall we infer in direct opposition to this assertion, that his kingdom includes both the regenerate and unregenerate, because he compares it to a net containing fishes, good and bad? Certainly not, because the comparison was not designed to teach us what is the condition of membership in his kingdom. This, however, is the precise point in dispute. What is the Church? What is the condition of membership in the body of Christ? Does his body consist of all the baptized, or of all true believers? As our Lord did not intend to answer these questions in those parables, they do not answer them. The design of each particular parable, is to be learned from the occasion on which it was delivered, and from its contents. That respecting the tares and the wheat, was evidently intended to teach that as God has not given us the power to inspect the heart, or to discriminate between the sincere and insincere professors of religion, he has not imposed on us the obligation to do so. That is his work. We must allow both to grow on together until the harvest, when he will effect the separation. This surely does not teach that what the Scriptures say of the wheat is to be understood of the tares. Others of these parables are obviously designed to teach that external profession or relations cannot secure the blessings of the kingdom of God. It is not every one who says, Lord, Lord, who is to be admitted into his presence. These parables teach that many of those who profess to be the disciples, and who, in the eyes of men, constitute his kingdom, are none of his. This is a very important lesson, but if we were to infer from the figure in which it is inculcated, that mere profession does make men members of Christ's kingdom, we should infer the very opposite from what he intended to teach. To learn the condition of membership in that kingdom, we must turn to those passages which are designed to teach us that point, to those which professedly set forth the nature of that kingdom, and the terms of admission into it.

This suggests a third remark in answer to the above objec-

tion. Whenever the kingdom of God means the same thing as the Church, it is expressly taught that admission into it depends on saving faith, or an inward spiritual change, and not on external rites or profession. The ancient prophets having predicted that after the rise and fall of other kingdoms, the God of heaven would set up a kingdom, the establishment of that kingdom became to his ancient people an object of expectation and desire. They were, however, greatly mistaken both as to its nature and the terms of admission into it. They had much the same notion of the kingdom of God that ritualists now have of the Church. They expected it to be, in its essential character, an external organization, and the condition of membership to be descent from Abraham, or the rite of circumcision. Our Lord did not simply modify this conception, by teaching that his kingdom, instead of being a visible organization, with kings and nobles, was to be such an organization, with cardinals and bishops; and that instead of circumcision, baptism was to secure membership. He presented a radically different idea of its whole nature. He taught that it was to be a spiritual kingdom, that it was to have its seat in the heart, its Sovereign being the invisible God in Christ; its laws such as relate to the conscience; its service the obedience of faith; its rewards eternal life. It is true he imposed upon his people the duty of confession, and other obligations which implied their manifestation to the world, and their external union among themselves. But these are mere incidents. His kingdom no more consists in these externals, than the nature of man in his name or colour. The kingdom of Christ is therefore spiritual, not only as opposed to secular, but as distinguished from external organization. Such organization is not the Church. The Bible speaks as familiarly of the kingdom of Satan as of the kingdom of Christ; men may be translated from the former to the latter without any change of their external relations. The kingdom of darkness is not a visible society, neither is the kingdom of light. Still the children of darkness are visible, being known by their works; they unite, and plan, and labour to promote their master's kingdom. In like manner the children of light are visible, being known by their fruits; they unite for the worship of Christ and the promotion of his cause. No one,

however, infers from the visibility of the wicked, that the kingdom of Satan as such is a visible society; neither can it be inferred from like premises that the kingdom of Christ is an external society. The question, which kingdom a man belongs to, the kingdom of Christ or the kingdom of Satan, the Church or the world, does not depend on any thing external, but on the state of his heart. It is a contradiction to say, the kingdom of Satan consists of good and bad, of the renewed and the unrenewed. It is no less a contradiction to say that the kingdom of Christ consists of the wicked and the good, the sincere and the insincere. The very idea of the one kingdom is that it consists of those who obey Satan, and that of the other that it is composed of those who obey Christ. If it is a contradiction to say there are good wicked men; it is no less a contradiction to say there are wicked good men. If Satan's kingdom consists of the wicked, Christ's kingdom consists of the good. Accordingly, whenever our Lord states the condition of admission into his kingdom, he declares it to be a change of heart, without which, he says, it is impossible any should enter it. "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit; marvel not that I said unto you, Ye must be born again." Whatever else this passage teaches, it certainly asserts the absolute necessity of an inward spiritual birth in order to membership in Christ's kingdom. If it be said that this spiritual birth is inseparable from baptism, and therefore, the baptized constitute the Church or kingdom of Christ, we answer, this concedes the whole question. If baptism regenerates, imparts a new spiritual nature, and makes men the children of God, and thus secures for them admission into the kingdom of God, or the Church, then of course that kingdom, in consisting of the baptized, consists of the regenerate; which is all Protestants contend for.

On another occasion the disciples came to our Lord, and asked: "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" He answered, "Verily, I say unto you, except ye be converted and

become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." There are no passages of an opposite character to those just quoted. That is, there are none which deny the necessity of this inward change, this true conversion unto God, in order to admission into his kingdom. There are none which teach that outward profession, or baptism, secures membership in that kingdom. The whole Bible asserts, that whether a man be circumcised or uncircumcised, baptized or unbaptized, unless he be born of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. "For in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." Paul, therefore, says, that no unholy person has any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Eph. v. 5.; Gal. v. 21.; 1 Cor. vi. 7-10. Wherever, therefore, the kingdom of God is synonymous with the Church, it is represented as consisting of those who recognize and obey Christ as their king, i. e., of true believers.

With this uniform representation of Scripture, the parables of our Lord are perfectly consistent. Those parables are to be interpreted just as we explain the language of the apostles to the Churches to which they wrote. They addressed those Churches as consisting of faithful brethren, of the children of God, of the sanctified in Christ Jesus, and yet they exhort them to cast out their unholy or impure members. This does not mean that a company of believers, consists partly of unbelievers; or that a communion of saints consists partly of the unsanctified. It merely means that those who profess to be saints and are manifestly wicked should be disowned as saints. The same principle, viz: that men are designated according to their profession, marks the parables of our Lord. Those who profess to be his kingdom are called his kingdom. His saying, that his kingdom is like a net containing fish, good and bad, does not teach that the members of Satan's kingdom are also members of the kingdom of Christ. It simply teaches that among those who profess to be his subjects, and to constitute his kingdom, some are sincere and some are insincere, and that the separation between the two classes cannot be made until the last day.

ART. II.—*The Bible in the Counting-House.* A Course of Lectures to Merchants. By H. A. Boardman, D.D. Philadelphia : Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853.

EVERY advance of our race beyond barbarism implies and develops new occupations, classes, relations, and responsibilities among men. This is one of those propositions which need only to be stated to secure universal acceptance. It hence follows that Christianity, being a religion for universal man, must be capable of meeting him in these new, ever-varying, and complex relations, and of prescribing adequate rules for his guidance therein. In itself, and in its essential principles, it is evermore one and the same—like its Author, unchangeable, because it is perfect. The faith of God's elect—the faith once delivered to the saints, by which they have lived, and died, and triumphed in all generations, is one. All true Christians, in every age, have clung to those great truths which constitute Christianity, and which found salvation on the grace of God in Christ, as for the life of their souls. These truths, with greater or less accuracy and explicitness, have ever been held and professed by all real believers. They are the common and inalienable property of the Church catholic and universal, understood not as limited to any visible organization, but as comprising all and only the “sanctified in Christ Jesus.” Viewing the Church in this light, the evangelical system can endure, as no other system can, that great test of catholicity which has been so earnestly pressed in some quarters, that it has been held *semper, ubique, ab omnibus*.

As this religion is one objectively in the truths which compose it, so it is one subjectively, or in its effects upon the hearts, consciences, intellects, and lives of those who embrace it, i. e., believe, love, and obey it. These effects must be and are essentially the same in all. The diversities in the effects of Christianity upon different persons arise from the various degrees of imperfection, in the faith, obedience, love, purity, with which they receive the doctrine of Christ, and from the various forms and degrees of antagonism to the Christian life, originally existing, or still remaining in the souls of the converted.

Nevertheless, it is past all question that the essential characteristics, which make up Christian piety, or which flow from it, are the same in all, however they may be modified in their workings or manifestations by the peculiarities of individuals, classes, or sects: just as human nature is essentially one, made up of the same great elements, although endlessly diversified in its aspects, by national, provincial, classical, educational, religious, and personal peculiarities, and by the numberless, palpable, and undefinable influences acting in ways manifold upon it. No one doubts that all Christians are such by faith in Christ as their atoning Mediator and justifying righteousness; that thus love to God is shed abroad in their hearts; that with love are joined filial fear, reverence and devotion; that they commune with God in habitual prayer; that they make it their great business to mortify sin and live unto God; that they love other Christians, and desire the good of all men; that they exercise themselves to keep consciences void of offence towards God, and towards man; that they deny, distrust, and abase themselves, while they exalt their God and Saviour; that they renounce the world for Christ, and live by the hope of heavenly glory which the gospel inspires. Many may show some or all these traits very feebly, and sometimes deformed by stains of imperfection, which even cause the name of God to be blasphemed. But still, if the Bible is to be believed, or the universal conviction of the Christian Church is to be regarded, it is beyond all doubt, that, in some degree at least, all Christians have them.

But while Christian truth is one, and Christian piety is one, always and everywhere, yet because of this very unity, they are as manifold in their requirements and influence, as the diversified states and relations of the men upon whom they operate. The sun is always the same. Its rays are always the same. Yet they produce one effect upon a clouded, another upon a cloudless sky—one upon an opaque, another upon a transparent substance. Upon the face of the same earth, according to its shifting attitudes towards this same sun, it gives day and night, spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Even so, the one religion of the gospel presents its side to each of the varied and ever varying conditions and attitudes of men,

who all alike have essentially the same human nature; who are always and everywhere alike, by nature, rational, moral, accountable, sinful beings: and, when united to Christ, become one in him; having one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God, and Father, one hope of their calling, one celestial inheritance. The same fear and love of God, the same hearty obedience to his law, and devotion to his glory involve one set of duties in parents, another in children; one in rulers, another in subjects; one in employers and masters, another in employees and servants; one in church officers, another in the Christian people. All this is obvious. That religion could not be one, which, while it demands evermore the same fealty to God, did not at the same time require, as involved in that fealty, services on the part of men, diversified according to their circumstances, capacities, relations, and opportunities. Accordingly, we find that the uniform method of apostolic teaching is, first to set forth the great truths and duties with respect to God, which lie at the foundation of salvation by grace and of experimental religion; and then, by way of practical inference, to prescribe the personal and relative offices due from men in their various conditions and relations. And while they prescribe the duties, they also warn and fortify believers against the temptations peculiar to their various circumstances and avocations.

This being so, it is inevitable that the multitudinous occupations and relations which arise with an advancing civilization, should require new applications of the great principles of Christianity to enforce the peculiar duties, or guard against the new temptations, to which they give birth. If men have so far got beyond the savage state, as to distribute their labours to an extent that leads to a mutual exchange of commodities, by buying and selling, then our religion exacts scrupulous veracity and honesty in such transactions, and condemns all fraud, all false weights and balances, as an abomination to the Lord. If with the consequent growth of traffic and commerce, the system of free and extended credits arises, it warns us that the "borrower is servant of the lender," and pronounces it iniquitous to contract debts which there is no reasonable prospect of being able to pay, enjoining us to "owe no man anything but by love to serve one another." And as mercantile life abounds in

temptations to forget God and all dependence upon him, to trust in the multitude of riches, and in the skill and other advantages which men possess to accumulate and protect them, so the word of God warns them: "Go to now, ye that say, To-day or to-morrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell and get gain; whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow. For what is your life? It is even a vapour, that appeareth for a little time and then vanisheth away. For that ye ought to say, If the Lord will, we shall live, and do this, or that." So to those who thrive upon oppression, and wax rich by uncompensated toil, he utters the burning denunciation, "your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days."

Few have duly reflected upon the prodigious increase of mercantile business in our country during the last few years. Few even suspect how vast is the increase of the commercial class, and of the numerous other classes who are directly or indirectly in their service, or otherwise reticulated with them. It has augmented in a sort of geometric ratio, until a large part of the people of our older Northern States belong to the manufacturing and trading class, or are engaged in its service, or immediately dependent upon it. In other parts of the country too, the increase has been, if not proportionate, at all events vast. Various causes have contributed thus to render us a nation of traffickers. All traffic has its origin in the simple fact, that in proportion as men confine themselves to single departments of labour, they acquire an aptitude and facility therein, which enable them, with a given amount of exertion, to produce in vastly greater abundance and perfection the various articles of human subsistence and comfort, than would otherwise be possible. With the progress of civilization, this division of labour goes forward indefinitely, ever reaching minuter, and still minuter subdivisions. Hence arises and ever increases the mutual exchange of commodities, on this simple principle, that each one can obtain a larger supply of the comforts of life, by working exclusively in one vocation, and, with the surplus products of that, paying for what else he desires, than by attempt-

ing to produce all himself. Such an attempt would reduce him at once to the savage state, in which the utmost toil would only yield a coarse, scanty, miserable subsistence. Hence the first step of emergence from pure savageism, lies in the rudest forms of barter, resulting from some little distribution of labour, or inequality in its fruits, either fortuitous or intentional. As these exchanges increase in number and complexity, they necessitate and call into being money, the great medium and instrument of exchange; because it is made a measure of salable value. With the increase of traffic, and of money, its great instrument, and with the extension of these interchanges between the most distant climes over the whole earth, the business of facilitating the transfer and exchange of money itself, at the least expense, becomes immense; bankers become the nobles of the land. In the present high, perhaps excessive and dangerous commercial tendency of our country and Britain, the Exchange is the real seat of empire, and they who preside there are the potentates who, in the most vital points, rule it. For "money answereth all things."

These statements will scarcely be deemed extravagant, when we remember that governments are so often dependent upon bankers for funds to prosecute their schemes, and that it is so often for the Barings and the Rothschilds to say whether they shall have the sinews of war, or the means of prosecuting their internal improvements, or other projects of aggrandizement; and that our own government goes to Wall Street to turn its own obligations into money. What legislation of any sort has exercised an influence upon the condition of our country, at all so potent, as the vast lines of Railway that have been recently constructed? And whence, but from the same hive of money-changers, have the means been procured to build these avenues, now stretching almost beyond measurement, costing hundreds upon hundreds of millions of dollars? Withal, the power of these huge corporations is immense and ubiquitous. It is felt in every sphere, in business, in legislation, in all the affairs of life, in every part of the land. Among the influences that have increased traffic and mercantile business beyond all former example, these may justly claim the pre-eminence, and this, for the very simple reason, that by facilitating and cheapening

travel and the transportation of commodities, they stimulate that production, and mutual exchange between all parts of our land, and all parts of the world, which give being to all commerce and mercantile business. The vast improvements in navigation, by steam and sail, have also contributed their share to the same result. And in aid of all these comes the electric telegraph.

Next comes the prodigious development of manufacturing skill and enterprise. Here, too, steam is the great motor, and in thousands of shops, and in the production of numberless fabrics, is made to perform the work of an hundred hands. The articles of convenience, comfort, or luxury thus fabricated, defy all computation. They make an immense addition to the stock of merchantable wares, and the range of mercantile business. Not only so, but the management of these colossal establishments themselves, often requires vast business transactions, high financial skill, and the largest counting-rooms. And since, by the use of steam, they can be located wherever convenience dictates, vast numbers are now made to swell the population and business of cities, great and small, which otherwise had never been built, or had been placed in some mountain gorge, with a rude hamlet of operatives around, as distant as possible from metropolitan, or mercantile associations.

A third source of this amazing growth of business is the rapid increase of our population, not merely by natural growth, but by foreign immigration. This has flowed in beyond all precedent, for the last few years. They have added vastly to our consumers and producers, and thus to trade and commerce. The mere business of transporting them hither indeed, is making not a few merchant princes. They, to a large extent, perform our menial services; they level our mountains and valleys. They enter the wild prairies and forests and turn them into luxuriant gardens and golden grain-fields, whose harvests are crowded into the great marts of commerce.

The last extraordinary stimulus to commercial pursuits within the past few years, which there is occasion to specify, is the discovery of the gold of California and Australia. The vast tide of emigration thither, together with the supply of the wants of a people flushed with the sudden accumulation of gold, and

destitute of everything else, has of itself generated a business, which probably would have tasked most of our commercial facilities at the time of the Revolution. The supplies of gold brought back in return, by increasing money and raising prices, has been the great basis which underlies and gives healthful stability and vigour to all other causes of this unexampled commercial activity and prosperity.

The grand result of all is, that mercantile business has been amplified, diversified, and rendered prosperous; and in every way has received an impulse and enlargement, beyond all former example. Towns, villages, cities, and especially, the great emporiums of trade, have both grown and multiplied, to an extent that has outstripped and confounded the imaginations of the most visionary speculators. These, with the occupations pursued in them, have an ascendancy and attractiveness before unknown. They are drawing the young in throngs into their charmed spheres of activity, while immense numbers of older men say, "Come, let us go to yonder city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell, and get gain." They send out influences for good or for evil over the whole country, which it is hard to overrate. They are bringing men into new, and unwonted, and broad relations of responsibility. They are filled up with all orders of men, from the top to the bottom of society; with the dregs of debasement which sink to the lowest deep, and the scum of dandies, charlatans, and genteel libertines that float on the surface—while mingled with the whole, are the vast body of the industrious, the enterprising, the sober, the thrifty, the intelligent, the refined, the good, and the great, the leaders and supporters of the Church and the state—the substantial material and cement, the pillars and the ornaments of the social edifice. The power of cities and of the commercial class in them, is increasing for good or for evil every day. How important then that Christian principle should permeate every sphere, and regulate all the practices of commercial life; that these cities become, not Sodoms, from which issues forth a brimstone pollution, first to corrupt, and then to consume our land; but Jerusalems, cities of God, whence go out streams of holy influence to purify and bless our nation!

This aspect of the case grows in importance as we consider the

strong taste for commercial pursuits which is inbred in the American people, and hurries the young from the most sequestered rural vales into the great centres of trade. Dr. Boardman says not less justly than forcibly, pp. 28-9:

“To no people has so fine a field been presented for the culture of rural tastes, nor such opportunities for enjoying the substantial comforts of a country life: but this is not to their liking. Agriculture is tame and passionless. Our young men must have more scope for ambition, more society, and, above all, employments which will bring in quicker and ampler profits. It is no objection with them that the hazards of commerce are far greater and its temptations more insidious; that they may drudge like slaves, and have little or nothing to show for it; that a very large proportion of the merchants in every city fail, and *they* may fail too. They admit all this, but it is more than counterpoised by the spectacle of huge fortunes made in a day. The tales of sudden wealth, which go out from our Atlantic cities, are rehearsed in the hamlets of the interior with something of the fascination excited in the olden time by the feats of crusaders and knights-errant. The brilliant speculations we so often see chronicled in the newspapers, have, no doubt, decided the question of duty with many a youth, who was considering to what occupation he should devote himself. In any event, there is no village in the land which does not contribute its recruits to that vast array of clerks and junior partners, which constitutes so important a part of the effective force of commerce. If a foreigner, curious in such matters, wished to compare the natives of the different portions of the Republic, down to the remotest savannahs and the most secluded valleys, the best thing he could do, would be to attend a general meeting of one of our ‘Mercantile Library Associations.’ From every quarter the tide sets with a steady flow towards the depots of commerce. And so powerful is this current, that we must make up our minds, for the present, to see the greater part of our children drawn into it.”

So far as our own observation goes, this is no exaggeration. It serves to show the vast numbers, influence, and importance of the mercantile body, and the extent to which they are intertwined with all parts, all interests, and all the

people of our country. Nothing could more decisively show the pressing need of bringing the laws and usages of mercantile life under a Christian regimen.

The recent enormous growth of trade and manufactures, has given rise to an intensity of competition in trade altogether unexampled. Rapidly as the field of legitimate commerce widens, the number who, tempted by the golden lure, crowd into it, increases still faster. Hence arises the necessity of a more close and entire, and even slavish application to business, in order to ward off the encroachments of rivals, and ensure a lucrative business. Thus the temptation becomes strong and urgent to be totally absorbed in the pursuit of gain; to lose sight of every thing else, and make Mammon their god. With this insane thirst for gold many burn out all moral and religious principle, and sear all the better natural instincts, affections, and sensibilities. And if they are guiltless of that infidelity which provides not for one's own, they often come to neglect all other duties to their families, to God, man, and themselves. Such are some of the perils of that overweening devotion to business to which the present course of things spurs and goads the merchant.

But another effect of this fierce competition is, that it presents extraordinary motives to dishonesty. The temptations to fraud, to a "false weight and false balance," are indeed as old as trade itself. But it is obvious that the more vehement and pressing the competition in business, the more violent does the inducement become to thwart and outdo rivals, by unworthy artifices. They will grow more fertile in the invention of such artifices, either to pass off a spurious or inferior article in place of the genuine thing professedly sold, or to *drum up* or decoy customers by fraud, slander, or demoralizing allurements. This is one form of peculiar mercantile temptation, and source of stupendous mercantile iniquity in our new state of things.

Another consequence of this vast commercial expansion is, that poverty and degradation grow apace with wealth, luxury, and refinement, and in close contiguity and relationship to them. Indeed, it is by the skilful use of the labour of the poor, (a use mutually advantageous to all parties,) that wealth

is acquired. They are the bones, sinews, and muscles of trade. Hence, with the amazing increase of cities, and of opulent tradesmen, manufacturers and capitalists within them, there is a still greater increase of that dependent class, who can procure their daily bread only by daily toil. And with the unequalled provocatives to lust and depraved appetite, the nurseries and hotbeds of vice, which spring up in our cities as spontaneously as weeds from the earth, there is a constant downward tendency towards savage and even bestial debasement. Thus side by side with the ever multiplying movements of a wealth that baffles computation, are the signals of a poverty and a degradation so abject, that when we seem to have fathomed the lowest deep, a lower yet remains. The avenues adorned with lines of palaces which dazzle us by their splendour, and confound us in view of the unmeasured affluence of which they are the symbols, are but a moment's walk from the lanes and purlieus, the shanties, garrets, cells, and caverns, the large infected districts, where want, starvation, unalleviated woe, pestilence, infidelity, heathenism, drunkenness, debauchery, crime and violence, make a hell begun on earth. This, indeed, is nothing new in great cities. But the rapid growth and multiplication of such cities has increased these cancers in the very heart of society, with a rapidity of which few have been conscious. These countless swarms of the poor in our cities impose duties on their wealthy and prosperous townsmen, of the most weighty character. They are raising some of the most difficult problems for Christian zeal, wisdom and philanthropy. How shall this gigantic evil be confronted? All Christians must agree that the only radical cure for this and all other festering social maladies, is that gospel which is the power of God unto salvation. All socialistic remedies by the reconstruction of society, have power only to destroy. They can never build up. Evangelical religion alone can do the work, by first making the tree good that the fruit may be good. The question is, in what way, and by what channels, organizations, and agencies shall our city Christians be so enlisted as to cause the gospel most effectually to be preached to the poor, the degraded, and the outcast? It seems inevitable, in the present course of things, that the mind of the Church should

be more and more directed towards these subjects. Christian merchants need to be both guided and stimulated in relation to it. The Mission Sunday-schools of our city churches have done and are doing a great and blessed work. But this is far from meeting the full obligations of those to whom much is given, and of whom much will be required. No field of Home Missions is more urgent or difficult. Macaulay has hardly exaggerated, in saying that our modern civilization, if in no danger from the irruption of barbarian hordes from without, is in imminent danger from the barbarism it is nursing and rearing up within the great cities. The difficulties of the case are complicated by the fact that the lower strata of the population of our cities are mostly foreigners, who are either bigoted papists, or infidels and socialists. Already there is fear that Boston, the Pilgrim metropolis, will soon be under the control of foreigners! The condition of the municipal governments of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, has long been such as to excite the most serious alarm.

The vast increase of trade has in various ways been attended with most serious effects upon domestic life, and the observance of the Sabbath. Not only do the new agencies of transportation and travel by steam on sea and land extensively operate on the Sabbath, thus compelling some, and alluring more to desecrate the day, and deadening the public conscience to the sin of secularizing it; but the stringent pressure of business during the week, is pleaded by increasing multitudes as a good apology for prostituting the Sabbath to business or pleasure. Thus, through all the thoroughfares issuing from our great cities, on a summer's Sabbath, throngs go forth to pollute themselves and the whole surrounding country with their profane sports and diversions. While all this is no less demoralizing than inexcusable, there is a growing temptation to invade the Sabbath at points more vital—we mean in the families of Christian and church-going merchants. Owing to the immense expansion of business, their places of abode have generally become so distant from their counting-rooms, that they are little with their families, and especially at the principal meal of the day, except on Sunday. The temptation to make that the feast-day of the week, and to lose sight of its sanctity, in plea-

surable domestic and social excitement, is obvious. The empty seats in churches at the second service, the riding and walking for pleasure on the Sabbath, which are so much on the increase in this class of families, betray too clearly the painful result. We are undoubtedly nearing the point where one great issue will be whether the Scotch and Puritan, and we may say, the hitherto American idea of the Sabbath, according to which it is to be kept sacred to religious purposes, excepting only works of necessity and mercy; or the papal and continental idea of it, according to which, after attending public worship, it is to be deemed a sort of holiday, shall prevail. And a greater question in its whole bearings on the cause of religion and the welfare of our country, it is difficult to conceive. Here the Christian mercantile body have a high responsibility. Through their aid in no small degree, the evil is coming in as a flood. It is for them to stand as an adamant barrier against it. And their spiritual guides must bring these things within the scope of their inculcations.

In close neighbourhood to the Sabbath and family, comes the altered position of the clerks and apprentices in great commercial and manufacturing towns. Within the memory of most persons who have seen forty years, both these branches of business were commonly conducted on a scale of such moderation, that clerks and apprentices usually lived in the families of their employers, and were not merely during working hours, but at all times, under their responsible guardianship. Thus, although they left their homes at a most critical period of life, they still felt the corrective and moulding influence of the family, and of an authoritative supervision, only less than parental. In the colossal establishments of the present day, this is impracticable; and in those smaller concerns, where it might be practicable, it is unwelcome and unfashionable. The consequence is that they are taken, at the period of life most susceptible to temptation, from the sweet and pure influences of a rural, often a Christian home of parental care and sisterly love, and thrown into the tainted atmosphere of city hotels or boarding-houses, already filled with experts in metropolitan vice and dissipation. Unguarded and unrestrained here, is it wonderful that so many of them soon lose their ingenuous sim-

plicity of character and purity of habit, and learn to spend the night and the Sabbath in scenes of sensual mirth? that they soon throw the reins upon the neck of lust, and become victims, wrecks of intemperance and licentiousness? What havoc has thus been made with the ranks of our choicest youth, in the walks of commerce, to which the Christian families of the land have contributed their melancholy quota? It is plain that in this state of things the consciences of the mercantile class ought to be aroused to a sense of their obligations to this most interesting class, over whom it is in their power to exert so great and happy an influence. From among them are to come the future merchants and merchant-princes who shall conduct the commerce of the country. Not only are the dearest private affections and hopes bound up with them, but the most precious interests of society and the Church hinge upon the course they take and the characters they form. It is hard to overstate the importance of persuading Christian merchants to a faithful discharge of their stewardship in this particular; of inducing them to strain every nerve to fortify this class against the seductions of vice and infidelity, and to allure them by the attractions of the cross to the service of their Redeemer.

Here too, this subject finds a point of contact with nearly all the congregations and pastors of the land. There are few among the evangelical, and especially the Calvinistic congregations of the United States, whose ranks of young men or youth approaching manhood are not more than decimated to furnish recruits for the various classes engaged in commerce or manufactures in the cities. Many a rural pastor—and the writer of this is one of them—constantly sees the flower of his flock borne away to the great marts of commerce, by a current which no human power can resist. All such have a deep personal interest in the influences which surround and will shape the character and destiny of those for whose salvation they have unceasingly laboured and prayed. They desire their temporal and eternal well-being. And not this only; but they long to see them arrayed on the side of truth and holiness in these great centres of influence, where the forces of good and evil are gathered and marshalled in direct and dire conflict with each other. They desire, as all good men must

desire, to see them add their influence and resources to that body of pious and benevolent men, and that store of consecrated wealth, in our cities, which can shield them from the consuming vengeance of heaven, and which diffuse their conservative and purifying influence over the whole land.

It has thus become a matter of urgent necessity that the Christian ministry should meet this extraordinary state of things, and shed the light of Christian truth on all the pathways and windings, the exigencies and temptations of mercantile life. Many of these are novel, the products of the late unexampled growth of trade. We hold, indeed most tenaciously, that the main business of the Christian pastor is to lead his people to fellowship with God through Christ, and build them up in that faith, love, and hope, from which all moral and relative duties will come, as an outgrowth from this living root within. Yet this makes it none the less true, that the consciences of Christian men need to be quickened and enlightened in regard to the nature and obligation of those duties. This is peculiarly true in reference to innumerable things connected with traffic, where self-interest dulls or blinds the conscience, and a general adoption of, or connivance at, immoral practices, serves to gloss their enormity. All classes are apt to have a casuistry of their own, by which they justify maxims which accord with their own wishes and practices, while they are such as to be reprobated by every unbiassed mind. This needs to be exposed by the searching light of divine truth: especially does this light need to be applied to those new circumstances of temptation or peril, which have suddenly and imperceptibly arisen upon us, and in regard to which the mercantile class are quietly gliding into maxims and practices most unwarrantable and fatal.

We are not surprised, therefore, that Dr. Boardman was moved to attempt the contribution which we find in the volume before us, towards the supply of this want. An examination of the book satisfies us that he did not enter upon the work unbidden. Few men are by position and endowments so well prepared to understand the nature of the work that needed to be done, or to appreciate its importance. Few were so well fitted to do it, and none, we are persuaded, could have done it better. His whole ministerial life, now exceeding twenty years,

has been passed in one of the chief commercial cities, and in the midst of some of the first mercantile circles of the country. This and more than this is true of others. But we apprehend that few, if any, clergymen have been such close and accurate observers of all the habits, pursuits, methods, arts, views, temptations, and aspirations which enter into the daily life of the mercantile class, among whom they move, and to whom they minister. All see and hear enough to get some fragmentary and one-sided notions relative to some branches of the subject. But after all, their understanding of many of the practices discussed in this book, is so partial, that they would be in danger of missing their aim and failing to command the conscience, by denouncing unrealities, rather than actual entities, which are attested by the consciousness of those concerned as soon as they are stated. We are particularly struck with the accuracy and justness of the representations given of all the various attitudes of mercantile life which this book brings under review. This is a fundamental requisite, without which, the utmost ability in all other respects would have been of slight avail.

Closely allied to this are the strong good sense and judgment mingled with Christian fairness for which the author is justly reputed, which have contributed much to the usefulness of his highly successful pastorate, and will add much to the usefulness of this volume. The subjects here treated are of that peculiar kind that are apt to fare ill at the hands of preachers. They are apt to be passed in utter silence, or to be touched in that style of distant, dainty allusion, which is no better than silence; or to be made the marks for an indiscriminate denunciation which fails to reach the conscience, because of its manifest ultraism. Dr. Boardman never paralyzes his deliverances in this way. We have been struck with the carefulness and precision with which he distinguishes things that differ, and avoids the common error of denouncing things that are lawful, in order more effectually to proscribe the unlawful. This method defeats itself, among a class as intelligent as the merchants of our country. It is the common style of fanatical preachers, and impresses none but the ignorant, the enthusiastic, or the pharisaical. When Dr. Boardman has thus distinguished the unlawful thing in question, from other allowable things often confounded with it, he puts it in a form which

compels the consciences of all to take sides with him, and from this stand-point utters his denunciations and rebukes with resistless effect. Almost every chapter in the book furnishes some fine illustrations of this quality. In our judgment, here is one important condition of efficacy in all moral and religious teaching, and of all high ministerial influence. Many sermons, otherwise powerful, are made powerless by their indiscriminate-ness or their extravagance. Of course the same is true of many preachers. Some one has said, that "congregations will endure many faults in their pastors, but they will not long endure a want of common sense." Dr. Dwight observes, that according to his observation, nineteen-twentieths of the ministers dismissed in his day in New England, owed their dismissal to their own imprudence.

A third quality which will commend these lectures to the favour of the class for whom they are designed, is the chaste and elevated, yet forcible and popular style in which they are presented. As every man's style is but the reflection or outshining of his own mind, so Dr. Boardman's style reflects his own mental vigour, clearness, vivacity, industry, finish and taste. It abounds in apt illustrations, puts abstract principles in concrete, living forms; is relieved by salient points, and sparkling jets; it often rings with the notes of a genuine eloquence, and is enriched with copious and apposite facts, apparently noted for the purpose, in the course of an extensive reading. In our opinion, the author has adopted that felicitous style of treating these subjects, which will ensure the reading of his book by those for whom it is intended. As the lectures, when delivered, were eagerly attended by the most respectable merchants of all communions, so we think they will be read with delight and profit by multitudes of every Christian denomination throughout the country.

It is another advantage of these discourses, that, while their object is to brand with reprobation whatever in mercantile life or usages is condemned by the Bible, they are not mainly in a damnatory strain. They present in bright and attractive hues the model Christian merchant, in contrast to all the sordid and unchristian traits which are condemned and made to appear odious. All preaching which is largely censorious or

objurgatory, which, along with just condemnation of error and wickedness, fails to set forth the true and the good in commanding prominence and winning loveliness, will be comparatively powerless. It is not enough to awaken the fear of hell. The devils also believe and tremble. Beyond this, he who would be wise to win souls must

“Allure to brighter worlds and lead the way.”

As a manual or vade-mecum to place in the hands of tradesmen of all sorts, and of youth aspiring to the mercantile profession, this book fills a void in our literature. Those who are conversant with the perils of this class will feel that it is precisely what was needed, and that it promises to be widely useful. A single glance at the topics handled will indicate its drift. These are “the claims of the mercantile profession upon the pulpit; the rule of commercial rectitude; the true mercantile character; hasting to be rich; speculating; bankruptcy; principals and clerks; domestic life and literary culture of the man of business; the claims of the Sabbath upon merchants; the true riches; living to God.” We need not add that the author builds all upon Christ, and makes the whole subservient to evangelical piety. He constantly and strenuously insists that the grace of the gospel is the only true and perennial spring of even worldly morality; and that the most splendid virtues will, at the last day, be adjudged to be but splendid sins, unless they are vitalized by faith in Christ. We had marked for extract several powerful passages on this, as well as other subjects; but our limits compel us to conclude with the following passage, which presents the author’s own summation of his purposes and views in preparing the work.

“My object has been, to get the Bible installed in the Counting-House, as the only arbiter of duty, and the regulator of all the diversified concerns of commerce. The domain we have been traversing together, is that rather of morality than of theology. The whole burden of these discourses has been in the direction of practical godliness—the actual exemplification of veracity, integrity, diligence, moderation, and kindness, in the daily routine of traffic. And the ready conclusion which some auditors may deduce from these premises—the specula-

tion too rife in the walks of commerce wherever her masts or her warerooms are to be found—is, that a compliance with these precepts *is all that is required in order to SALVATION*: ‘this do, and thou shalt live.’ We derogate nothing from the intrinsic excellence nor the indispensable importance of these virtues, when we admonish you that this is a most serious and fatal error. The Bible challenges a control over all your relations and occupations, and exacts a rigid conformity to its pure ethics in every transaction, and even in every word and thought of your lives; but it is careful to apprise you of two things which are fundamental to the gospel system. One is, that all obedience, to be acceptable, must be animated by faith in the Redeemer and love to God: and the other is, that by no possibility can our own works avail to our pardon and salvation. ‘By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified.’ Our integrity may be unimpeachable, our lives may be radiant with acts of unostentatious charity, a whole community may unite in applauding our virtues; but if our hope of heaven have no better foundation than this, it is built upon the sand. For we must be saved either by works or by grace: the two cannot coalesce. ‘If by grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work.’ If we elect to try works instead of grace—to get to heaven through the merit of our own obedience—then, clearly, we must obey the Divine law *perfectly*: for an imperfect obedience can entitle no one to its rewards. But who can meet the full requisitions of a law which extends to the thoughts and intents of the heart, forbids the slightest improper feeling or emotion, and enjoins a holiness as immaculate as that of the seraphim before the throne? The thing is impossible. We can make no remote approximation to it. Human nature is radically diseased, and demands as radical a cure. The very examples which seem to approach nearest to the Scripture standard of morality, are not infrequently vitiated by a latent element of self-righteousness which must make them ‘an abomination in the sight of God.’ His eye is upon the heart; and *that* it is his own prerogative to renew.

‘The transformation of apostate man
From fool to wise, from earthly to divine
Is work for him that made him.’

“This work the Spirit of God accomplishes. It is an essential step in that free salvation which is the only alternative to the delusive and hopeless scheme of salvation by works. Simultaneously with this change, the Spirit convinces the sinner of sin, shows him the corruption of his heart, the imperfection of his obedience, the criminality of his unbelief; wakes up in his bosom an ingenuous sorrow for his sins; and constrains him, as an humble penitent, to cast himself upon the mercy of God in Jesus Christ. Trusting in the atoning blood and the finished righteousness of Christ for salvation, he obtains as a free gift, that plenary pardon which he never could have earned by his obedience, and that peace of mind which can be found no where in the universe but at the cross. Henceforward he ‘loves much’ because he has ‘much forgiven.’ He carries the spirit of true religion into his life, and faithfully, though still imperfectly, endeavours to keep the law of God. His integrity, truthfulness, and benevolence, now rest upon an impregnable basis. And the sentiment which animates his conduct, is no longer the mercenary temper of a servant, but the loving gratitude and loyalty of a child. He serves God, not that he may be saved, but *because* he is saved. And his obedience, consequently, is impressed with a breadth and a comprehension, a generosity and a cheerfulness, as remote as possible from the penurious homage he formerly rendered, while trying to merit salvation by his own works—a fellow-labourer therein, though of a more dignified character, with the ascetic iterating his parrot-like devotions in a damp cell, with the Mohammedan on his burning pilgrimage to Mecca, and with the Hindoo swinging through the air by a hook inserted in the sinews of his body. This is the true place of practical morality in the Christian scheme—not the foundation, but the superstructure; not the roots and the trunk, but the foliage and the fruit—the effect and evidence of salvation, not its procuring cause. A due apprehension of this truth would dispel the precarious hopes to which very many are now trusting, and turn off their thoughts from their own imaginary or superficial goodness, to Him who is equally able and willing to ‘save to the uttermost all who come unto God by him.’ Just in proportion as the mercantile classes are brought under the influence of a genuine

faith in Christ, will the Bible exert its sacred prerogative in their Counting-Houses, and their current secularities effloresce with the graces which cement and embellish the social state. Herein too consists the panoply they require for an exchange of worlds—that preparation for ‘retiring’ ultimately and for ever from business, and all that pertains to it, which every man should make, who shrinks from going portionless into eternity. There is nothing in eternity—nothing in the dark and chill passage which leads to it—to intimidate the soul that is united to Christ. It is all one empire; its several provinces acknowledge the same Sovereign; that Sovereign is ‘the Lord our Righteousness,’ who has all power in heaven and on earth; and the pillars of his throne must fall, before he will suffer a soul that has trusted in him to perish. How well his people are fortified against all possible want or suffering for the future, can be known only to those who have considered the resources of Omnipotence. In receiving them into a vital union with himself, Christ endowed them with his own inexhaustible wealth: they became ‘heirs of God and joint-heirs with Jesus Christ’—language which overpasses our comprehension, and makes one exclaim, in thinking of the believer’s heritage,

‘My soul, with all the powers I boast,
Is in the boundless prospect lost.’”

ART. III.—*Journal and Letters of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D.*, Fellow of St. John’s College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Honorable East India Company. Edited by the Rev. S. Wilberforce, M. A., rector of Brightstone. First American edition, abridged. New York: published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel, 1851.

HISTORY has no nobler lesson to teach than the heights which human nature may attain in “glory and virtue,” when purified by the grace of God; and history furnishes scarcely any example of the moral sublime more impressive and pleasing than that which this book exhibits. Henry Martyn, crowned

with the highest academical honours, with the broad road to scientific eminence, professional distinction, and ecclesiastical preferment open before him—urged by valued friends to tread this tempting path, deliberately departing from it and from his native land for ever, and sundering a tie still more select, more tender, and more powerful—making the high sacrifice of a pure and a reciprocated affection—that he might preach the unsearchable riches of Christ in distant and burning India, presents a spectacle of the truest sublimity. How mean are all other conquests compared with the conquest of self! How despicable all earthly glory compared with that to which God in the gospel of his Son calls the very humblest of his faithful servants! How pale the lustre of the most honoured of the sons of men compared with that of the righteous, when they shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father! The successful general, returning in triumph to the metropolis of his country and the mistress of the world, with royal captives chained to his chariot wheels; Homer, with seven cities contending for the honour of having given him birth; Petrarch, receiving the envied poetic crown at the hands of his enthusiastic countrymen—these are all vulgar spectacles beside that of the lovely Martyn going forth to live and die for the spiritual interests of unknown heathen men! To be of the first is to be of the earth, earthy; to be the last, is to be like the Lord from heaven, who, though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor, that we, through his poverty, might be rich.

We think the editor has done a good work in giving this volume to the public, and we are surprised that it has not excited a more decided interest. There is in it the presence of a delicate and delicious aroma, as of a field which the Lord hath blessed. A more truly spiritual and searching volume we have rarely, if ever, read. It might well be entitled a practical treatise on keeping the heart in the fear and love of God. It is the record of the spiritual life of one who was a burning and a shining light, and it informs us whence that precious oil was gotten, which caused his holy lamp to burn so brightly. The special value of the volume does not lie in any positive contribution to the stock of our missionary intelligence, but in the spirit of the book; in the faithful portraiture of a

highly accomplished, ardent, sensitive, and thoroughly conscientious young man, in his daily walk with God; in his minute and even microscopic self-inspection; in his anatomical dissection of his own heart, under the guiding light of the written word and the Holy Spirit. It is especially valuable as a practical illustration of the recognized marks and means of growth in grace. It is the Pilgrim's Progress, not in allegory, but in action. We therefore anticipate good, and only good, from its extensive circulation, and would especially recommend the prayerful perusal of it to ministers of the gospel and students of theology. Conversing with this truly humble and holy man, they will find many of their conflicts anticipated, many of their difficulties mastered, and many of the mysteries which have perplexed them satisfactorily solved.

Mortification of spirit, humility, tenderness, habitual self-recollection, and a holy fear of offending God, seem to have been his most conspicuous graces. There is, perhaps, less frequent mention of religious joy, especially in the earlier pages of the volume, than in most other biographical records of eminent believers. But Martyn, it should seem, was not naturally of a sanguine temperament, and he was too judicious and wise to confound joy in self with joy in God; he scrutinized his joys, and when he found that they were not pure, they were at once exchanged for godly sorrow. There cannot be much pure religious rejoicing without strict watchfulness preceding it. The heart is prepared, by careful cultivation, for the production or the access of that joy, which is not the growth of nature, but the fruit of the Spirit.

We know few books from which more deep and just observations on the working of the religious affections may be gathered, than from this. We are, therefore, not surprised to find Martyn frequently referring to Jonathan Edwards as a favourite author. This journal abounds with that subtle spiritual casuistry which is so characteristic not of Edwards alone, but of the great divines of the seventeenth century, and is unhappily so rare now; which imparts so peculiar a tone, and confers so high a value on the practical theological treatises of Baxter, of Bunyan, of Owen, and of Flavel. That every Christian should carefully keep his own heart, out of which are

the issues of life; that he should exercise a vigorous watch over his secret thoughts, feelings, and affections; that he should habitually refer them to the spiritual standard of the divine word, and learn thus to detect and discriminate what is evil, is evident from the word of God, and from the experience of all believers. In most modern preachers, hardly any quality is more conspicuously wanting, than that of a skilful and sagacious evolution of what is going on in the dark places of the human soul. There is assuredly no species of preaching more certain to interest, to impress, and to instruct the hearer.

In reading the journal and letters of Henry Martyn, we have been repeatedly reminded of Blaise Pascal. Both young men of extraordinary powers and fervent piety; both seemingly destitute of vulgar ambition, or rather raised above it by heaven-directed aspirations; both capable of attaining scientific or literary eminence, and if not positively disdainful of it, at least indifferent to it; both possessed of a natural temperament tinged with gloom, which, envenomed and darkened by superstition, led the one to self-inflicted austerities fatal to his life; but which was happily counteracted and relieved in the other, by clear views of the freeness and fulness of gospel grace; both not only perfectly honest, but painfully pathetic in the bitterness of their self-upbraidings. The early death and lasting reputation of each will complete the parallel. We cannot but regard these two men, of whom Pascal was incomparably the superior in the gifts of eloquence and genius, as illustrations of the practical tendencies of Popery and Protestantism. With great native benevolence, with extraordinary natural love of truth, with a comprehensiveness, fertility, and elegance of mind almost if not altogether unparalleled among his countrymen—embodied in a style of such clearness, vivacity, facility, force, and beauty, as to place him in the front rank of the many powerful and brilliant writers which France has produced—a style, which for grave irony, for piercing wit, for caustic sarcasm, and relentless ridicule, surpasses that of Voltaire—which as the vehicle of triumphant logic, of keen invective, of sublime fervour, and of learned demonstration, might have excited the envy of Bossuet—with a genius for mathematical science, scarcely if at all inferior to that of Leibnitz or

Newton—with an aptitude for universal knowledge more resembling intuitive apprehension than progressive attainment—with a mind not only impatient but apparently incapable of repose, and unconscious of weariness, what, after all, has Pascal accomplished? What has he left us? A few scattered thoughts of great originality, suggestiveness, depth, and beauty; a small polemical work of wonderful acuteness and eloquence, and of unanswerable truth. But what is this, from a man who was capable of extending the bounds of science, of making important contributions to the permanent stock of human knowledge—who, when quite a boy, actually *invented* Geometry, and proceeded as far as the thirty-second proposition of Euclid without a teacher and without a diagram—who was capable of making inestimable additions to the intellectual and spiritual treasures of mankind? Why did he accomplish so much and no more? Why was the man so much greater than his work? Because a contracted and benumbing superstition held those gigantic powers under a malignant spell—because the gospel was seen in dim eclipse “shorn of half its glory”—because, while powerfully attracted toward religion by nature and by grace, there was much in the religion in which he had been bred, and to which, “with all its faults,” he was still attached, to revolt his reason, to corrupt his conscience, and to repel his affections; because as his body was wasted away by fanatical austerities, so his spirit was darkened by horrible superstitions and habitual idolatry; because, in one word, he was a *Papist*.

We are of course perfectly aware that many of the Papists do not make much of their religion, as one of themselves was so communicative and candid as to tell us; that in general, they bear the burden very lightly; that the transition from the fast to the feast is as habitual and easy as from the chapel to the tavern or the theatre; and that to confess and compound for “a sin they are inclined to,” is hardly more troublesome than to commit it. But with the earnest and conscientious among them it is not so. The yoke under which they groan, is felt to be one which neither they nor their fathers have been able to bear; an enormous and intolerable system of spiritual servitude. Such Pascal found it. Strictly conscientious, even in his errors,

an erroneous conscience proved fatal to the highest exercise of his marvellous genius; to the enjoyment of his health; to peace of mind, and ultimately to life itself. Conscientious and consistent Papists are invariably unhappy. To us they have an air of peculiar and indescribable sadness; and the depth of their gloom is always in proportion to the depth of their piety. It is just the reverse with pious Protestants. The most cheerful persons we have ever known, have been aged and devout believers, with little in this life to make them happy, but sustained by an unfaltering trust in the righteousness of God; encompassed by clouds of natural evil, but those clouds burnished and bright with a glory streaming on them from the Sun of Righteousness; and as the lights of this life were going out one by one, a hope full of immortality has risen up to sustain and cheer them. Confiding only in the obedience and death of the Lord Jesus, looking back on a life unprofitable and unworthy indeed, but of upright and conscientious service, and looking forward to an inheritance "incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away," they have been able humbly and thankfully to unite in the testimony of the Apostle—"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

In the native cast of Martyn's mind, we think we discern a tendency to gloom, which manifested itself not only in a disparaging estimate of his Christian attainments, but in an undue depreciation of his natural abilities. Had he been in Pascal's circumstances he would probably have been as wretched a man, and instead of ending his life as a missionary in India, he might have ended it as a monk in a monastery. But a full knowledge of divine truth, the free air of Protestant teaching, untrammelled and unbiassed access to the word of life, saved his soul from the pain and the peril, and the Church from the calamity of such a misdirected conscientiousness, with its depressing effect on one of the most sublime and sensitive of human spirits.

Of all books the Bible, which is the only repository, the

divine charter, and the infallible rule, of the Protestant faith, is the most uniformly cheerful; it is a glorious manuscript, illuminated not by art and man's device, but by the bright beams of heaven's grace. It is a revelation of love, a proclamation of pardon, a word of life. What pictures of peace and pure delight adorn its pages, "apples of gold in pictures of silver!" It throws over the soul of man made naked by transgression, the white raiment of the Redeemer's righteousness; for the atonement is a covering; the Hebrew word *to atone for*, is *to cover*; and it pours into sorrowing hearts the golden oil of heavenly grace, the healing balm of holy gladness. Light from the word of God, shining on the tears of godly sorrow, makes them fragrant and bright, like the clear shining of the sun after rain! It is the gracious aspect, the cheerful spirit of the Bible, which renders it so incomparably grateful, so unspeakably precious, to the wounded heart. Even the penitential psalms breathe the spirit of hope, and trust, and pious joy; while the psalms of thanksgiving and praise rise to God with the buoyancy and gladness "of the bird that singing towards heaven's gate ascends." Everywhere removed from levity, the Bible is everywhere removed from gloom or moroseness. While it bears the impress of the individual character, the particular associations, and the natural genius of the human instruments employed to indite it—it is divinely guarded from all alloy of human error, and all taint of human corruption.

In the perusal of this work, we have been impressed anew with the value of human life, when dedicated to the good of men and the glory of God. It is indeed a grand and a fearful thing to live; to have a period of time on which our eternal well-being depends; to have a place and an agency, among other beings, redeemed, responsible and immortal, like ourselves. In the successive acts of Providence, and dispensations of religion, in this world, God is carrying on to its consummation and close, a drama, obscure it may be, and often ill-understood, but majestic and harmonious. To be one of the conscious, intelligent, accountable, and immortal actors, in this divine drama, is ennobling, but awful. We recognize the gift of life and immortality as the gift of God's grace, and we rejoice, but we rejoice with trembling. Because, for ourselves,

and for all men, the conclusion is everlasting; the catastrophe irreparable, immutable, infinite; an eternity of glory or shame ineffable; of joy or agony inconceivable.

The lessons of such a life as that of Henry Martyn can never be untimely, can never be obsolete. The permanence of the relations which men sustain to God, renders us capable of receiving instruction and comfort from the record of his dealings with others. We proceed with instinctive confidence upon the truth of God as exhibited in the uniformity of nature's processes, and in the stability of nature's laws. Universal confusion and endless embarrassment would ensue, if men were liable to disappointment in these familiar reckonings. Indeed, the continued existence of man upon the earth would be a simple impossibility, if he were perpetually exposed to delusion, in regard to the phenomena and laws of the planet on which he is appointed to live. Now, it is just so, in relation to the permanence and identity of the traits of human nature. Were it not essentially the same in its great outlines and tendencies, notwithstanding occasional anomalies and individual idiosyncrasies, each generation would stand insulated and apart; such a thing as history could have no existence; the lessons of one age could in no way be transmitted to another; there could be no permanence, no universality, in the practical conclusions of the race. As it is, however, the doctrines of religion, the precepts of morality, the demonstrations of science, and the truths of history, admit of permanent and universal application, simply because the nature of man is essentially the same, always and everywhere, and the relations he sustains are uniform and abiding. The word of God is therefore endowed with an inexhaustible fulness and fertility of application; and the exhortation to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ is as proper and pertinent when addressed to us, as when urged upon the primitive disciples.

In Henry Martyn, the missionary and the man were entirely identified. His travels, his studies, his controversies, his prayers, and manifold labours for the benefit and behoof of others, were directly the fruit of the living Spirit, the reigning habit of his own soul. His public and official life was pre-eminently the exponent of his hidden spiritual experience. The whole

tenor of his life, indeed, after his conversion, was an uninterrupted struggle after holiness of heart and conduct—after absolute conformity to the law of God in all its spirituality and extent. He strove diligently to have every thought brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ. His heart's desire and prayer was, that he might stand perfect and complete in all the will of God. Like the apostle, he counted not himself to have apprehended, but this one thing he did, forgetting those things which were behind, and reaching forth unto those things which were before, he pressed toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Growth in grace is a mark of grace, since it is an invariable characteristic of the true believer. The native tendency of grace, when it exists even in the smallest measure, and operates even in the feeblest manner, is expansion. In Scripture it is likened to light; to leaven; to the grain of mustard seed which became a great tree, so that the fowls of heaven lodged in the branches of it. In the heart of the individual believer it tends to expel every unholy affection, and reduce every rebellious thought to subjection to the authority of God.

In the organized forms of human society it seeks to penetrate their institutions, their objects, their operations, and their agents, with its own pure and holy spirit. The genius of Christianity is not less aggressive than salutary, and it is salutary because it is aggressive. I came, said our Lord himself, not to send peace on the earth, but a sword. The kingdom of Christ meets with separate and united opposition from corrupt nature, from an evil world, and from the snares and assaults of the devil. In such circumstances, its existence is a struggle; its increase, a triumph; its success, a miracle. Every man is, by nature, the enemy of the gospel. The power of God in subduing his enemies unto himself, and in keeping his people through faith unto salvation, is equal to that which made and upholds the world. And he will so order the events of his Providence, and so administer the helps of his good Spirit, that the faithful Christian shall be confirmed in holiness as he advances in life. He shall strive against sin with greater diligence. He shall strive after holiness with more abundant success. The righteous also shall hold on his way, and he that

hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger. The path of the just is as the shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day. The self-deceiver may commence his course with more apparent vigour, animation, and zeal, than the true disciple, but having no root in himself, when temptation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended. The hypocrite may pray, to be seen of men, or under a strong and sudden pang of conscience, or when he fancies that he is about to die, but will he always call upon God? will he abound in prayer and supplication with thanksgiving? When his heart, oppressed by sluggishness and unbelief, is indisposed to this sweet work, will he regard this as a new call to confession of sin and supplication for grace? The true believer will endeavour to become a better man in every respect, day by day; and will make each new discovery of defect or transgression, the occasion, not only of humiliation, but of amendment. Nothing is more characteristic of Martyn's piety than the impartiality of his obedience. That golden psalm, the 119th, which seems to have been with him a favourite portion of the word of God, is happily expressive of the habitual frame of his spirit. The testimonies of God were his delight; he had taken them as his heritage for ever. He esteemed the divine precepts concerning all things to be right. It is an excellent mark of growth in grace, when we strive to discharge every duty and to mortify every corruption; and all who are really growing in grace, are growing thus harmoniously. The principle of piety works at all times and in respect to all subjects. The heart of the true believer has been graciously enlarged to run the way of the divine commandments. Some professed disciples are quite exemplary in the discharge of particular duties, but conspicuously defective in other graces and in other virtues, equally essential and obligatory. It becomes such partial observers of the law, to remember that excellence in certain departments of duty may be merely constitutional, as certain sins are constitutional. There is, therefore, no one evidence of growth in grace so discriminating and decisive as a general and harmonious excellence, an impartial obedience to the revealed will of God.

In the healthy growth of the body, there is a proportioned

development of all the parts. That growth which consists in an undue and enormous enlargement of one or more members, while the rest remain stunted and stationary, is diseased and abnormal. Now we conceive that the analogy between the bodily and spiritual growth is perfect. That soul cannot be said to be in spiritual health which is advancing in some of the appropriate graces of the Christian character, but declining with respect to others equally vital and valuable. The truth is, that a general development of all the parts of Christian character, is essential to the integrity of any one part. The exercise of one virtue is limited by the operation of another, in the absence of which it runs out into a wild and noxious excess, which is only less offensive to the eye, and injurious to the cause of Christ, than open vice. We may easily illustrate what is meant by reference to those virtues which most obviously demand the operation, one of another, to confine and correct the action of each respectively—as zeal and charity. Each of these has its proper province and its proper boundary. Unless each be kept in view, the exercise of one is apt to trench upon ground sacred to the other. A virtue, in itself considered excellent and noble, may yet be so ill-timed as to the occasion, and so unfortunate with reference to the object of its exercise, as to be productive of all the disastrous consequences of abject or abominable vice. A misdirected benevolence may be more hurtful to the object than malignity itself; and incautious and indiscriminating zeal may be more injurious to the cause it would serve, than active opposition.

Frequently meditating on the third and the thirty-third chapter of the prophesy of Ezekiel, and deeply impressed with the responsibilities of an ambassador for Christ, we find Martyn, like the apostle Paul, stirring up his soul to faithfulness, by the terrible reflection, that after having preached to others, he himself might be a cast-away. Men who are not striving to grow in grace can be considered neither safe nor happy. There is indeed no such thing as remaining stationary in the divine life. If we are not growing in spiritual strength and in spiritual stature, in favour and fellowship with God, in the graces which adorn and the virtues which exalt the Christian character; then are we declining in them all, becoming dwarfish and

deformed, departing from God, and, together with his favour, losing his likeness. Such persons must of necessity be insensible to the prevailing and peculiar charm of this book; they can have little sympathy with the spiritual life whose springs and streams it is the design of this publication to disclose. Conformed in temper to this world's maxims, and wearing the livery of the Prince of life, there is a wide difference between their religious calling and their real character; their profession as Christians, and their practice as men. At church and market, on the Sabbath and in the week, they are not the same persons. They have one set of principles as nominal Christians, and another as living, practical, business men. They recognize one code of morality as taught in the Bible, and act upon another in their common and commercial transactions; so that the inevitable conclusion is, the practical system inculcated in the Bible is not Christianity, or these men are not Christians. Christianity contemplates nothing less than the sanctification of the whole life, the invisible spirit within, and the outward conduct. Its office and purpose are disclosed in the apostolic injunction—"Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him."

It is the province of Christian principle to sway the whole man. It never suspends its functions. It never vacates its office. It never abates its demands. It is never dormant. It is never idle, but operates at all seasons, whether of business or diversion. It is present alike in the sphere of retired devotion and of active duty; it pervades and consecrates all our intercourse with God and with man. It imports the sanctities of heaven into the moralities of earth. Born of God and nourished up in faith and in sound doctrine, consisting ultimately and essentially in supreme love to God, and in the same love to our brother man which we bear to ourselves, and according to the testimony of an inspired apostle, ascending from the sweet consciousness of this heaven-born love to man, to the conclusion of a foregoing and far more exceeding love to God, ascertaining the sincerity and strength of our love to God by the tenderness and tenacity of our love to man, it places morality, philanthropy, all the serviceable and all the splendid social

virtues, not on the feeble basis of instinctive sentiment, but upon the strong foundation of religious principle, and blends in colours as inseparable and beautiful as those of the rainbow, the distinct but associated affections of love to God and of love to man; of faith and obedience; of devotional piety, and practical duty. Of this happy union we shall rarely find a more consistent, harmonious and exalted example than in the "*Journal and Letters of Henry Martyn.*"

In the elevated character of the leading modern missionaries, in respect to intelligence, piety, and usefulness—of Brainard, of Eliot, and of the Mayhews in America; of Buchanan, of Swartz, of Carey, and of Martyn in India; of our own honoured, our martyred Lowrie, and a multitude of others in the east, we discern the good hand of our God affording thus an encouraging presage of ultimate success in the spiritual conquest of the world. It is delightful to see how good influences are propagated from man to man and from age to age; how the mantle of an Elijah falls upon an Elisha, how the light spreads in ever-widening circles, and how the promise is fulfilled, "there shall be a handful of corn in the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon: and they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth." Psalm lxxii. 16. We believe that a more holy, self-denying, and faithful body of men than the missionaries, foreign and domestic, of evangelical churches, are not to be found on the earth; and we have no language to express our disapprobation of the spirit which would restrict them to the barest necessities of life.

The grand prototype and pattern of the Christian missionary is Christ himself. There is indeed no more comprehensive and precious passage in all the Scripture than the simple statement, Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. With this motive and for this purpose he left the bosom of the Father, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.

Its completeness and its freeness distinguish the gospel not only from every system of false religion, but from every previous dispensation of the true. Still, it is to be acknowledged that frequent and significant intimations of a more liberal economy were given before the advent. Extraordinary messengers were

occasionally employed to warn the world of impending judgments. Noah was a preacher of righteousness to the men of his generation. Standing on that mount which was afterwards consecrated as the seat of Jehovah's temple, the father of the faithful received the joyful assurance that his spiritual seed should be more numerous than the stars of heaven or the sand on the sea-shore. Commissioned messengers from God solemnly rebuked his chosen people for their apostasies and oft-repeated idolatries. Priests served at the altar and prefigured the great sacrifice. Prophets foretold a more glorious dispensation under a universal king. But the God whom their priests sought to propitiate, was the peculiar God of their country. It is probable that their prophets did not themselves apprehend the full significance of their own predictions. It is certain that the apostles were amazed, perplexed, and offended, when it was obscurely intimated that those peculiar privileges which had for so many generations distinguished the children of the covenant, were to become the common heritage of all nations; and it was not until after the descent of the Holy Ghost that their proud anticipations as Jews were exchanged for the ampler charities of Christians, and the contracted sympathies of the patriot were merged in the more comprehensive affections of apostles to mankind.

We shall cease to manifest surprise at the prevalence of this feeling when we remember that their nation had been the elected and avowed favourites of heaven. To them were committed the oracles of God. To them pertained the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law and the service of God, and the promises: whose were the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ came. But by a continued course of infatuated wickedness they had alienated their God, and rendered themselves unworthy longer to occupy this high eminence. Instead of possessing a land flowing with milk and honey they were to be homeless wanderers; subject alike to the criminal oppressions of men and the righteous judgments of God. All their splendid distinctions were now to be abolished. The gorgeous solemnities of their temple service were to be succeeded by the simple rites of the gospel; and as if at once to consummate and proclaim their degradation

the glorious temple in which they had worshipped was destined at no distant period to be polluted by the presence of robbers, and profaned by the voice of blasphemy. The whole train of events, with reference to themselves and others, had been designed to prepare mankind for the last command of the risen Redeemer: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

The gospel literally signifies good news. Such it was declared to be when announced by the voice of angels to the shepherds on the plains of Bethlehem. Taken in its widest sense, it comprehends the whole counsel of God; all that ministers must preach; all that men generally must believe and practise. But more strictly and properly it denotes the doctrine of gratuitous salvation, on account of the righteousness of Christ, imputed to the believer and received by faith. To feel the full force of our Lord's command, to preach the gospel to every creature, it is necessary to consider the nature and design of the gospel. It is a revelation; a special communication from on high; an extraordinary intimation of the divine will, an articulate expression of the mind of God. Is it not evident that the design of such a communication would be defeated, if it were not delivered to those whom it contemplates and addresses? Who shall dare to intercept a message from God? Who would not rather press forward with strenuous energy and sacred zeal, to be the instrument and the channel of such a communication? But not only is it a revelation, it is a revelation of a most extraordinary kind; a revelation of mercy and grace—of mercy for the miserable, of grace for the undeserving. This we could not have anticipated without presumption, and cannot suppress without guilt. This could not have occurred to man in the highest and wildest excursions of his imagination. Angels are represented as bending from their heavenly thrones and gazing with insatiate wonder and ardent joy into this incomprehensible mystery. When the gospel was first proclaimed, it was with a symphony of heavenly voices, ascribing "glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men." Time serves only to increase their wonder, and knowledge to exalt their song.

But since the law is holy and of perpetual obligation, it should seem that the more just and logical the reasonings of a sinner destitute of a revelation of grace, the more deplorable and hopeless must be his conclusion. Let us imagine an honest and intelligent heathen, feeling in his soul "the ineradicable taint of sin;" conscious that it has penetrated his whole nature; that he can no more escape from it than he can escape from himself. Whither, oh! whither shall he turn for help? What mortal voice can speak peace to his troubled conscience? A view of external nature, or the more marvellous constitution of his own mind and body, could not fail to afford him sure and varied evidence of God's goodness. But the same survey would show with equal clearness that sin is followed by suffering, and this not by an occasional coincidence, but with the uniformity of established law. Every argument out of the Bible that indicates the immortality of the soul, indicates an immortality of wretchedness. There is nothing in the article of death to change the relation of the soul to God; if the tree fall toward the south or toward the north, in the place where the tree falleth there it shall lie. Accordingly, so far as the heathen have hope, it springs from false and degrading conceptions of the Divine Being, or from an equally delusive and exaggerated estimate of their own merit.

It is not the province of reason to anticipate God's method of salvation; but to admire, and extol, and embrace it. Reason has nothing to do with a plan of grace previous to its publication; reason has to do only with the essential attributes of God. The essential attributes of God are those which belong to him as God, which he must have possessed and exercised had no creature been formed and no sin committed; among these attributes, holiness, justice, and truth shine with conspicuous and severe lustre.

While, therefore, such reflections show the utter incompetency of reason to discover or devise a plan of salvation for sinners, they illustrate the incomparable grace of God which could make the estate of sin and death, into which we had fallen, the occasion of developing a new trait in Deity. For, from eternity, this most amiable attribute of grace had reposed in the inmost recesses of the divine mind with calm and conscious

energy; not revealed for the rescue of the fallen angels, but in the fulness of time made manifest for the redemption of the world by the gift of his only Son. If the human mind had been capable of contriving a scheme by which a holy God could be reconciled to sinful men, why was it not produced for four thousand years? Why was it not proposed by some of those ancient and illustrious sages, whose business and glory it was to speculate on the nature of God and the destinies of men? Why do we see the wisest of their number oppressed with conscious want, and impelled by a vague and sublime desire of true knowledge, indulging the hope that some future Teacher would arise to declare the truth with infallible certainty, and enforce it with a divine sanction? Reason and revelation reply with united voice, that when the "world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe."

We should then preach the gospel, because if not preached, it will not be known, and we should send it to the uttermost ends of the earth, because it is the only and appointed means of salvation. "For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved. Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth. He sent his word and healed them, and delivered them out of all their distresses." From these and many similar passages, we conclude that divine truth is the instrument which God employs in renewing and saving men. There cannot, therefore, be a more melancholy token of a corrupt and declining church, than a disposition to underrate the preaching of the gospel, and to exalt any Christian institution however sacred in disparagement of it. The gospel is indeed invested with an excellent glory, but only spiritual eyes can discern it. It is vocal with sweet and celestial melodies, but they are audible to those only whose ears have been "unstopped." God might now make known the gospel by the ministry of angels. He might dazzle and subdue the nations in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, by an overwhelming display of his terrible majesty and invincible grace. But it has pleased him to employ the agency of men, and the instrumentality of revealed and recorded truth. "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight."

If, therefore, we would inherit eternal life, we must not only receive the gospel ourselves, but communicate it to others. We must not only possess and obey, but defend and propagate the truth. For this purpose was the Church organized. For this has she been sustained, notwithstanding the malice of her enemies and the unfaithfulness of her friends. This is the character by which she is known. It is a mark by which God denotes her, and which can never deceive us. The Church is the pillar and ground of the truth. To what higher destiny; to what more congenial work could she be called? By what more august and magnificent title could she be known? What ultimate end so worthy as the glory of God? What immediate object so important as the salvation of men? If all the praises with which the enamoured votaries of profane philosophy have adorned her were concentrated in one splendid panegyric, how would they fail to express the excellence of divine philosophy, the supreme and celestial wisdom of the gospel! How does this doctrine, which brings life and immortality to light; which reveals the only way of salvation, deserve to be magnified and published! These doctrines are to be maintained and inculcated mainly through the preaching of the gospel. Pastors are the appointed stewards of these spiritual treasures; and it is with particular reference to her office as the repository of that truth which is the image of the divine glory, the light of the world, the salvation of men, that the apostle designates the Church by a title so splendid. It is hers to preserve this truth pure and sincere in her teaching; to send it to all the world by her ministers; and hand it down from age to age, in solemn sacramental symbols.

In strictest accordance with these views, the whole history of the Church, from the first hour of her organization to the present, shows that when she has been pure, she has been progressive; and that her real prosperity has been in exact proportion to her real extension. We have not time to trace her history minutely through each intervening period; much of it would excite feelings of mingled shame and sadness. But in less than thirty years after the ascension of its divine Author, the gospel had been spread over the greater part of Europe and Asia. It had been preached in all the more important cities of the Roman

empire, at Corinth, at Ephesus, at Philippi, at Thessalonica, at Athens, and at Rome. No dangers could dismay the apostles and primitive preachers. They suffered no impediments to stop the progress of the truth. In their work of mercy, they stooped to the meanest, and stood unabashed before the greatest of the sons of men. The same individual who could intercede for the slave Onesimus, trembled not when brought before the Jewish Sanhedrim, or the Roman judgment-seat; and dared to denounce idolatry amid the most imposing monuments of Athenian superstition. The apostles possessed the spirit of their crucified Lord, and they did not count their lives dear unto themselves. They had made their election freely, and they knew what it involved. Their time, their talents, their treasure, their blood, all were ready to be offered up for the furtherance of the gospel. They walked by faith, not by sight, as seeing Him who is invisible. They believed the promises of God. They anticipated the retributions of eternity. They had confidence in their cause, and their cause triumphed, not by the achievements or the sufferings of men, but by the power and blessing of God. Barbarous tribes were refined and subdued by this gospel. Polished and corrupt cities were reformed and purified. The Corinthian laid aside his licentiousness, and the Roman his ferocious pride. Much of this astonishing success is doubtless to be attributed to the miraculous gifts conferred on the apostles, and the irresistible evidence of their divine mission, which the exercise of them afforded. But in general they had to encounter the same enemies and employ the same weapons with which their successors have had to contend. Opposition to the truth was as bitter then as it is now. False brethren deserted and betrayed them. Pagan priests calumniated, and Pagan princes oppressed them. They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins: being destitute, afflicted, tormented. But persecution served only to exalt their courage; to purify their zeal to disseminate their doctrines, and multiply their conquests.

Upon the missionary element incorporated in the constitution of the Church, and in the apostolic commission, we may construct a conclusive argument for the divine origin of the

gospel system. When we remember the notorious character of the Jews, their inveterate prejudices, their narrow nationality, it is impossible to believe that they could have originated a system so grand, so universal. Such an event would be contrary to all analogy, and to all experience. The religion of their fathers was peculiar and exclusive. It discountenanced all foreign commerce. It expressly forbade all foreign alliances. They esteemed the very soil of Israel so sacred, that when they returned from heathen countries they were accustomed to wipe the dust from their feet. It is, perhaps, difficult for us to appreciate the feelings of a Jew of that period. They regarded the men of other countries not as foreigners whose society was degrading, but as sinners whose touch was pollution. Their national and religious bigotry was a fruitful subject of reproach and ridicule to the profane wits of classic antiquity. Nor were the apostles exceptions to the general character of the nation. They were not philosophers, whose minds had been expanded, and enriched and adorned by elegant studies and generous pursuits. They were not gentile princes, but Jewish fishermen; not accomplished Greeks, but illiterate Galileans; and Christ himself, though by lineage the son of David, and by nature the Son of God, was yet the reputed son of a carpenter; the scene of his birth a manger, the instrument of his death a cross! But if the bare conception of such a pure, elevated, and universal system proves it divine, how is that proof augmented and brightened by its successful propagation in a period of general intelligence, and among people with whose cherished opinions it conflicted, and whose familiar practice it condemned!

Since the gospel is the appointed means of salvation, intended for all and adapted to all, our estimate of the gospel, and our love to God may be measured by our zeal to impart it. Unlike earthly treasures, it is not lessened by participation. Send it to every creature, and you will yourself possess it in richer abundance and purer exercise. Its native tendency is expansion. Like the light of heaven—like the air we breathe, it is free, general, vigorous, diffusive. Seek to appropriate it exclusively, and you lose it entirely. Confine or contract it, and you change its nature. It is no longer the gospel, and

you are no longer a Christian Church. You may have all the ordinances of Christ's appointment, but you have not the spirit of Christ. The body may remain; but the life-blood has ceased to circulate; the preserving, pervading, animating soul is gone. The temple may be still standing, but it is forsaken of its God; the altar has no sanctifying gift; the precious incense has escaped; the sacred lights are extinguished, and the mystic response is heard no more. In one aspect of the subject we have everything to depress and alarm us. To the eye of man, the gospel triumph is, perhaps, not less distant now than it was sixteen hundred years ago. There remaineth much land to be possessed. Had the Church continued to exercise apostolic faith and zeal, the world would have been converted long since. These are facts which we cannot deny, and should not conceal. Let the humiliating retrospect incite us to greater diligence. In another point of view we have everything to animate and cheer. For the space of more than half a century the attention of the Christian Church has been particularly directed to this enterprise; and her success has been such as to invite and reward her efforts. Extensive and populous countries have recently received the gospel; and others are now accessible which a few years ago were barred to missionary approach. What we now need, what we now pray for, is an influence from on high, at home and abroad. A divine power is indispensable to produce a permanent and salutary impression. Let but the fire from heaven descend upon the churches, and consecrated wealth will flow out from a thousand unsuspected sources. Effectual, fervent prayer, rising from a thousand devout and grateful hearts, will draw down a blessing that maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow with it. Let the Spirit of the Lord descend in plenitude and power on our theological seminaries, on our ministry, and on our people, and multitudes of soldiers of the cross, single-hearted as Martyn, self-devoted as Lowrie, will gladly dedicate themselves to this arduous but exalted service.

ART. IV.—*Theology in Germany.*

It is Hagenbach who compares the most recent period of German Church History to a garden, not in the style of the French gardens in the time of Louis XIV., nor like an old venerable grove, whose tall firs and sturdy oaks cast their shade upon the monuments of the Reformation, but a modern garden, skilfully laid out with artificial winding walks and perplexing paths, which to many a one have become a very labyrinth. In aspect and effect it is unlike anything known before. What was previously dark and covered with brushwood, we now find cleared; what was previously impenetrable, we now find broken through; what appeared insurmountable, we find a plain; but then, we find also many a previous height leveled in the wrong place, many a flowery parterre wantonly destroyed, many a fruitful tree felled to the ground, many a woodland songster frightened and driven away. On the other hand, however, hope-inspiring nurseries, newly planted groves, superbly laid out grounds, beauties unknown before meet our eye. And what is most remarkable, all this did not arise under the careful hand of an industrious gardener; it is not a result produced by a calculating, scheming human mind. Fearful storms, which wait not man's command, nor stay at his bidding, broke through the ill-guarded hedges, and thus swept away also what was kept with greater care; volcanoes poured out their long pent-up fires; with vengeful fury flowed the stream of lava over many a smiling field. But at the same time, healing springs, equally out of man's power, were opened, and bright and cheering sunbeams are become the harbingers of a new epoch, and at a higher behest than man's there arose creations from the chaos, whose germ lay hid in the unconscious ages of the past. The American and the French revolutions were not the only ones of their times. Parallel with the undulations of the latter's waves, there ran manifold revolutions in the realms of philosophy, of literature, of education, of religion, of the Church, and of theology, and it is these very revolutions that constitute the history of Protestantism during this period.

He, therefore, who would understand the condition of the

Church, the whole Protestant Church, or at least the Church in Germany, during the time immediately preceding our days, must not conceive it enclosed by walls and palisades, which shut in the view, nor must he neglect any means by which his eye can obtain a free perspective, or else he will behold nothing but a miserably ruined structure with its walls much decayed; he will walk in a church-yard full of rottenness and dead men's bones, with here and there a lonely cross barely visible through the rank weeds, or a solitary monument with effaced inscription. No; he must raise his view higher. Beyond the ruins, beyond the crumbling walls, beyond the sightless skulls, he must turn with prophetic eye to those temples which seemed to be altogether the works of "the spirit of the world," which, at first sight, have more of a heathen than a Christian look, which remind him more of the graceful classic forms of Grecian art, than of the cloistered walks and Gothic stone-devotions of the Middle Ages. He must listen to the voices that preach, but not in the language of the desk—to the voice of the poet and the philosopher, the enlightener and the reformer, in good or evil sense; he must set his foot in places which have by no means the appearance of church-yards, and yet go to form that wide space which, in God's wise counsel, represents the sacred enclosure around his holy temple.

To understand the *theology* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we must be acquainted with the contests in the field of *philosophy*, which have taken place during this period; at least so far that the most agitated questions in theology may not seem to hang on nought. To give a concise and intelligible account of this connection of theology and philosophy, and of the influence of the latter upon the former, as apparent during the last half century, we have selected a few passages from Kurtz's Church History,* as presenting by far the most lucid view and candid judgment of the subject, which we have met with in an equally brief space. Kurtz is an orthodox Lutheran, without any decided bias towards that new party in Germany which may be called the High Lutheran. Before he published the different editions of his Church History, he had become

* Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Von J. H. Kurtz, Prof. zu Dorpat. Zweite Aufl. Mitau, 1850.

known to the theological world by his "Bible and Astronomy," the first volume of a "History of the Old Covenant," and a number of dissertations, mostly on Old Testament subjects, such as the Mosaic Sacrifice, the Tabernacle, the Significance of Numbers, etc., all of which insure for him a place in the first rank of living theologians. Called to Russia as director of a gymnasium, he wrote a "Sacred History," and a "System of the Christian Religion," both intended for higher schools; these have gone through a number of editions. In his Church History he has condensed within a very small space a great amount of the most valuable information, respecting the progress of the Church, in a style which is simple and natural, and a manner at once clear, pithy, suggestive, warm, and full of faith. He takes his stand in the very centre of a written revelation, and thus sees all things in their true light, and in correct outline. He has made himself master of the immense material before him, and selected what is most necessary and most valuable. The work is of an even texture; it is not easy to say that he has shown greater favour or paid more attention to one portion than to another; it is as rich in the treatment of the first ages as of the latest times. It is true, he cannot well be mistaken for any thing else but a Lutheran, for he nowhere conceals the sentiment that *his* church is in all points greatly to be preferred to the Reformed, nor is he at all favourable to the "Union." The Lutheran Church, he thinks the purest, strongest, richest, because she contains all the treasures of true catholicity, which the Church has gathered in its early Greek-Roman form, together with all the experiences and results of the middle ages. She holds the true central position between materialism and spiritualism, between a servile objectivity and an arbitrary subjectivity, that is, between the Romanists and the Reformed. In a long "explanation" (which, were it fair, one might almost think was got up for the sake of the antithesis,) he endeavours to enforce the above proposition. This central position, he would have us know, may be discerned in the very view she holds of the nature of Christianity. The nature of Christianity is the union of the divine with the human, in the person of Christ as the original type, then in the Scriptures, in the Church, the sacraments, the Christian life, etc.

Now, the radical difference between the three Churches lies in the mode of conceiving of this union. The desire of the Romish Church is to *see* it, of the Lutheran to *believe* it, of the Reformed to *understand* it (!) The Romish Church *identifies* the divine and the human, the Reformed *separates* them, the Lutheran Church holds them together. So, in her view of the Church, the Romish Church regards the mere human element as divine; hence there is no salvation out of the external and visible Church as such; so in the history of its merely human development, hence it is viewed as an *opus operatum*, and hence the doctrine of transubstantiation; so in the priesthood, hence the hierarchy; so in sanctification, hence semi-pelagianism and righteousness by works, etc. The opposite mistake is committed by the Reformed Church. She conceives the agency of the divine on the human as altogether spiritual, and effected by subjective faith. Hence she (!) regarded even the Hebrew vowel-points and accents as inspired, on the one hand, and rejected all tradition as not from God, on the other. In the Scriptures the spirit was frequently insisted upon to the injury of the letter; in her view of the Church, the invisible was raised so as to sink the visible into utter insignificance; the human nature of the exalted Redeemer was excluded from full personal participation in all the attributes of the Deity; in the sacraments, the divine grace was separated from the earthly element; in the doctrine of predestination, the divine predetermination from human self-determination, etc. The Lutheran Church avoids all these extremes, of course.

Still, these exclusive Lutheran views do not obtrude themselves too frequently; and candour in the estimation of others' merits is certainly among the last things to be denied to Kurtz.

The first edition of this "text-book" was published in 1849, and followed by the second greatly enlarged edition within less than a year; this, too, has been out of print for some time. In 1852 he published an abridgment for the use of the higher classes in the gymnasia, which was hailed with joy. He is now engaged in writing what he calls the third edition of his History, which is really, however, a new work; the "text-book" has become a "manual." It is intended to be in two volumes; the first section of the first volume has appeared; its full title

is: "Manual of Universal Church History, by Dr. Joh. Heinr. Kurtz, Ord. Professor at Dorpat, Ord. Member of the Historico-Theological Society in Leipzig. Third edition, entirely rewritten. Vol. I. Previous History, Primitive History, and History of the Progress of the Church in the Form of Antique Classical Culture. First Section: To the Victory of Christianity over Roman-Greek Heathenism. Mitau, 1853. pp. 331."

The stages through which the Church is shown in the first volume to have passed, are comprehended by the author in the following words: "The objective-divine substance of salvation, having cast off the judaistic husk in which the kernel had come to maturity, had been delivered to the Roman-Greek world for subjective-human appropriation and perfection by means of *those* formative elements which had here come to maturity. Hence *the* prominent feature in the Church-historical character of this age, is, *negatively*, the overcoming of the non-divine substance of Greek-Roman heathenism by the spirit of Christianity, and *positively*, the development of the latter in the forms of *Greek-Roman culture*. The result of this process is the transformation of the apostolicity of the Church into pure *catholicity*, in which there is contained the common basis of all subsequent churches. By going through this process the ancient Church has completed her task. The formative powers of the ancient Greek-Roman world are exhausted, and the development of the Church has been carried to that degree (and it is a high degree) to which that world was capable and called to advance it; the prospect of the Church now lies with the new nations of Germanic and Slavic descent. Whilst the Byzantine empire, and with it the glory of the old Oriental Church are threatened by Islam, there arises in the West a new empire in youthful vigour, and becomes the bearer of a new phase in the progress of the Church. Whilst here, active and successful, she strives on towards a new culminating point, she there sinks amid external pressure and internal weakness, deeper and deeper, until at last the downfall of the Latin empire in the East deprives her of the last prop of her splendour and her vitality. Thus closes also externally the history of the Church in its antique classical form. For the remains of the Eastern Church, under the oppression of the Turk, were

scarcely capable of any history." This grand view it has been observed, is certainly apt to preserve the author from many arbitrary constructions, and that unwarranted pragmatism of which not a few German historians are constantly guilty.

To those of our readers who are less acquainted with German literature, the following sketch may also serve as a classification of the names we most frequently meet with in our theological reading. The apparent violations of chronological order arise from the nature of the work which discusses the various topics of each period singly in separate sections; the same apology may be made for the seeming repetitions, inasmuch as the same name may become prominent in more than one department.

Semler, who is justly considered the father of German Rationalism, was by no means aware of the avalanche of error which the sound of his voice would precipitate over the Christianity of his country. Himself reared in the pietism of Halle, he was never able entirely to lose an habitual belief in the religion of his teachers, and never really assailed Christianity itself. Nevertheless, as he had acquired a perfect chaos of knowledge, and as he was possessed of extraordinary talents and great acumen, though destitute of all depth, he undermined the pillars on which the theology of his church rested, by arbitrarily denying the genuineness of different parts of Scripture, by setting up a theory of inspiration and accommodation which admitted the existence of mistakes, misunderstandings, and well-meant deception in the Bible, and by a treatment of the history of the Church, which viewed her doctrines as the result of misconception, stupidity, and violence. He sowed wind, and reaped a whirlwind, of which he was himself afraid. Hence, he resisted so resolutely the appointment of the scurrilous and immoral neologist Bahrds to a professorship in Halle, and, urged by the same indistinct motive, he opposed so forcibly the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*, written by Reimarus, professor in Hamburg, and edited by Lessing, which endeavoured to prove that Christianity was based on fraud. It was too late however. From the school of Semler proceeded the heroes of Vulgar Rationalism, a Teller, a Löffler, a Gabler; and he himself died of a broken heart (1791). At this time the philosophy of Kant

began to exert its powerful influence, which must be called good as far as it relates to the rationalistic theology.

The prominent representatives of the latter, who at the same time formed connecting links with the succeeding period, were Gesenius in Halle for the Old Testament, the "rational believer,"* Paulus in Heidelberg for the New Testament (with rare ingenuity he explained all Christ's miracles as quite natural occurrences;) Wegscheider in Halle for the department of systematic theology (his *Dogmatik* is dedicated *p̄is manibus Lutheri*;) for that of Church History, Spittler, Henke, and the *Generalsuperintendent* Röhr in Weimar, whose popular "Letters on Rationalism," set up the characteristic doctrine that only a man with "the fortune of a farmer-general," could resign an office incompatible with his convictions.

Between the old orthodoxy and this modern Rationalism, there existed at the same time a third theological tendency, denominated Supranaturalism, which, though abandoning the former, endeavoured to maintain a belief in a supernatural revelation. With many of these so-called supranaturalists, this belief was of a particularly weak description; they believed in a revelation which hardly revealed anything more than what reason could discover without aid. Besides these, however, there was a considerable number of worthy men, who exerted themselves in full earnest to save the essential doctrines of redemption; and it is characteristic of all these that they, although they all belonged to the Lutheran Church, yet adhered to the principles of the Reformed† Church, at least in their general views of the Scriptures and of the Church. During this whole period the University of Tübingen was, with constancy, the nursery of supranaturalism. Among the theologians of this better tendency, the most eminent were Storr in Tübingen, Knapp in Halle, Reinhard in Dresden, in the field of Systematic Theology; the great mathematician Euler, Haller the physiologist, and the theologians Lilienthal, Klenker, and

* *Der "Denkglaubige."* In 1825, Paulus commenced a periodical under that name.

† It is at the same time characteristic of the position of the writer, that he considers this adherence a serious lapse.

Köppen, as apologetic writers; Schröckh in Wittenberg, and Planck in Göttingen, as church-historians.

The influence which "Vulgar Rationalism" was at that time exerting, was not due to its intrinsic strength, but to the allies which it had in the heartless, hollow, shallow, frivolous spirit of the age. But when philosophy, and especially the national literature of Germany, began their successful contest against this frivolity, they assumed, to a certain extent, the character of a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, although in themselves they were either entirely indifferent, or even hostile to Christianity. The same thing may be asserted of Immanuel Kant's Critical Philosophy. He showed that a knowledge of supersensible objects was not attainable by pure reason, but that the ideas of God, liberty, and immortality, were postulates of the practical reason (the conscience), and thus constituted the principle of all religion, the essence of which was merely the moral law. Christianity and the Bible, as they had withal acquired a certain value in being the foundation of popular education and instruction, ought to be retained, but they ought to be fructified by a moral interpretation and a corresponding exposition. Whilst he thus sympathized, on the one hand, with rationalism, on the other he vigorously opposed its shallowness and self-complacency. His acute "Critique of Pure Reason," the profound view of human inability and depravity, displayed in his doctrine concerning the origin of evil, his *categorical imperative* of the moral law, were well fitted to awaken in thoughtful minds a despair of self, disgust at the strutting hollowness of the times, and a feeling of want, which Christianity alone could fully satisfy.

F. H. Jacobi, "in his heart a Christian, in his head a heathen," brought religion back from the realm of naked reason to the depths of the soul's life, and though this was but a small advance, yet it was apt to awaken a longing after something positive.

J. G. Fichte (who died in 1814), transformed the philosophical system of Kant, to which he had paid unconditional homage at first, into his *idealistic "Doctrine of Science,"* which assumes the only real existence to be, man conscious of his own identity; and that all that is not himself, only receives real existence by

his giving it to it (which is done by the very same act of judgment by which he arrives at the conclusion, "*I am I,*") and hence the world and nature are what they are only as the reflex of man's mind. Whilst spinning this web from his own speculative bowels, Fichte was charged with atheism, and lost his place in Jena. This event produced an intellectual revolution in him, which snatched him from the brink of atheism, and led him on the path of mysticism, nearer to Christianity. In his "*Directions for a Life of Blessedness,*" he denied that religion was a mere handmaid of morality, and endeavoured to show that true happiness consists in a loving surrender of the whole soul to the spirit of the universe, and he regarded the gospel of John as the most perfect expression of such a surrender. Paul's religion, however, with its fundamental doctrines of sin and an atonement, appeared to him to be a degenerate system, and Christ himself merely the most perfect representative of the incarnation of God, which is repeated in all ages, and in every pious man. Towards the very end of the eighteenth century, Schelling appeared on the stage with his *Philosophy of Identity*, which became one of the most powerful levers for the introduction of a new epoch.

The horrors of the French revolution had shown what would be the fate of the modern world without God, and without Christianity. The despotism of that new scourge of God, Napoleon, had directed hearts and eyes up to Him, from whom alone help could be expected; the enthusiastic wars of independence had been waged in confidence in this assistance, and the victories in 1813 and 1815, had gloriously justified this confidence. Princes and people were filled with gratitude towards God. Alexander, Francis, and Frederic William, who were, at the same time, representatives of the three great divisions of the Christian Church, settled the political condition of Europe by the Congress of Vienna, and entered into the compact known under the name of the "*Holy Alliance.*" Its purport was a declaration on the part of the contracting powers, that the Christian doctrine of brotherly love should be the rule of conduct to be observed by the nations as branches of one family, and by the sovereigns as the fathers of those nations. "To disregard the disagreement of their creeds, and to make

Christianity the highest law of the nation's life," was the avowed object of the holy league, which was entered into by all the sovereigns of Europe, with the exception of the Pope, the Sultan, and the King of England. Among the people, too, there appeared a religious ferment, although that which sixty years had been demolishing, could not arise again in a day. In poetry and philosophy, in theology and in the Church, in the whole intellectual life of the people, heterogeneous elements, old and new, were mingling in a chaotic mass. Their disengagement was gradual. The restoration of the papacy in 1814, had created a fresh enthusiasm for ultramontane catholicism. Then Protestantism experienced a similar invigoration in 1817, through the third centennial celebration of the Reformation. Afterwards a hasty attempt at uniting the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, which seemed to entirely ignore their points of difference, brought these churches to a fuller consciousness of their individual existence. Old sects began again to recede from each other, and new sects arose. Thus ecclesiastical and religious variances were increased and made more prominent, whilst every form of Christianity, and the whole Church, was met by a bold and undisguised Antichrist, in the shape of Socialism and Communism, of political and religious libertinism.

During this period philosophy exerted a powerful influence upon the doctrines and the morals of Germany. Whilst the philosophical basis of Rationalism could not go beyond the limits of Kant's system, the form as well as the substance of the other theological tendencies were more or less determined by the efforts and results of Kant's successors. Schelling's philosophy of identity (or philosophy of the absolute) proceeded from Fichte's Idealism, and in its progress it assumed the form of a *philosophy of nature*, which was essentially pantheistic. He had learnt from Fichte that the universe was a nonentity without mind, but he inverted the relation. Whilst Fichte awarded reality to the universe only so far as man seizes and pervades it by his spirit, and thus creates its real existence; according to Schelling, spirit is nothing but the life of nature (that is, they are identical, or rather the two poles of the same phenomenon.) In the lower stages of natural vitality the spirit is

still slumbering and dreaming, but in man it has attained to self-consciousness. The totality of this life of nature, or the soul of the world, is God. Man is the reflex of God, or a world in miniature—a microcosm. In the development of the world (that is, in history) God attains to objective reality and arrives at self-consciousness; Christianity is seen to be a turning-point in the world's history; its fundamental doctrines of a revelation, of the trinity, the incarnation, and an atonement, are considered as so many profound guesses and attempts at the solution of the problem which the universe offers. Schelling's vivid, poetical ideas began to pervade every branch of science and gave them a new and unprecedented impulse. The prevalent rationalistic theology, however, regarded it as an abomination. This hatred was requited with derision and contempt on the part of philosophy, whilst the younger race of theologians derived a new and vigorous vital element from it. Daub, the profound theologian of Heidelberg, was the first and most prominent man that constituted a connection between it and theology, although he inclined afterwards more to Hegel's views.

Hegel bears a relation to Schelling similar to that in which the latter stands to Fichte; for he transformed Schelling's pantheistic philosophy of nature into a pantheistic philosophy of *spirit*. His principal tenet was, that it is not in the life of nature, but rather in the thinking and acting of the spirit of man that God appears as revealed; which revelation is nought but the development of God's self-consciousness from non-existence to existence, that is, from mere potential existence as essence, to an actual existence as a reality. Judaism, Heathenism, and Christianity are the progressive stages of development in the process of revelation; Judaism is far below classical Heathenism, whilst Christianity is the perfect religion, though only in the low form of *conception*, which philosophy must raise into the form of *knowledge*.* This theory raised once more the doctrine of the Protestant Church, (as to its

* "The idea of creation, of providence, of human freedom, or of moral evil, of retribution, aye, and of spiritual regeneration, all of them involve *conceptions*, which can only be evolved into highest brightness by the intense application of the *reason* upon them; that is, by the co-operation of *philosophy* in the elucidation of divine truth."—*Morell's Hist. of Philos.* p. 741.

form, at least) to an honourable standing; and when Marheineke again constructed a speculative system of theology, on the basis of this philosophical system, out of the scholastic form of the then Lutheran orthodoxy; when Göschel, the jurist, a man of profound genius, showed in his writings that a heartfelt, pietistic religion might go hand in hand with Hegel's tenets; when similar indications were often perceived that this system was *not* hostile to Christianity, the illusion was cherished for a time that it had at last effected the long-sought reconciliation between theology and philosophy. But after the master's death, which took place in 1831, a sudden change took place. The school of Hegel was split into two parties: the one orthodox, and endeavouring to carry out his tendencies in a direction favourable to religion; the other, by far larger in number, heterodox (or "Young-Hegelian,") their foothold on his fundamental views of philosophy, despising Christianity as a long obsolete form of conception, and proceeding to the most bare-faced self-deification, and adoration of the human mind (Anthropotheism.) In 1835 David Strauss published his *Life of Christ*, which represents the narrative contained in the gospels as the result of ideal myths. Bruno Bauer who veered round from the right to the extreme left of the school of Hegel, represented the same narrative as the product of a clumsy and awkward deception; and after Strauss had volatilized all distinctively Christian doctrines in his *System of Belief*, Ludwig Feuerbach positively proclaimed the new gospel of self-adoration, as being "the Essence of Christianity," whilst Arnold Ruge endeavoured to obtain a paramount place for the new doctrine in the social and political relations of life. Until now the Rationalists had been derided by these Young-Hegelians as "antediluvian theologians," but at this stage of the intellectual ferment these modern philosophers joined those antediluvians (who, in the meantime, had assumed the name of "Friends of Light,") in order to gain a firmer position in practical life. In the recent revolutions, Ruge and some of his friends were among the advocates of a republican communism.

Schelling, who had been silent during nearly thirty years, and had raised his previous pantheism into a Christian gnosticism, took possession of Hegel's chair in Berlin, in 1841, as

his avowed opponent; but his dualistic Doctrine of Potencies, which proclaimed itself as the at length discovered true and philosophical view of positive Christianity, effected nothing but a transitory paroxysm among the younger generation of theologians. The most prominent adherent whom Schelling gained in this second phase of his philosophy (but before he came to Berlin,) is the excellent jurist, Stahl, whose independent genius constructed a decidedly Christian "Philosophy of Law," on the foundation of which he based and defended the idea of a "Christian State."

Schelling's profound views gained a real importance, because they were not confined to the metaphysical tendencies of the age, but imparted a new breath of vitality to the sciences also. The natural sciences especially were extensively under their influence. At first, of course, much vagueness and many ill-defined *notions* were the result, but the mist cleared off little by little, and the Christian mode of viewing nature was freed from its pantheistic alloy. Heinrich Steffens, a man of genius, and to a far greater extent, G. F. von Schubert, a scholar of sound judgment, wonderful penetration, and deep feeling, taught that God's book of nature must be investigated and understood as the counterpart and complement of his revelation in the Scriptures. Akin to these two men in spirit was Fr. von Meyer, senator of Frankfort, whose theosophy, drawn from the Scriptures and meditation, made great advances towards a more profound comprehension of the divine mysteries in nature and history.

Hegel's philosophy too, appeared at first to have a tendency to enrich science with profound and Christian views; at least Göschel, one of its representatives, surrounded the science of jurisprudence with a halo of Christianity and vindicated Christianity juridically. The general effect, however, of his philosophy in its application to the sciences was to superinduce an abstruse dialectical tendency. His disciples on the extreme left went so far as to attempt to construe all sciences *a priori* from the pure *Begriff*, and to banish from them at the same time the last reminiscences of the spirit of Christianity. Nevertheless, during this period, the sciences experienced the influence of Christianity in a manner more decided than ever before, and it

is a characteristic phenomenon that whilst previously the Christian spirit of scientific men had hardly any influence upon their particular departments, now there was an open determination on the part of such men to effect a union, as it were, of mind and heart, so that their specific branches of knowledge should be thoroughly pervaded by the spirit and principles of Christianity, and thus assume a new shape and form.

Independent of every school of the times, but of a decidedly philosophical bent, we see Schleiermacher (he died in 1834,) renovating and ruling the whole department of theology by his tremendous influence. His Moravian education had imparted to him an inextinguishable, intense, personal devotion to the Redeemer, whilst he derived from his connection with the Reformed Church, a judgment which was clear and penetrating, whether directed to theory or to life. The essence of religion, according to him, is a feeling of absolute dependence; the doctrines of redemption he deduced from this feeling as pervaded by the spirit common to all Christians; and this feeling, in the consciousness of its own abundance and security, could submit to a rigorous analysis and a severe criticism, not only the doctrines contained in the creed of the Church, but also the canon of Scripture, as well as the gospel-accounts of the beginning and termination of the life of Christ (his birth and ascension). Many of the pupils and friends of Schleiermacher, distinguished by genius and talents, some of whom adopted views more decidedly in accordance with the received Church doctrines, or even left the views of the Reformed Church to which their master had been attached, for those of the Lutherans, took possession of the theological chairs, and continued to advance theology with the religious enthusiasm and the unconstrained criticism of their teacher, each in his own way. The most prominent of these are *Nitzsch*, *Lücke*, *Twisten*, *Ullmann*, *Jul. Müller*, *Dorner*, etc.

Another man who exerted a powerful influence in his day, was De Wette. His activity as a writer extended over almost all the branches of theology. Modern negative criticism as practised upon the history and the canon of the Scriptures, finds in him its father. In the system of doctrine as held by the Church, he recognized a significant symbolical dress of

religious truth, and on this account he was for a long time decried as a Mystic by the Rationalists proper. A letter of consolation to the mother of Sand,* which was considered by the government as an apology for assassination, caused his removal from the University of Berlin (1819). But he continued to labour with unwearied activity until his death, which took place in Basle, in 1849.

The third leader of modern theologians is A. Neander, the Church-historian. Of Schleiermacher's views as to the nature of religion, and esteemed by all parties, he vindicated the claim of piety to a place in theology, and he became an extraordinary blessing to Germany, and other countries, by the personal influence which he exerted upon students, much more than by his learning. His most influential pupils were Herm. Olshausen, who died in 1839, and especially A. Tholuck, whose mind and heart received every impression of the constituent elements of the time, in science, literature, art, and life; and thus, imparting the results of his most diversified acquisitions, he has led to Christ, or established in the faith, many thousands by his writings, his lectures, his preaching, and his intercourse. It is to the specifically ecclesiastical form alone, towards which modern theologians urge on both Christian knowledge and Christian life, that he has not lent an active hand.

The succession in the old rationalistic school, was kept up in the meanwhile through *Paulus*, *Röhr*, *Wegscheider*, *Gesenius*, *Ammon*, and *Bretschneider*; but as death removed one after another of these head-men, their doctrines, too, as doctrines at least, were buried out of sight. Winer and Fritzsche, at the same time, advanced the interpretation of the New Testament, with such a philological thoroughness and precision, that all the other schools in theology profited by the example. Speculative theology was cultivated with more or less adherence to the received doctrines of the Church by Daub, Marheineke, Baur, and in an opposite direction by Vatke, Bruno, Bauer, and others. The University of Tübingen, previously the faith-

* A young student of theology, who murdered Kotzebue from a mistaken sense of duty. Kotzebue was generally considered a spy of Russia, whence he drew a large salary. He advocated despotism, and ridiculed the spirit of liberty, then prevalent among the ardent youths of Germany.

ful foster-mother of supranaturalism, became in recent times the centre of a speculative theological school (on the foundation of Hegel), which maintains as the result of its historical criticism, and the basis of all theology, the proposition that genuine primitive Christianity is to be found in Ebionitism, and that the origin of nearly the whole of the New Testament Scriptures (the Apocalypse excepted), cannot be placed earlier than the second century. The head of this school is F. C. Baur, a man of astounding learning and extraordinary acuteness of intellect. His most prominent disciples are Schweigler and E. Zeller.*

Old Testament exegesis was advanced by Umbreit, who resembles Herder in the cast of his mind, and the direction of his learning; by Steudel, a man of piety, and a firm believer in the inspiration of the Scriptures; by Hengstenberg, who discovers Calvin's spirit and power; and by Ewald, whose authority as a grammarian and original thinker, is of the highest order, but who at the same time proceeds on the most

* The doctrines of this school are so frequently referred to in valuable transatlantic exegetical and historical works, that the briefest possible sketch of them may not be wholly unwelcome. In the Acts and Epistles, we find allusions to an opposition between Jewish and Heathen Christians. The peculiarities of these two forms of the primitive Church (in themselves quite natural and utterly innocuous), were, however, sometimes carried to such extremes as to require the rebukes or checks of the Apostles. From this truth perverted, the Tübingen school draw the inference that there were really two parties among the apostles, the one judaizing, the other leaning towards heathenism. Peter and John on the one side (both genuine narrow-minded Ebionites), and Paul on the other side (himself, however, considerably tainted with primitive Christianity, i. e. Ebionitism), were, from the beginning, bitter, violent, implacable opponents; and this hostility and contest between Jewish-Christian Petrinism, and Heathen-Christian Paulinism, continued moreover by their immediate disciples, is the sole real subject of the history of the apostolic age. Genuine contemporary records of this struggle, are to be found only in the Apocalypse, and (though not uncorrupted) in the *Pauline* epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians. With this principle in view, we can then construe the history of the apostolic age with the aid of these, as well as other (heretical) writings of the second century; for instance, the *Clementines*, in which Clemens of Rome, gives an account of Peter's missionary labours, and extracts from nineteen of his homilies; the system taught in them is a conglomerate of Gnosticism, Ebionitism, Essenism, and other vagaries. As to the system of religion taught in our New Testament, these critics hold that it arose late in the second century, and that it is the result of the conflict between the different heresies of that age. A theory so destitute of all foundation, and proceeding from such unmeasured license, would scarcely deserve any notice, were it not erected with such a prodigious expenditure of learning, that the history of the human intellect cannot show another example like it.

arbitrary, rationalistic principles of criticism, combined with a self-conceit amounting to a claim of infallibility.

During the last twenty years there has also appeared a strict or high-Lutheran tendency, resulting from a reaction against the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, attempted by the Prussian government. Ever since the inroads of Rationalism commenced, specifically *Lutheran* theology, of which Crucius and Bengel were the last representatives, had come to a stand-still; it is therefore the avowed object of this party to advance again in this direction, to revive the spirit of Luther, Gerhard, and Bengel, and to enrich Lutheranism proper with the rich treasures of modern attainments in science and criticism. The central point of this party is the University of Erlangen; the most prominent names belonging to it are *Rudelbach*, *Guericke*, *Harless*, *Löhe*, *Delitzsch*, *Krabbe*, *Thomasius*, *Höfling*, *Hofmann*, *Wiggers*, *Lindner*, etc.

Notwithstanding this comparative revival of religion among teachers and the people, Rationalism had still preserved its existence by its peculiar self-sufficiency and incorrigibility. Innumerable preachers, and teachers in lower and higher schools were still infected by it, and even theological chairs could show its representatives. In the *Seasons of Devotion*, by Zschokke, who was not known to be the author for a long time, as the work was published anonymously at Aarau; in Tiedge's *Urania*, and altogether caricature-like in Witschel's *Morning and Evening Sacrifices*, a production as destitute of spirit as of poetry, there appeared a sentimental sort of Rationalism, which, though it was for many a one a bridge of true religion, still did immense injury to the religious progress of the people of Germany in drawing their minds, that were now awakened to a sense of their need, away from such spiritual nourishment as could really renew and revive them; and these books are even now, in many families, substitutes for the Bible, the hymn-book, and the preacher. Nevertheless, among the more highly educated classes, Rationalism lost more and more of its authority and influence. Schelling's Philosophy of Nature, and Hegel's Philosophy of the Idea, Romanticism, and positively anti-Christian literature, in all of which the spirit of the age advanced unceasingly, and in every variety of form, were

alike its enemies. Schleiermacher's theological views soon gained the victory over it; and Rühr in Weimar, at that time generalissimo and patriarch of Rationalism, found in his own diocese an opponent in Hase of Jena, who, by no means a pietist, or even orthodox, actually crushed Rationalism by his controversies. On the part of the Church it was Claus Harms in Kiel, who, on the occasion of the jubilee of the Reformation in 1817, opened the contest against the apostacy from the faith of their forefathers by the publication of ninety-five new *Theses*, which, with righteous indignation and deserved castigation, held up Luther's almost forgotten teachings before the ungodly times; and Augustus Hahn maintained, in an academic discourse, held in Leipsig in 1827, that the Rationalists ought to be removed from the Church. It was in the same year that Hengstenberg established his Evangelical Church Gazette in Berlin, which began an intrepid and energetic contest against Rationalism in all its forms. It created an extraordinary excitement when an anonymous article (by the civilian Von Gerlach) was inserted, which openly accused Gesenius and Wegscheider in Halle of infidelity and of scoffing at sacred things, and considered the interposition of the state necessary. But, although the celebrated ex-minister, Stein, expressed his hope that the state would not hesitate to put a dozen Rationalists *extra statum nocendi*, the authorities attempted only to allay the passionate strife which had been enkindled, without taking any notice of the complainant's desire. In almost all the other Protestant German States, besides Prussia, similar things took place. Rationalism met everywhere with a vigorous opposition on the part of practical pietism or orthodoxy, and there arose many a discussion, and many a dispute. Theologians of learning disavowed it; philosophers despised and ridiculed it; such was the state of public sentiment that men of culture considered it an insult to be reckoned among the Rationalists. Now, every body believed that the time had arrived to pronounce funeral discourses over this defunct system—but it was not so. Its vital power had not flown yet; it was to be found in the masses that had been educated in infidelity, and these were now to sustain their foster-mother. Sintenis, a preacher in Magdeburg, in the year 1840, declared in a public print that the

worship of Christ was a blasphemous superstition: upon this the Consistory felt themselves called upon to interpose, and the consequence was, that two neighboring preachers, Uhlich and König, organized a society of so-called *Protestant Friends*, or *Friends of Light*, who held their meetings at Köthen, and as this was a central place, and easily accessible by railroad, thousands of both laymen and ministers attended these meetings. Fraternizing with those separatists, known by the name of German-Catholics, the Friends of Light established so-called *free churches* in Halle, Königsberg, Magdeburg, and other places.

Nor had *Pietism* yet died out completely in the Protestant Church, not even during those years of religious famine, from 1750–1814; purged from many eccentricities and excrescences, it had found refuge and nourishment among the Moravian brethren; whilst in Würtemberg it assumed an independent, peculiar, theosophic, chiliastic form, and this was afterwards mixed up with a strange sort of dreams, visions, and revelations from Hades, to which especially Justinus Kerner contributed much. But in the revival of religion which succeeded the German wars of independence against Napoleon, Pietism manifested itself with vigour and decision, most strongly in the Valley of the Wupper. It proceeded, not from the clergy who had altogether become the victims of Rationalism, but from the people, whose heart was still sound, and to whom religion was still a daily necessity; and since those shallow rationalistic discourses on morality, to which they were obliged to listen, could afford no solid food to their spiritual cravings, they sought for it of their own accord, in “conventicles” and prayer-meetings, which were conducted by laymen, especially tradesmen, educated under the influence of the Bible and a religious literature, and not devoid of spiritual gifts. Since Pietism shows no martyrdom of any kind, neither scorn nor disgrace proceeding from the irreligious populace, nor the hatred of Rationalistic pastors, nor even the interference of the civil authorities, which was attempted here and there, could stop its progress. By degrees the younger generation of clergymen began to be pervaded by it, and finally professors of theology passed over on its side. The energetic and vigorous vitality of this modern Pietism

manifested itself in its great activity for missions, both foreign and domestic, in which they were wonderfully successful, though their means were exceedingly scanty. Under the stimulus of this renewed life, religious poetry, fresh and hearty, was resuscitated, the old pithy hymns of the Protestant Church came again into vogue, and the treasures of devotional writings, possessed by a former and more religious age, were again opened. This modern Pietism was at all events evangelical and protestant. For, since it did not originate like what was previously known by the same name, in an opposition to a dead orthodoxy, and a lifeless adherence to the Church, but rather in opposition to coolness in such an adherence, and to Rationalism, it distinguished itself favourably by a more decided tendency towards catholicity, although it possessed, in a greater or less degree, those features of Pietism which are its real characteristics; a too strongly marked preference of the invisible church to the disparagement of the visible; of sanctification so as to lose sight of justification; an undue fondness for penitential sorrow, connected with a disregard for the joy of believing; an inclination towards Chiliasm; indifference to the Church forms of doctrine, etc. But as Pietism, in its previous appearance, had degenerated and become a bridge to Rationalism, so this modern Pietism was elevated, and formed a transition to a more thoroughly religious life and sentiment.

The preceding outline presents a very comprehensive view of the progress of modern German theology. It is evident that Kurtz himself, as well as other of the most orthodox of German theologians, stands on different ground from that of the apostles and reformers. There is in all writers of the class to which he belongs, an undervaluing of the objective form of truth as presented in the Scriptures. Their fundamental error is conceiving of Christianity too much as a feeling, or inward life, in a certain degree independent of a system of doctrines revealed by God and obligatory on men as objects of faith. Hence they are accustomed to speak in such tolerant terms of philosophy, no matter how erroneous; and of the different phases and developments of Christianity, as though the feeling were everything, and the doctrinal expression of that feeling a matter of comparative indifference. Traces of this error are

obvious throughout the foregoing article. Our readers must not regard us as having any sympathy with this mode of representation. There is nothing of which we are more deeply convinced than that truth is essential to holiness; and that the doctrines of the gospel, as presented in the word of God, are the same, not in substance only, but in form also, for all ages, and consequently the only true development of which theology is capable, is a progressive elimination of its human element, so that it may more and more be conceived of as it existed in the minds of the apostles, and as it is presented in their writings. The philosophy of Plato was the system of doctrines which he held. His principles may admit of endless modifications and developments; but his philosophy, as he held it, is for ever one and the same, and had he been infallible, it would be for ever objective authoritative truth. So the theology of the Scriptures is for ever one definite system of doctrine, incapable of changes, because absolute, and not merely relative truth; that is, true objectively and in itself, and not merely one among many possible expressions of right feeling.

ART. V.—*The General Assembly.*

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, convened on Thursday, May 19th, in the Central Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, at 11 o'clock A.M., and was opened with a sermon on Col. i. 16-18, by the Rev. John C. Lord, D. D., moderator of the last Assembly.

The Church is indebted to the enterprise of the proprietors and publishers of the Presbyterian for by far the fullest and ablest reports of the debates of the Assembly, which we have had in many years. This is a matter of very great and general interest, and we trust the success of this attempt may secure equally full and satisfactory reports of all future sessions of the highest judicatory of our Church.

The Rev. JOHN C. YOUNG, D. D., was elected Moderator, and the Rev. B. M. PALMER, D. D., Temporary Clerk.

Irregular Commissions.

As usual, several delegates appeared without the prescribed documentary evidence of their election. These cases are recorded, as they will have the force of precedents, whatever may be said to the contrary.

The Committee on Elections reported that Mr. Joseph B. Junkin, a ruling elder from the Presbytery of Creek Nation, was present, with a certificate that he had been appointed by all the members of that Presbytery individually, and that he was not regularly appointed, because there was no quorum present, there being but three ministers in the Presbytery.

The following minute was adopted in this case:

Mr. Joseph B. Junkin, ruling elder from the Presbytery of Creek Nation, produces such evidence that it is the decision of his Presbytery that he should represent it as a Commissioner in this Assembly, that, considering the remote situation of the Presbytery, the difficulty of its position, and the whole bearing of the case, Mr. Junkin may be safely allowed to take his seat, without the Assembly thereby establishing any precedent to operate beyond the immediate case. The Committee is, therefore, of opinion, that though he was not regularly elected, he ought to be allowed to take his seat as a member of the body.

The Committee recommended that several other delegates, whose commissions were merely irregular, should be admitted to their seats as members of the Assembly, which recommendation was adopted.

The case of the Rev. J. L. Scott, missionary from Northern India, was peculiar. When Mr. Scott left India, his Presbytery intended him to be a commissioner, at their next meeting, to this General Assembly; but his commission had not arrived.

The motion was resisted by Messrs. Neill, McClung, Mitchell, and Wilson, on the ground of dangerous precedent, and warmly advocated by Messrs. R. J. Breckinridge, Magie, Lord, and Lowrie, on the ground of his known character, and long and valuable services, creating a violent presumption that his Presbytery would naturally wish to send him, as he was coming to America, as their representative in this Assembly; and the

distance occasioning a delay in transmitting the commission, he was admitted.

There are always two ways of looking at such cases. Some men are disposed to go by the letter, and others by the spirit of the law. It is the will of the Presbytery duly expressed and authenticated, that gives a delegate a right to sit as a member of the Assembly. The book prescribes one definite mode in which the will of the Presbytery is to be made known. The strict legal right under the Book, therefore, can pertain to those only who have commissions regularly executed. A will is no will in law, unless executed in the prescribed form; but it has full force on the conscience, if there is satisfactory evidence of any kind that it is the real will of the testator. Now, as our courts are not courts of law, but moral tribunals, representing the *animus* of the Church, we think it is clearly obligatory to receive as members those whom we, in our conscience, believe the Presbyteries will to be members.

Overtures.

Several of the answers proposed by the Committee of Bills and Overtures to the questions submitted to them, contain important principles. Of these answers the following are of the most consequence:

1. An inquiry on the lawfulness of admitting to the Lord's Supper persons not holding the doctrines, or submitting to the discipline of the Presbyterian Church. The Committee reported a resolution, stating in substance,* that as to the knowledge and deportment of persons applying, the session must judge, save in the case of persons invited to sit from other Churches. After some inquiries and explanations the report was adopted.

The principles of Church communion are so clearly laid down in Scripture, and so distinctly stated in our Standards, that whenever we see such inquiries as the above presented, we

* Much as we are indebted to the Presbyterian for its full report of the debates in the Assembly, we greatly miss the actual Minutes, which we were accustomed to receive. In a great many cases, we are told, a Committee reported "in substance," so and so—or the Rev. Dr. — presented a detailed report on such a subject, or that a certain memorial was laid before the Assembly, or certain resolutions adopted, without giving us the things themselves. This is very unsatisfactory.

take it for granted they come from Congregationalists, who think, in many cases, each particular parish church may establish its own terms of communion, or from some other source, foreign to our own Church. Knowledge to discern the Lord's body, faith to feed upon him, repentance, love, and new obedience, are the only conditions of Christian communion which any church on earth has a right to impose. The Lord's table is for the Lord's people—and we commit a great sin, if we presume to debar any man, giving credible evidence of being a child of God, from our Christian fellowship. All imposition of other terms, whether relating to unessential doctrines, to slavery, temperance, hymnology, or anything else, is setting up ourselves above God in his own house; and that is the vital germ of antichrist.

2. An inquiry into the right of Church Sessions to dismiss members without specifying to what church they were to go. The Committee recommended that an affirmative answer be given, which was accordingly done.

Standing Committees.

On motion of Mr. Lowrie, it was

Resolved, That hereafter four additional Standing Committees shall be appointed by the Moderator (the number of members on each Committee to be left to the discretion of the Moderator), one for each Board of the Church, to which the reports of the Boards respectively shall be referred, as well as such other matter relating to them respectively, as the Assembly may direct.

Whilst this resolution was pending, Mr. Lowrie observed that he was in favour of referring the business of the several Boards to Standing Committees, who should have charge of all business connected with the several subjects referred to them, which he deemed a preferable arrangement to that which at present prevailed. It was highly important that these agencies should enjoy the entire confidence of the Church, and nothing would more promote this very desirable object, than a reference of their proceedings to Committees of the whole body. This would prevent a danger, otherwise inevitable, of having the weighty concerns confided to the several Boards getting

entirely into the hands of a few individuals. He would add that the proposed arrangement had been fully considered by the Secretaries of the Boards, and met with their entire and hearty concurrence.

Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge said, that without any knowledge of what the excellent and respected brother had prepared, he had himself drawn up a resolution on the same subject, and which differed from that just offered in but a single particular, viz: that it proposed one general committee instead of four. He would entitle it a Standing Committee on Boards and Agencies—he had no objection that a committee be added on Theological Seminaries. As in the case of the present standing committees of the house, all matters of a kindred nature would, of course, be sent to the committee proposed. He preferred a single committee, because its operation would be to hold the entire business of these Boards in the hands of the Assembly till the whole had been fully and ripely considered—which would be better than taking one at a time and dismissing it. Besides, it would be easier to get one suitable and effective committee than to get four. As to the usual committees on the different Boards, they had always been virtually appointed beforehand, by suggesting names to the Moderator. He would offer his resolution as a substitute for that already moved.

Mr. Lowrie was satisfied that the object of the brother was in substance the same as his own, and it would be substantially secured by either resolution, viz: that the Assembly should revise the doings of these Boards, and if their proceedings were in any case deemed improper, let the Assembly say so—if not, its approval would tend greatly to increase the confidence of the Church in these important agencies.

Dr. McDowell and Dr. Wood briefly advocated the resolution of Mr. Lowrie, and Dr. Lord the substitute, when, the question being taken, the substitute was rejected.

Mr. Lowrie's motion, after some further discussion, was adopted, with an amendment proposed by Dr. McDowell, to add a Standing Committee on Theological Seminaries.

A protracted and somewhat exciting debate occurred, when the Standing Committee on Seminaries was announced.

Dr. Murray expressed the opinion that the Committee on

Theological Seminaries was not large enough, and ought to be strengthened by the addition of some further members, who were conversant with the subjects referred to that committee, and should be taken from different portions of the Church, especially from the bounds of the Synods of Albany, New York, and New Jersey. He was willing to concede the selection to the discretion of the Moderator. He made a motion to have the committee enlarged.

Dr. McDowell thought the committee, as it at present stood, had been judiciously constituted, and was full enough. He hoped no alteration would be made.

Dr. W. L. Breckinridge moved to amend Dr. Murray's motion, so as to remodel the composition of the committee, by the appointment of one member from each Synod (so far as they were here represented). He considered it highly expedient that the Standing Committee on the Seminaries should contain representatives from every portion of the Church, and he saw no better way of effecting that object than that which he had proposed.

After a good deal of discussion, the proposition of Dr. W. L. Breckinridge was agreed to, and the committee remodelled accordingly.

Corresponding Members.

Dr. Baird introduced to the Assembly the Rev. Dr. Adamson, from the Free Church of Scotland, a brother who had lately been labouring as a missionary in South Africa, and Mr. Kalley, one of the exiles from the Island of Madeira, who had been driven out by Popish persecution.

Dr. Adamson was politely received by the Moderator, and invited to take his stand by his side, while he should address the body.

Dr. Adamson did so, and proceeded to observe that he deemed it a very gracious dispensation of Providence that he enjoyed the present opportunity of addressing his American brethren. Knowing the preciousness of their time, he should condense what he had to say as much as possible, and would be pardoned for rapidity in his delivery. He had resided for twenty-three or twenty-four years in a land which, though com-

paratively dark, was as highly favoured by Providence as any portion of the earth, in the provisions made for carrying into every part of it the precious gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord. On looking at any map of the African continent, a coloured patch would be observed at its Southern extremity—it designated the extent of the British colony at the Cape of Good Hope. On its Northern extremity ran the great Orange river (a stream many miles longer than the Rhine), and which, extending along the border of the wilderness, marked the limit to the efforts of the European race to do good in that quarter of the world. At the extreme south, extended a narrow strip of very fertile land, whence it gradually extended itself like a fan to the tropical regions of the interior. A portion of the labourers in this field consisted of members from the Reformed Church of Scotland, who constituted three Presbyteries formed into one Synod, within whose bounds were thirty-seven churches. This might be considered as the Established Church of the colony, so far as there was any. They had long been engaged in giving instruction to the coloured race. The earliest date to which missionary operations could be traced was about one hundred years ago, when it had been commenced by a good Moravian brother, who had met with much opposition in his labour of love. Next came the English Christians, who were more scattered throughout the country. They were from the Wesleyan and the London Missionary Society. The representatives of the churches of Germany and Prussia came from the banks of the Rhine, and were situated on the western border of the colony. Those from Berlin constituted one mission in its centre. Besides these, there were devoted missionaries from the French Protestants, sent out by the Society of Paris. They had located themselves in the very midst of a mass of a native population, which occupied the whole continent south of the equator, and who had all hitherto spoken nearly the same language; then there were Scotch missionaries situated on the borders of the Kaffir land, whose missions had been nearly destroyed in the course of the late military conflicts. When coming to the coast of Natal, there were found German and English missions, and the noble company of American brethren. These he considered as being the most blessed and the most

influential of them all. These had taken in hand the charge of translating into the native language, and Dr. Adamson came as their delegate to this country.

His own operations had been conducted at first under the Established Church of Scotland, and his mission seemed to be to do good, as far as practicable, to the coloured race, which it was his delight to take by the hand; his white brethren from Holland, and the noble sons of the Huguenots, whom persecution had driven out of France when Louis XIV. undertook to destroy the gospel in his kingdom; he felt specially called to devote himself to the poor blacks. A most interesting event had taken place in the colony. He alluded to the manumission of the coloured slaves, and knowing that the time for this drew nigh, he had considered it his duty to awaken society there to the necessity of preparing for it. There was, under such circumstances, an imperious call for firm faith and well directed effort—but he assured them that if faith did go forth to such an effort, it would certainly be blessed, and so it had proved. Fears had been entertained that three-fourths of this population would be found to be heathen, while the residue were Mohammedans. Yet when the fact came to be ascertained, out of eleven or twelve thousand coloured slaves, but three hundred were found to be professed heathens. In company with a colleague from the Lutheran Church, he had visited these people, and invited them to attend church—a thing that had never happened to them before; it produced a great sensation among them, and they came out in great numbers, and showed that there was the foundation for a great and flourishing Christian church. Schools had been established, and seven hundred children gathered into them. Another means of good had been the establishment among them of a Friendly Society, whose object was to provide for the aged and the sick. This had checked the natural improvidence of their pockets, and taught them to lay up the money they had formerly wasted. Eleven hundred members had been added to this association. There existed at this time five coloured churches of these emancipated apprentices. After some very severe strictures on Patronism as existing in the Scottish Church, and on the sectarian spirit of the British Government, he declared his preference for the

American field, as presenting far less obstacles to the free spread of the gospel.

Dr. Kalley declined making any statements respecting the late transactions in Madeira, since they were all well known to the American Christian; but went into a course of pious Christian reflection on the power and blessedness of being permitted to labour, and even to suffer in the great cause of Christ's kingdom and glory. He had himself never tasted truer happiness than when in a prison for that precious cause. He closed with some remarks in relation to slavery, and the duty of all Christians to combine to abolish the laws which authorized the separation between coloured husbands and their wives.

The Rev. Lyman H. Atwater, from the General Association of Connecticut, and the Rev. A. Toby of the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church, successively addressed the Assembly with warm and affectionate salutations, and the expression of Christian respect and brotherly fellowship. They briefly stated the religious condition of their respective bodies, congratulating the Assembly on its wide extent and growing prosperity. To these addresses the Moderator made suitable replies, reciprocating the same assurances of good will. It was truly refreshing to witness this fraternal intercourse, and to listen to the heart-felt expressions of Christian love between these sister branches of the Church of God.

Rev. Dr. Revel, Moderator of the Waldensian Synod, who was introduced by Dr. Baird, was addressed, in a very appropriate manner, by the Moderator, who referred to the past history of the persecuted people from whom he came; the reverence and sympathy felt by the Church in this country; the tears shed by himself in childhood over the narrative of their sufferings; the fidelity and undaunted heroism shown by them under the heaviest trials; the united testimony of our fathers and theirs to the truth, and the martyr-blood by which that testimony had been sealed. He expressed his hope that Dr. Revel would receive tokens of love and sympathy throughout all the American churches, more efficient than words, and his trust that our illustrious visitor would be able to take back to his country, and his companions in trial, the conviction and the

evidence that they enjoyed the strong affection and deepest sympathy of their American brethren.

Dr. Revel replied, and addressed the Assembly in the French language, his address from time to time being rendered into English by Dr. Baird.

The earnestness, humility, simplicity, and affectionate tone of his brief speech, made a profound impression on the Assembly, as well as on the auditory who crowded the aisles and galleries. In conclusion, he presented a paper given him by the Waldensian "Table," which is a sort of Executive Committee of that Church, empowered to act for the whole body in the intervals of the sessions of their General Assembly, which is triennial.

Dr. Spring then moved a resolution commending him to the affection and co-operation of our churches.

The following letter was, at a later period in the sessions of the Assembly, ordered to be sent to the churches:

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, to the Churches under their care—Greeting:

Dearly Beloved Brethren:—It has been our privilege, during the present session, to receive as a guest the Rev. J. P. Revel, Moderator of the Waldensian Synod, and representative of that ancient and venerable Church. Standing upon the same platform of doctrine and order with ourselves—being Calvinistic in the one, and Presbyterian in the other—this Church is endeared to us on many grounds; because she can trace her lineage, in a direct historic line, to that primitive Church, which, for aught we know, was founded by apostolic labours; because through that long night of a thousand years, when the nations of the earth "wandered after the beast," she kept the beacon light of truth and godliness upon her Alpine watch-tower; because her mountain fastnesses have afforded an asylum to the persecuted saints of the Lord in every land, during those ages when "the woman was drunken with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;" because, during six centuries the grace and power of God have preserved her, like the burning bush, amidst the flames of persecution—and thus she stands forth a precious memorial of God's covenant fidelity, and of Christ's power, as

King in Zion, to keep his seed alive upon the earth; because, not needing herself to be reformed, she has in every age earnestly sympathized with every effort to purge the Church of error and impiety; because, through six hundred years she has been a faithful witness for God and the truth, furnishing a noble army of Confessors, who have sealed their testimony with their blood; and, because, in every age, she has been a Missionary Church, devoted to Evangelical labours—and now, in the first lull of that storm which has so long beaten upon her, she comes forth from the cleft in the rock, and girds herself anew to the propagation of Christianity.

Though like the conies they are a feeble folk, numbering only twenty-three thousand souls, who glean a scanty subsistence from their mountain terraces, yet “the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty have abounded unto the riches of their liberality.” They have undertaken not only to sustain their own pastorates, but to build churches in Turin, Genoa, Pignerol, Nice, and other important places contiguous to their territory; to sustain missionaries, through whom the word of the Lord may “sound out into the regions beyond;” and especially to found a Theological School, which shall train a native ministry adapted to the great work of evangelizing Papal Europe. For these various purposes the sum of \$50,000 is imperatively needed; which, while it would enrich them, is but the small dust of that wonderful wealth which a benignant Providence has poured into the lap of the American Church. We do the more earnestly commend this great object, Christian brethren, to your sympathy and aid, since Mr. Revel, the representative of this martyr Church, has time to do little more than to introduce himself to us, and through us to introduce his cause to you. Brethren, it will be well done if it be quickly done. Do with your might whatsoever your hand and your heart may find to do in this matter; and send your contributions which God may give you grace to afford, to the Hon. Walter Lowrie, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions in New York, at as early a period as possible.

Yours in the Lord Jesus.

Foreign Missions.

The hour having arrived, the Assembly passed to the order of the day, which was the presentation of the Report from the Committee on the Board of Foreign Missions.

Rev. Dr. Smythe thereupon reported a series of resolutions:

1. Expressing thanks to the Board for the zealous and economical manner in which they had conducted these important operations of the Church.

2. Commending the Annual Report to the prayerful examination of our ministers, ruling elders, and church-members.

3. Expressing thanks to God, that, as a Church, we are united in the missionary work, and for the success which has increased the pecuniary contributions to Foreign Missions tenfold since 1831, and the gradual increase of the missionary spirit.

4. Adverting to the causes for humiliation because of the apathy which still exists among us to such an extent, that more than one-half of all the churches, under the care of more than one-fourth of the ministers, with nearly one-third of the church-members, have given nothing through this Board for sending the gospel to the heathen during the past year.

5. Calling the attention of the Synods, Presbyteries, and churches, and individual church-members to this delinquency, and in order to effect an improvement, pastors are urged to preach on the subject, instruct the young, observe the monthly concert, and circulate the *Foreign Missionary* and *Home and Foreign Record*.

6. Enjoining it on Presbyteries to inquire of every pastor and elder what measures have been adopted to secure increased interest in this great cause; and further suggesting to the several Synods an annual sermon on the subject.

7. Recognizing in all that has occurred to encourage us, that there is a loud call for greater liberality, and more earnest and persevering prayer to the Lord of the harvest, for more labourers and increased efficiency, especially among the Indians—in India, Africa, and among Romanists—and finally, calling the attention of the Executive Committee of the Board

specially to the Jews, in view of the promises of Scripture, and the great apathy in regard to them.

Walter Lowrie, Esq., the Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, then addressed the Assembly in a series of statements of the highest interest, respecting the present condition of the great concern of Foreign Missions, which, as they were delivered with affectionate earnestness and many tears, were listened to with profound attention. We cannot attempt to give the details—all of which will be found in the printed Report—but have gathered up a few of the prominent facts. Mr. Lowrie would state the business principles on which the Foreign Missions of our Church were conducted—for they had of necessity to do with money, and men, and women, and much of the everyday business of human life.

The receipts during the year amounted to \$153,855. Of this sum the donations amounted to \$85,346. To this source of supply the Board looked with the deepest interest. But the cause did not rely on these; it must look, and did look, to the people of God throughout the Church, for the silver and the gold necessary to send the gospel to the heathen world.

Mr. Lowrie here presented a list of the Synods in the Church—designating which had advanced, and which had fallen back, in their annual contributions. Sixteen had increased; eleven had fallen off. The increase amounted to \$12,292; the decrease to \$7885; leaving an aggregate amount of increase of \$4437.

He proclaimed the astounding fact, that *more than half our churches had, this year, given nothing to this sacred cause*; and they contained one-third of all our communicants. A few of these might have given to the American Board, and a few given to both, but the number of them was small. The contributions of the Central Synods had fallen off *one-half* from these causes; some missions had been crippled, and some discontinued altogether.

Mr. Lowrie then gave some details respecting our missions among the Creek Indians. And here he stated, from personal observation, the astonishing change in the condition of this tribe since they had enjoyed the labours of missionaries among them. Yet this mission must be abandoned, unless more was

done by the Church. Respecting Africa, he said comparatively little, because Mr. Wilson, the missionary, was to address the Assembly.

India.—Here Mr. Lowrie explained the necessity of spending large sums in educating the neglected females of the Hindoos. So degraded had they been, that they did not deem themselves fit companions for the other sex; but now they experienced the influence of Christianity, they were assuming their proper level, and their true attitude.

Siam.—Was fully open to missionary effort. They were a reading people—having a free school system, that exceeded even that of New England. This gave great facilities for the work of missions, which could be effectually aided by the press.

China.—He spoke of the loss of missionaries by death, (one by violence)—This country too presented an open door for effort.

California.—This mission was necessarily attended with great expense—yet from the number of Chinese immigrants it was highly important. These people were industrious, and promised to become good citizens. They must have preaching, the help of the press, and the means of education.

Papal Countries.—Here Mr. Lowrie spoke eloquently of the Waldenses and their claims for aid.

The Jews presented the hardest of all fields for missionary enterprise.

Mr. Lowrie then went on to speak of the vast amount of labour thrown upon the single Board of Foreign Missions, and touched a few details to show what it had to accomplish.

Returning to the subject of pecuniary support, without which nothing could be done, Mr. Lowrie stated that the contributions in some of our Synods averaged about 16 cents a year to each communicant! one quarter of a cent a week! while more than 500 members stood absolutely idle. He had renewed these appeals every year, and yet in 17 years there had been scarce any advance. Were all our people such as these, he should have given up the cause long ago—but thanks be to God, there were those all over the Church, whose deeds adorned their pro-

fession. He did not come here to exhort this Assembly, but his heart was full, and he could not close his lips. The position he occupied was not, God knew, of his seeking—it had caused him many anxious days, and not a few sleepless nights—he tried to be faithful, and to state the true state of the case.

Yet it was not all shade—there were joys mingled with these cares, exceeded only by the joys of heaven. He adverted to our rich and multiplied privileges in this land of Christian freedom; and then, presenting the condition of the poor dark Indian, the idolatrous Hindoo, the selfish Chinese, the debased Hottentot, he dwelt upon the thought of their being brought, by God's blessing on missionary effort, to a like condition, and finished the beautiful picture by representing them at the table of the Lord. This paid, and more than paid for all. And then he closed by following them up to heaven, and tracing their condition there as given by the pen of inspiration. Let the Church keep her eye on this picture, till, after duty done and trials endured, she should appear with them in glory.

The Assembly was then addressed by the Rev. J. L. Wilson, a returned missionary from Africa, who went at length into an account of the present state, and future prospects, of the missionary cause on that dark continent.

He stated, as among the results of missionary labour there, the gathering of more than one hundred Christian churches, containing ten thousand hopeful converts; the establishment of one hundred and fifty Christian schools, in which from twelve to fifteen thousand youth were receiving Christian and other instruction. The Bible had been translated, and its truths brought into contact, directly or indirectly, with a million of human minds. They had given to Africa eighteen written dialects—and all this without grammars or teachers, or any extrinsic aid; and this had been the work of Protestant missions within a space of twenty years.

The country was open to us, and everywhere there was a growing desire for missionaries to settle among them.

Mr. Wilson admitted the insalubriousness of the climate to white constitutions—but this had been greatly exaggerated. With ordinary prudence a man might live in Africa long enough to effect, under the divine blessing, a vast amount of

good. At this day there were more than one hundred white missionaries living there, besides whom, there were not less than two thousand on the coast and islands, in the pursuit of commerce or the slave trade. But, were it otherwise, and did every missionary certainly shorten his days, still it was true,

“That life is long which answers life’s great end.”

Mr. Wilson went into a very impressive comparison of the relative amount of success between missionaries in Africa and ministers of the gospel here. Allowing 30 converts and the founding of one Christian church as the average success of the latter, the results to a missionary in Africa, were, in the same time, 250 converts and two churches. Did the church do her duty to that land, it would soon go ahead of America.

Mr. Newton, a returned missionary from the Lodiana mission in Northern India, then addressed the Assembly, and spoke on the claims of the cause in India for an additional number of missionaries. He divided the population into three classes—Mohammedan, Hindoo, and Sikh. To the first class belonged more than half. The Sikhs are regarded as a sort of reformed Hindoos, and whose reformation, such as it was, had been the work of a man who was cotemporary with Luther in Europe. His object seemed to have been to reform the idolatry of his countrymen, and reconcile them in part to the religion of the Mohammedans. A portion of the people were called Juts, and were believed to be a branch of the Goths who invaded Europe.

This people once had great political power in India; but that was gone, and with it the principal part of the ritual of their religion, (which resembled that of Mohammed, in relying on the sword,) and they consequently presented a hopeful field for the introduction of Christianity. On this ground Mr. Newton pressed his claim for missionary aid. Throughout the whole Punjaub the Lord seemed to have prepared the way in a wonderful manner, and the people themselves had ceased to defend their own religion, and were impressed with the conviction that it was destined to expire. Their great danger now was the lapse from rejected theology into atheism.

The several resolutions contained in the Report were adopted

without debate, with the exception of the last, which urged special labours for the conversion of the Jews, as, according to Scripture, preliminary to the conversion of the world.

The question being on a motion of Dr. Henry to strike out this resolution,

Dr. Spring said, he rose under great embarrassment, in expressing the doubt he felt as to the wisdom of the Assembly's adoption of this resolution. He was far, very far, from feeling any thing like indifference to the condition of the Jews, or the prospects of their speedy conversion. On the contrary, he had examined the subject with the most intense interest; yet he could not perceive that the aspect of Divine Providence toward that unhappy people gave any favourable indication that the time of their promised mercy was near at hand. Look at the immense efforts of our transatlantic brethren for their conversion, and what was the result? It was certainly most discouraging. Dr. Spring, when in Europe, had had a very impressive conversation with the Rev. Dr. Burder, well known for his zeal in behalf of the Jews' Society of London; when enumerating to another gentleman who was present, the number of supposed converts which the society could then count, that gentleman had, with great solemnity and earnestness, put to Dr. Burder this question—"Have you any reason to believe that the Society has been, thus far, instrumental in the real conversion of a single Jew?" Dr. Burder, with much emotion, and after a brief pause, replied, "I fear we have not."

Dr. Spring went on to say, that his own impression had been that the Church's duty, in her efforts for the spread of the gospel, was to follow where the pillar and the cloud seemed to lead her way. There were wide and promising fields of enterprise elsewhere, which seemed white unto harvest; there were the broad lands of the Papal domination, and the yet broader land of heathen darkness, which seemed to invite our labours, and where the most encouraging success was found to attend them; but he had long and closely watched the results of the efforts put forth in behalf of the Jews, and the result of his observation had been a cautious refusal of his own poor name, (worth nothing, indeed, save from position,) in favour of any such efforts at the present time. It did seem to him that the time had

not yet come for the return of these outcasts into the bosom of the Church, unless his speculations on this subject (and they were but speculations, he admitted,) had deceived him. When the set time to favour them had come, or was at hand, we should see the evident and marked leadings of God's providence, and should hear the awful sounds of his omnipotent voice giving indication that the long expected day of their redemption was indeed at last come.

Dr. Spring objected to the condemnatory tone of this resolution, declaring that the churches were bound to make *special* efforts on this subject now. He believed no such thing. It was, indeed, their duty at all times to labour and pray for them; but as to there being any *special* call for extraordinary effort in their behalf at this day, he thought the aspect of divine Providence gave no indication of it. Let the Jews occupy that warm place they had, and which they must ever occupy, in all Christian hearts. The great difficulty under which they laboured was a want of employment; they came among us, and were eager to get some profitable employ; it was easy to convert them, perfectly easy, nothing easier, if you would *support* them. The great mass of those professing to be converted were under pay as agents of the Jews' Society. The Jewish mind needed to be raised—to be cultivated—to be enlightened. Yet, let him not be misunderstood. He was not objecting to efforts in behalf of the sons of Abraham; he would not throw a straw in the way; he wished them God speed; but he could not consent so emphatically to call the Church to this as a *special* duty of the present day.

Dr. Baird admitted there was force in the remarks of Dr. Spring; yet he hoped the resolution would not be entirely stricken out. The present wording of the resolution certainly did seem to convey the idea that the conversion of the world depended on the conversion of the Jews; he did not like the word "depended," and would rather substitute "intimately connected with." He should be sorry to see the resolution wholly omitted. He thought that the present state of the work among the Jews would hardly justify the want of confidence felt by some Christians in regard to it.

Dr. Baird had for fifteen years past, come in frequent con-

tact with the labourers sent forth by the Jews' Society, and he was personally acquainted with some of their converts; and he could testify that since the time of Dr. Spring's conversation with Dr. Burder, a change, a very great change had taken place. There was at this time a great movement among the Jews in Germany, in Poland, in Hungary, and in Holland—and enough good had been done to afford us great encouragement. But lately we have had comparatively but few Jews in this country; now they amounted to some 100,000. The Church had seemed to exercise but little faith in regard to their conversion; now she was putting forth more faith, and there was a corresponding encouragement. There were no more interesting missionaries in the whole field than the Scottish missionaries at Pesth in Hungary. Dr. Baird was personally acquainted with them, and he knew that their labours were meeting with great success. There were more converted on the Continent than in England. He trusted the resolution would not be stricken out.

Dr. Lord of Buffalo, moved that the report be recommitted.

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge remarked, in regard to the whole report, that its tone was somewhat too strong. The condemnatory phrases especially were too strongly expressed. There was in all the resolutions we were in the habit of adopting, too much of exaggeration. There was a vehemency in the language used which savoured of exaggeration; and, however this might be overlooked in our off-hand speeches, when we drew up documents in writing to go to the world, it ought to be avoided.

Yet Dr. Breckinridge should greatly regret to see the resolution wholly stricken out. There was, as all knew, a great variety of views entertained in the Church touching the language of prophecy on the restoration of the Jews, as there was on the millennium. It would not be edifying for the Assembly to go into all that; but all were agreed in embracing the Jews as a fit subject for missionary enterprise, and the interest was one altogether too great to be omitted by a Committee on Foreign Missions. There was a great solution to come, some day, of all these great questions—the language of prophecy certainly did cover the whole ground of the Jewish restoration, the destruction of Popery, and the conversion of the heathen—it covered

the whole vast field of foreign missions. And it was impossible to strike out the Jews from our programme of missionary effort, without turning away from our duty, and mutilating the scheme of general good to be accomplished. There might be in the Divine mind a synchronism as to the great wants for the blessing of the world—and it was not for us to turn away from any portion of the promise or the prospect set before us in the Bible. Jerusalem was to be trodden down of the Gentiles *till* the times of the Gentiles should be fulfilled, and then all Israel should be saved. There was a definite time distinctly alluded to, and if there was one thing clearly taught, it was, that God loved those who loved and cared for his ancient covenant people, and that he would execute his fierce judgments on all who oppressed them. He had never given Jerusalem a bill of divorcement; and it was a striking difference between Protestantism and Popery, that the one cherished and cared for the poor outcast exiles, while Popery everywhere hated and oppressed them.

It was very true, that it was the Church's duty to follow the guidance of the pillar and the cloud; but then it should be remembered that the cloudy pillar was ever before the people of God, when his word called them to any good work. Dr. Breckinridge closed with some reference to former discussions in the Assembly, as to the Church's mode of conducting the missionary enterprise; he believed she never would reach the hearts, and command the means of the Church as she ought to do, till she fully followed out God's own mode prescribed for her action.

Mr. Nevin wished the resolution to stand, because he believed the Church was called of God to the express work of labouring for Jewish conversion. Paul asked the Roman Christians, if the fall of the Jews was the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulness? and if the casting away of them be the renovating of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? He thought the argument, from the small success which had hitherto attended the efforts for their conversion, without foundation. God called his people his witnesses; and he thought their testimony would be as effectual

to his truth from a want of success in this effort, as from its success. If the ordinary effects followed our preaching to the Jews, the testimony of the fact for God would be much weakened. The obstinate rejection by the Jews of the most strenuous endeavours for their good, their stubbornness and hardness of heart, furnished a cumulative argument to prove the truth and foreknowledge of God. The evidence was accumulating and strengthening with every tick of the clock, and just as much from the darkness of the Jewish field as from the light. If the Church could work only in the light, she was walking by sight, and not by faith. Who can tell? God might come suddenly to his temple; surely it was not for us to cast off a people whom he had chosen, from whom we received the lively oracles of truth, and even our Saviour himself. No: let us believe where we could not see, and go on patiently doing our duty, and we should sooner or later behold the cause and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ make its triumphant march round the subjugated world.

Board of Education.—Abstract of Annual Report for 1853.

Part I. MINISTERIAL EDUCATION.—The Church should aim at bringing into the ministry all classes of her sons, acknowledging in all cases the necessity of the call by the Spirit. The Report alludes to the dearth of candidates, 1. As affecting the character of the Church. 2. It involves many responsibilities. 3. It impedes our aggressive work in the world. 4. It places the Church, in a certain sense, in opposition to Providence. 5. It entails disadvantages on this and on succeeding generations. 6. It is remarkable in view of all the offers of assistance to the deserving. 7. It is in striking contrast with the general outward prosperity of the Church. 8. And with the infidel and Roman increase. 9. The dearth of candidates should lead to prayer.

Part II. OPERATIONS OF THE YEAR.—The number of *candidates* in all stages of education, 370, (2 less than last year.) The number of *schools* is about 100; of *Classical Academies* 46; of *Colleges* 13, besides three or four others projected during the year. Funds received for Ministerial Education, \$32,519 52;

for schools, academies, and colleges, \$9883 64; other purposes, \$220. In all, \$42,623 16. Payments, \$37,899 53.

Part III. contains remarks on Church schools and State schools; or, a plea for religious education, charity, and peace. The first proposition is, that the religious training of children is ordained of God as the means of building up the Church. This is proved by the commands, and the special promises of God, and by the experience of the Church, in both dispensations, and in every part of the world. The second proposition is, that religious training must be given in schools, as well as in families. 1. Because the family is insufficient for the entire work of religious, as well as of secular education. 2. Because even competent parents have not the requisite time. 3. Because most households give no religious instruction whatever. 4. Because history proves the value of the agency under consideration. The third proposition is that adequate religious instruction can only be provided in schools under the care of the Church. 1. Because in no others can Christians choose the teachers, or determine the course of training. 2. The prevalent diversity of religious opinion, and sectarian jealousy, must prevent the adoption of any efficient system of religious instruction. 3. The argument from the history of our common schools is decisive on this subject.

The fourth proposition is, that the two systems of Church and State schools may readily co-exist. The one supplements the other. The friends of parochial schools desire, as a general thing, that efficiency should be given to the State system. 1. Because thousands of children might otherwise remain uneducated. 2. Because secular education, even with the minimum of moral and religious instruction, and with other facilities for receiving it, is a blessing. 3. In the present condition of public opinion, the common schools are the only ones for which State patronage can be secured; and without the aid of the State, the general education of the people cannot be accomplished. 4. The State schools constitute a great public system, which ought not to be set aside until a better and more efficient one can be devised.

On the other hand, the friends of the State system have no reason to oppose denominational schools. 1. Because these

schools do not owe their origin to hostility to the State system, but to views of Christian duty. 2. The utmost extent to which the denominational system can be now carried will leave much ground that can only be occupied by the State. 3. Denominational schools are not exclusive, and need not be offensively sectarian. 4. Healthful competition is of great advantage in the work of education. 5. Let the patriot remember that the advantages of religious education to the State are incalculably precious. 6. The rights of conscience are guarantied to all; and every Church is at perfect liberty to establish schools in which religion shall be taught after its own doctrines and usages.

Conclusion.—The true educational policy of the Presbyterian Church is: 1. To sustain common schools, where it can be consistently done with the Bible in them. 2. To resist the Papal invasion of the State system for the propagation of Romanism. 3. To encourage religious schools and academies under private teachers, where circumstances favour it. 4. To sustain cordially and efficiently institutions of learning under the Church's own care.

The following resolutions, presented by the Standing Committee on the Board of Education, were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That the lamentable dearth of candidates for the ministry in the Church, while the call, both from the home and foreign field, is becoming more frequent and pressing, is a subject of serious alarm; involving great responsibilities in all concerned, and demanding, in the most urgent manner, the immediate and particular attention of ministers, elders, parents, and pious young men; and the Assembly express the opinion, that constant and earnest prayer should be made to the "Lord of the harvest," both in public and private, until a gracious answer is given in his holy Providence; and that the last Thursday of February next be recommended as day of *special* prayer, and public instruction on this subject, in all our churches.

2. *Resolved*, That this Assembly sanction the alteration of the rule of the Board of Education on the subject of appropriations, so as to allow, under particular circumstances, an increase of the sum, above the maximum now granted, according to the discretion of the Board.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly gratefully record the goodness of God in giving so large a measure of prosperity to our Schools, Academies, and Colleges during the year, and especially in pouring out his Spirit on some of these institutions to the conversion, edification, and salvation of numbers of their youth.

4. *Resolved*, That the establishment of a High School, for the use and benefit of the free coloured population of this country, meets the cordial approbation and recommendation of this Assembly; with the understanding that it shall be wholly under the supervision and control of the Presbytery, or Synod, within whose bounds it may be located, thus securing such an education as shall promote the usefulness and happiness of this class of our people.

5. *Resolved*, That the effort of the Synod of Arkansas to establish "Makemie College," within its wide and destitute bounds upon the frontier population, is entitled to the special support of the friends of Christian education; and it is recommended not only to the attention of the Board, but to the efficient and liberal co-operation of all who have it in their power to render it aid.

6. *Resolved*, That the Presbyterian Church has always been, and is now, in favour of the general education of the people; yet whilst the General Assembly cordially welcome and rejoice in all public or private efforts, not anti-christian, which have this end in view, and which recognize the use of the Holy Scriptures, they still deem it important and necessary to adhere to, and extend their own system of Schools, Academies, and Colleges, as Christian institutions, whose purpose is to bring up their youth in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

7. *Resolved*, That the Assembly renewedly recommend the objects of the Board of Education in its various departments, to the patronage of the churches, in such form as each may deem best.

Board of Publication.

The Report of the Board, as presented by Dr. Musgrave, gave a full and encouraging view of their operations. The

Report embraced a condensed statement of the result of its labours, from which it appears that from April 1st, 1842, to April 1st, 1843, the sales amounted to only \$11,289.46; and during that year there were no receipts for colportage or distribution. But from April 1st, 1852, to April 1st, 1853, the sales amounted to \$72,746.35. During that year the donations for colportage were \$12,188.01, and the donations for distribution \$1723. The aggregate amount of sales from April 1st, 1841, to April 1st, 1853, has amounted to \$466,573.75. During the year ending March 31st, 1853, the number of copies of new publications printed by the Board has amounted to 140,750. During the same period they have published new editions from stereotype plates to the amount of 604,800. Total number of copies of books and tracts published during the year, 745,550. The aggregate number of volumes published by the Board, from their organization, in 1840, to March 31st, 1853, has amounted to 2,020,450. The aggregate number of tracts published during the same period has amounted to 2,131,450. The total number of volumes and tracts published by the Board from 1840 to March 31, 1853, has amounted to 4,151,900.

Dr. Murray, from the Committee on the Report of the Board of Publication, reported a series of resolutions, which are as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Assembly, the evangelical press is, next to the pulpit, the most efficient means for the propagation of divine truth and the conversion and salvation of men, and ought, therefore, to be employed by the Church to the utmost extent of her ability.

2. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Assembly, the publication and circulation of books and tracts, in which are exhibited the distinctive doctrines and order of our beloved Church, is not only highly important but indispensably necessary to her prosperity and extension, and ought, therefore, to receive the approbation and active co-operation of every Presbyterian.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly approve of the wisdom and zeal with which the Board of Publication have carried forward

the important work committed to their management during the past year, and are highly gratified with the result of their labours.

4. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as the pecuniary means of the Board would not justify them in attempting to establish local depositories, and as the necessary funds could probably be raised in the places where they are needed, it is hereby recommended that such local efforts be made wherever they are desired and can be properly sustained.

5. *Resolved*, That while the Assembly would urge the Board to continue to press onward and extend their operations over their whole field of labour, they would also urge them to continue to have a due regard to prudence and safety in the employment of the funds committed to their trust.

6. *Resolved*, That as the continued and extended usefulness of the Board of Publication, like every other benevolent institution, must depend, under God, upon the liberality of the benevolent, it is hereby earnestly recommended to all our pastors and churches to give particular attention to the claims of this Board, and render such aid by the contribution of funds as to enable the Board greatly to enlarge their operations.

7. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to all our pastors to endeavour to increase the circulation of the Home and Foreign Record, the organ of the Boards of the Church, in order that our churches may be better acquainted with their respective plans and operations, and be induced to contribute more liberally towards their support.

8. *Resolved*, That in view of the destitution of many Presbyterian families of our Confession of Faith, it is hereby earnestly recommended to all our pastors and elders to endeavour to induce every family in our connection to supply themselves with a copy of the standards of our Church; and the Board of Publication is requested to furnish, through their Colporteurs, every practicable facility for this purpose.

9. *Resolved*, That Art. III. of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Board of Publication be so amended as to read as follows:—Art. III. The Board of Managers shall hold their first meeting at such time and place as may be directed by the present General Assembly, and *shall hold a meeting annually*,

on the second Tuesday in June, at which time it shall appoint a President, Vice-President, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Recording Secretary, and an Executive Committee, to serve for the ensuing year.

These resolutions were all agreed to.

Board of Missions.

The Rev. C. C. Jones, D.D., Secretary of the Board, presented a verbal report full of animation and intelligence, in which he exhibited at large the condition of our Domestic Missions, the disposition of missionaries, and the state of the funds. He traced the missionary work as having been under the care of this Church from the days of the old Presbytery of Philadelphia, through a gradually extending organization down to the present time, in which the Board made to the Assembly its fifty-first Annual Report.

He considered the work committed to the care of the Board, under the several heads of expansion and retention, or propagation and preservation. Under the first, he treated of the measures adopted for founding churches throughout our country; and under the second, of those pursued to furnish them, when founded, with men and means to continue the preaching of the gospel. The field was unequally divided under the care of two committees, one at Philadelphia, and the other at Louisville. During the past year the first of these committees had operated in a field containing 1700 churches, 158,000 members, and about 1000 ministers; while that of Louisville had under its care 996 ministers, 52,000 members, and many churches. The committees stood on equal ground, and were both subject to the control of the Board.

The reporter caught the following statistics: The missionaries employed had been 515 (twenty-three less than last year); 838 missionary churches; 32 new churches; 1600 persons had been received on examination, besides 1200 on certificates from other churches—making an aggregate gain of 2900 new members. In 4500 schools there were 3000 teachers; and forty houses of worship had been erected. These amounts, however, fell far short of the actual truth, as in many cases no returns had been received.

The great principle on which the missionary enterprises of the Board were conducted, was that laid down by the Presbyterian Church, viz :—The principle of *self-sustentation*. And the Board felt high satisfaction in being able to state, that during the year, forty-one churches under the care of the Committee at Louisville, served by twenty-eight ministers, and thirty-three churches under the Committee at Philadelphia, served by twenty-eight ministers—making in all seventy-four missionary churches, had gone off from under the further charge of the Board, self-supported. With a very few exceptions, every application for aid had been met, on its face. On the subject of ministerial support, Dr. Jones stated that the average allowance paid by the Board to their missionaries was \$132,00. Including the aid received at the same time from the people to whom they ministered, the average salary was \$372. This was an advance on the previous year. The Board was desirous of increasing this allowance. The salary, be it remembered, was not fixed by the Board, but by the people and the Presbyteries. Dr. Jones spoke with great tenderness and veneration of the aged missionaries sent out by the Board ; many of whom he now saw around him as honoured members of this Assembly.

There had been comparatively but little experienced of the outpouring of the Spirit of God—but this lamentation was common to sister denominations, and it constituted a call to faith and prayer.

He next touched upon the enlargement of the Church by the addition of new Synods, and warmly congratulated the Assembly and the whole Church on the formation of a “Synod of the Pacific.” Surely every brother residing on this side the mountains ought to stretch forth with joy the right hand of fellowship to their brethren from the utmost sea. Here was the blessed sight of the Atlantic shaking hands, as it were, with the Pacific, across the breadth of an entire continent.

Thus was the Church of God binding together the whole of this wide land. Dr. Jones referred to the encouraging prospects in Texas, and the probable influence of a body of Christians in that great and growing State, in bursting the barriers of Papal darkness, and carrying the banner of the truth in

triumph across the Rio Grande. This was destined to be a Protestant nation, and Popery was crumbling before its onward march.

He went into a statement of the finances of the Board, from which it appeared that the receipts from all quarters during the year had been \$81,400: adding to this the balance in hand from 1852, and the sums borrowed would swell the amount to \$85,655; the expenditures were \$67,000 leaving a surplus now in the treasury of \$17,000. The debt of \$5000 had been paid off, and all the missionaries up to the 1st of April last, so that he was able to congratulate the Assembly on the fact that the Domestic missionary fund of the Church was this day wholly *free from debt*. This had been effected by the ability of so many churches to do without any support from this Board; by this means alone a saving had been effected of \$6000, and the \$17,000 remaining was only a working balance to guard against contingencies. Dr. Jones closed his report by a thrilling anticipation of the universal spread and final triumph of the Church of God.

Dr. W. L. Breckinridge, from the Standing Committee on the Annual Report of the Board of Domestic Missions, made a Report, which was read, as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly acknowledges with gratitude to the great Head of the Church, the manifold mercies which have rested upon its Domestic Missionaries, and the general success which has attended their labours.

2. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly enjoins upon the Missionaries the duty of forwarding their special reports at the close of the ecclesiastical year to the Board, in order that the Assembly may receive for its own information, and that of the churches, a full and accurate account of the condition of its missions.

3. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly expresses its gratification at the number of churches which have become self-sustaining during the year; and also at the increased efforts on the part of Presbyteries to impress upon the missionary churches the duty of liberal contributions for the support of their pastors; and in order to secure a fuller development of the pecuniary resources of the Church, would recommend to the

Presbyteries a careful consideration of the subject at their next stated meeting, with the view of recommending some system of contributions to the churches under their care.

4. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly approves the efforts of the Board to multiply self-sustaining churches, and in their efforts so to do, the Assembly expresses its confidence in the wisdom and prudence of the Board.

5. *Resolved*, That the Rev. Dr. Spring preach the annual sermon on Domestic Missions before the next General Assembly, and that the Rev. A. B. Van Zandt be the alternate.

A memorial from the Synod of Iowa on the subject of Church Extension having been referred to this Committee, the Committee recommended the adoption of the following:

Resolved, That the Board of Missions be requested to employ an agent to raise funds for this object as soon as possible.

Mr. Edwards moved the further consideration of this Report postponed. He could not entirely concur with the Committee in declaring "that the Assembly approves of the efforts of the Board to multiply self-sustaining churches, and in their efforts so to do, the Assembly expresses its confidence in the wisdom and prudence of the Board."

There had not been a sentence in the Report of this Committee which struck on his ear in so powerful a manner as where the Report told the Assembly, with seeming exultation, that they had \$17,000 in their treasury. Mr. Edwards had heard the announcement, not with pleasure, but on the contrary, with much pain; and the manner in which the Board accounted for such a balance being still in their hands, pleased him still less. Mr. Edwards came from a missionary field, and he thought that any confirmation, by this Assembly, of the propriety of retrenching the operations of the Board would be ominous of disaster. The system was pressed with too much severity—the coulter had been set too deep. It might be wise to a certain extent, and it was always the duty of this and of every other Board of the Church to retrench its expenditures whenever it could be done with propriety, but he could not approve the action of the Board in carrying that retrenchment so far. He hoped the Assembly would consent to post-

pone the further consideration of this Report till they had heard the overture from the Synod of Northern Indiana.

Dr. J. Smith concurred in this desire. There were facts stated in that overture which the Committee seemed to have disregarded: when they were stated he felt persuaded that the Assembly would consider them of so much weight as to consent at least to modify the expression of approbation which had been proposed for its adoption by this Committee. He could read documents to show the injurious consequences of the new system of retrenchment on a region containing 50,000 people—from which no less than four missionaries had already been drawn away by it. He admitted that the adoption of the general rule might in many cases have a very happy effect, in others its results were directly the reverse; and unless the course which had been entered upon by the Board should be arrested, nothing but wide-spread desolation would ensue.

Mr. Waller said that the Committee of Bills and Overtures had received an overture from the Synod of Northern Indiana, which would be considered as well entitled to the respectful attention of this body. That report differed widely in its spirit and tone from the resolution now proposed for adoption, and if the House were willing to hear it, the proper course would be to agree to the motion to postpone.

Dr. W. L. Breckinridge disclaimed all desire on the part of the Board to suppress inquiry or prevent the fullest discussion; on the contrary, their desire was to throw the whole subject before the Assembly. There was no need of postponing it; let it be disposed of without further delay. Why postpone?—the subject was one of great importance; our feeble churches looked to this Board, which our stronger churches must supply, and if there was anything wrong in the administration of its trust, it was time to sift it to the bottom. Let the overture adverted to be read. Dr. Smith had submitted a communication from himself and Dr. Fairchild, which had been read openly in the Committee; and it was after having heard and listened to that paper with the most respectful consideration that they had recommended the resolution of approbation, which had been objected to. So far from any hesitation in commending the wisdom of the Board in the system of retrench-

ment on which it had entered, his only doubt had been whether they had gone far enough.

It appeared that there were some very large churches, which had been for many years upon the Board—one, especially, consisting of little, if any less than two hundred members, that had been upon its funds for ten or fourteen years; it was represented as being situated in a fine grazing country, and that a church so large and so able should still remain as a burden on the treasury of the Board, seemed to him shocking. Should a fact like that be stated before Dr. Breckinridge's people, when any further demand was made from them on behalf of the Board, they would draw up the mouth of their purses, and nothing more could be obtained in that quarter; and if instances of this kind were suffered to continue, and became generally known, he was bold to say it would operate to cut off all the resources of the Board. It was due to justice, as well as to policy, that such facts should be known. He was for the amplest inquiry. As to the surplus in the treasury, Dr. Jones had sufficiently explained that it was held in reserve against that portion of the year in which nothing came in; and unless some such prudent provision were made beforehand, the Board might be swamped.

Dr. Smith explained, denying that there was any such Church as Dr. Breckinridge alluded to; it must be altogether a mistake. He went into some details—avowing that four missionaries had left the field, giving the great diminution in their allowance as the cause.

Dr. Murray wanted to know whether they had not removed to fields of greater usefulness?

Dr. Smith replied that he did not know.

After some further conversation, the question on postponement was lost.

Mr. Waller moved that the matter of an overture from the Synod of Northern Indiana be substituted for the 4th of the foregoing resolutions. This overture affirms that the Board of Missions is intended to sustain feeble churches, as well as to aid strictly missionary operations, and it proposes that the Assembly recommend to the Board of Missions, in no instance to withhold, or lessen its amount of aid, unless the propriety of

doing so be apparent—stating that the Board of Missions should always pay great regard to the views and wishes of the Presbyteries, in the statements of the Presbyteries as to the amount necessary to sustain the feeble churches in their bounds, and that the Assembly should recommend to the Board to rely with confidence on the liberality of the churches for funds, both to sustain feeble churches and carry on missionary operations.

Mr. Waller desired the most kindly and pacific mode of settling this whole subject; but there was in some portions of the Church a very strong feeling in regard to it: and in the Committee of Bills and Overtures, so wide was the difference of opinion, that he had thought at one time that there must be two reports. But one of the mildest and most conciliating members of the Committee had been appointed as a Sub-Committee, and it was he who reported the resolution, to which the rest of the Committee had agreed. [The Reporter understood him to refer to the substitute.] By adopting it, the Assembly might harmonize all parts of the Church, a discussion would in this way be avoided, which might possibly become of an unpleasant kind. No reflection was intended on the Board of Domestic Missions, none whatever; but there was great sensitiveness on the subject in some quarters.

Dr. Smith disclaimed all purpose of reflecting on the Board. Remembering his personal relations to it, his brother might justly exclaim, *Et tu, Brute!* Yet he wished the Board and its excellent Secretary to consent to some modification in the stringency of the new system.

Dr. Smith here quoted from a letter of Dr. Fairchild, and concluded by deprecating an indiscriminate application of the rules of retrenchment adopted by the Board.

Dr. Magie said that this was a practical matter very hard to manage; there was in it an inherent difficulty. In what the Board had done, it had not at all departed from its original established policy. The idea of perpetuity in the aid granted to feeble churches, had never for a moment been entertained. He admitted that there was a more stringent application of the principle; but the principle was now just what it always had been. And the cases on which it bore hardly were

much fewer than seemed to be supposed. No doubt there were some. There were some old settlements, very small in extent, which had been hanging dependent so long upon the Board that they considered it a great hardship to have their supply of aid diminished. As long as such churches could continue to receive \$100 or \$150 every year, they would continue to lean upon the support of the Board. Such churches needed to be put upon supporting themselves. We should not rashly conclude a policy to be bad because it might work badly in a few particular cases. Dr. Magie had looked into the case, and thought that just such a resolution as had been reported ought to be adopted, and he hoped it would be.

Mr. Stockton thought that the resolution of the Committee covered the whole ground, and was eminently proper. He thought that great discretion should be exercised by the Board, and though he had been much gratified with the general principle avowed by the Secretary in the report, yet he thought it needed care that it did not operate injuriously. The reduction of one-third, or of even one-fourth part from the aid extended to a church, might sometimes operate as a serious injury. There were some churches, however, which thought themselves feebler than they really were, and such would be benefitted, not injured, by an application of the rule. But he thought all that might be safely confided to the discretion of the Board. No doubt many a weak church would need to be sustained from year to year with the utmost care: but if they could be induced to exert themselves somewhat more, it would doubtless be a benefit to their growth and prosperity. He did not think the substitute would accomplish all that was expected from it. He liked the conciseness and the force of the original resolution.

Mr. R. J. McDowell opposed the adoption of the substitute; though it was disclaimed that in its proposal there was any intention to reflect upon the Board, yet the mere refusal to adopt the resolution of recommendation and confidence reported, would seem to admit of such an interpretation. Unless cases were shown that proved the policy of the Board to be injurious to the Church, he trusted the substitute would not carry.

Dr. Smith of Baltimore was in favour of that form of approval agreed to by the Committee on Bills and Overtures. Such a resolution would satisfy the whole Church, but a general approval would not. He thought the Board should look to the opinions of the Presbyteries, and should settle each case on its individual merits, and not apply any indiscriminate sweeping rules.

Mr. Dickson was in favour of the resolution reported by the committee. Ten years ago, such a resolution as the substitute might have been pressed without impropriety; but the state of things in the Church had changed; there were wide tracts of country to be supplied, when the advice of a Presbytery could not be had, because there was no Presbytery there. A Presbytery was very apt to confine its views to the district of country immediately around itself, and not to look beyond. But while it was admitted that each Presbytery was the best judge as to the wants of its own bounds, the Board was the only body that could compare and judge of the wants of the whole. He thought a wide discretion should be entrusted to them; if they abused it, censure them; but do not put a bridle on their action—it would embarrass them. There were in the Presbytery of Washington, from which he came, churches which had received the aid of the Board for twenty years, and were smaller now than at first. This was a wrong state of things. If the sums absorbed by numbers of such feeble churches had been expended at Dubuque, or in some of the rising towns of the far West, it would have accomplished far more for the cause. If the application of the rule produced injury, the churches injured could come here and complain; but surely the growing wants of California and Oregon must be met. If one Presbytery after another should take offence, and withdraw their hands from contributing to the Board, they would soon find their hands wither, and would feel a want of that blessing they withheld from others.

Mr. Baird of Arkansas said it had been his lot, some ten years ago, to fall under the operation of a rule of the Board which had the same tendency with that now complained of. He was then labouring in a church of a hundred years old, and in which there was no prospect that a ministry could ever be

sustained. As a licentiate, he had been ordered there by his Presbytery as a missionary. The Presbytery said they would make up what was lacking for his support, and therefore the Board withdrew its aid, the result of all which was, that he had been started out and compelled to go to the West; and now he occupied a position in Arkansas, where, in a region of 100 by 250 miles, he was the sole Presbyterian minister, or minister of any kind, such as this Assembly would aid or sustain. Under a state of things like this, and while our Church had before it, for its field, the whole world, surely it was better that instead of wasting her means on these old, worn-out, hopeless spots, she should go forth where her energies might be applied with so much more effect for Christ's cause and God's glory. True, if we had funds for both, then both ought to be accomplished; but with what could be raised, he thought it best by far for the Board to go onward. In his own case, he thought retrenchment a very hard policy, but he now rejoiced over its effects on him, and on many beside.

Mr. Edwards wished, before proceeding further, to offer a remark on the overture from Northern Indiana. But before doing this, Mr. Edwards expressed his respect for our various Boards, and the officers placed over them, and especially for the Secretary of the Board of Domestic Missions, on whom he pronounced an eulogium. He also wished it understood that he had no personal interest in the subject. He had never drawn a cent from the treasury of the Board, nor had he been slack in its service; and he desired that all proper respect and encouragement should be extended to the Secretary, yet he should speak his sentiments freely, and hoped not to be misunderstood.

He next proceeded to notice the great conformity between the Resolutions of the Committee and the language of the Report. So uniform was this, as to lead to the remark, that the resolutions were mere formalities, or little better.

While the Report of the Board was marked throughout by the general spirit of onward missionary progress, that of the Northern Indiana Overture was equally distinguished for its conservative character; it went not only for extension, but for sustentation also. When Dr. Chalmers' address to the Free

churches of Scotland on Economics first came out, it was suggested that there ought to be a new Board established in our Church, to be called the Board of Sustentation, and the plan was fast hastening to a head when the Board of Domestic Missions interposed and declared that *it* was a Board of Sustentation as well as of Church Extension; but their recent policy had departed from sustentation, and pressed exclusively for extension—for *progress*. In support of this position, Mr. Edwards quoted this year's Report.

He reverted to the balance of \$17,000 in the treasury, and contrasted this large sum with the pittance allowed to missionaries, several of whom he named, who had built church after church, yet received not enough to sustain them and their families.

He adverted to the complaints addressed to the Board by different Presbyteries, and stated that his own Presbytery had been told that they had contributed only \$15,50 during the last year, and that their amount of aid must come down. They had canvassed the field, and reported the smallest amount that would meet their necessities; yet the Board had reduced their allowance. The Board claimed to be responsible to the Assembly alone, and was cutting itself off from the Presbyteries, and chilling their affections; and when the Presbyteries applied to the Assembly to know whether this Board was to exercise an unlimited and absolute discretion in the application of the Church's funds, it was announced that the Board must be entrusted with a discretion, and there had been an emphasis laid on the declaration, which rendered it injurious and offensive.

He referred to a mistake in crediting the contributions of one church to another on the books of the Board, and to the consequent censure on those who did not deserve it. He also went into some detail of cases in which the Board had refused what he contended they ought to have granted; observing that the people at the West noticed straws as showing the current of the wind. It was time this Board understood that the Presbyteries had not created a "Third Estate" in the Presbyterian Church, independent of Synods and Presbyteries, but that they were but a Committee of the Assembly, and the Church's

agents, not her rulers. They had ignored conservatism, and disregarded the wishes of the Presbyteries, and if they continued the course they had begun, the churches all over his portion of country would become alienated; the course had already sent great distress into many families.

Mr. Cunningham said, that with all respect, he must, nevertheless protest against such language and such principles. The brother had named churches which had suffered disaster from the retrenching policy of the Board, and the inference meant to be drawn from that fact was that the operation was unjust, and that they ought rather to have received augmented aid. But did the Assembly know their strength; how long they had been receiving aid; and whether they ought to have received it? Mere disaster in particular cases furnished no proof that the policy of the Board was wrong. There were churches whom you could not injure more than by affording them aid. What they wanted was not indulgence, but stimulation, to bring out their latent strength. After the Board had been putting forth its hand and aiding a church for ten or fifteen years, was it not time that they should ask that church whether they could not prune the amount of the subsidy a little? If the Board did not make inquiries of that kind, in quarters where they were needed, he for one would withdraw his mite from its income, and so would many more.

He here adverted to the case of one of the churches mentioned by Mr. Edwards, which, after receiving the aid of the Board for nine years, had, last year, according to his own showing, contributed toward its funds but \$72; and yet such a church could turn round and reproach the Secretary of the Board, and remind him that he was nothing but an agent of the Assembly. True, he was the Assembly's agent—and the Assembly expected that he would see the churches did their duty before he granted them the alms he was set to dispense.

Mr. Edwards would state that while they contributed but \$72 to the Board of Domestic Missions, they had spent over \$5000 for congregational purposes.

Mr. Cunningham resumed—The brother complained that the Board had not respected the wishes of the Presbyteries. He did not speak out the whole meaning, but threw out insinua-

tions, and used language which cast unjust and unmerited censure on the Board. The Assembly was requested to say that "the Board should respect the wishes of the Presbyteries." What did that mean? Why, just that the Presbytery had asked for aid, and the Board had retrenched the amount some ten dollars; and for such an offence as this, the Board must be told that they disregarded the wishes of the Presbyteries! and that they were alienating the Presbyteries! Did he mean that the Board must give any Presbytery whatever it pleased to ask? If that was to be the rule of proceeding, the Board would soon be bankrupt. Mr. Cunningham affirmed that the Board *had* respected the wishes of the Presbyteries, and had aided them to the utmost point of its ability. If there was one feature in the report which commended it to Mr. Cunningham's heart, it was this very system of retrenchment with a view to make our churches self-sustaining, and if the Board should depart from it, the contributing churches would depart from the Board.

The debate on this matter was very protracted. Rev. Dr. Junkin spoke in opposition to the course pursued by the Board, and the resolution of the Standing Committee of the Board commending it for its wisdom and prudence. He called for the reading of the resolutions reported by the Committee of Overtures, demanding the sustentation of churches, as well as strictly missionary operations, and requiring the wishes of the Presbyteries as to appropriations, to regulate in a great measure the action of the Board.

Dr. Murray took the opposite side. He commended the principle on which the Board was acting, in cutting short its supplies to feeble churches, that made no increase, and applying the money where it produced a better effect. He illustrated this by the case of a merchant who established a partner, first at Pittsburgh, but finding he could do better at Zanesville, sent him there, and thence transferred him to St. Louis, where he did best of all. This was the policy of men in secular affairs, and was wise: why not in spiritual and ecclesiastical? If the Board should pursue any other policy, he for one, must vote against the resolution of confidence. He referred to a case in the Synod of New Jersey, an old and numerous body,

where the question of approving this policy was carried against the Board, and against his opposition and protest.

The Board would be censured if it did not take this course, and censured if it did; what was it to do? He insisted that it must regard the whole field, and with an eye to the Judgment, must apply the funds under its trust where they were likely to do most good. He referred to a certain old church in New Jersey, which loudly complained that no missionary was sent to it, although it was a great coal district, and had boundless riches under ground; but the Board's reply was, that they had neither the men nor the money at that time at their command. The present system had had a salutary effect in his Synod. An ancient, hoary church, long on the hands of the Board, had become self-sustaining not only, but a contributor. He could tell the Assembly, that if the Board should abandon the course so much complained of, some of our wealthiest churches would abandon it. It had been threatened, that unless the Board changed its policy, the Synod of Virginia would set up for itself—well, suppose they should, would they be any better off than now? Where would they get any more money? If they left the Board, they would sever the artery through which their life-blood was supplied. Dr. Murray concluded by exhorting brethren to cling together, to put entire confidence in the Board, to pray to God for it, and if they thought that in anything it had acted unwisely, tell the brethren, but tell them in a mild and Christian spirit.

Mr. Waller spoke at length and with great earnest against the resolution. If the resolution proposed by the Committee on Bills and Overtures could be adopted, he thought all might be harmonized. He would heartily vote for approving the motives, zeal, and fidelity of the Board, but adopting resolutions approving the present policy of retrenchment, and putting a *carte blanche* into the hands of the Board, to give or withhold money at its own absolute discretion, and that in the face of earnest remonstrances from Synods and Presbyteries, he never could vote for.

Mr. Edwards said he thought the House were meeting a great evil, viz: the tendency in our Boards to centralization. There was an overshadowing central influence; and its existence

might be traced even in the illustration used by Dr. Murray. If that illustration applied, then the Board had the same power of arrangement as the partner in Philadelphia had over the location of his partner in Pittsburgh or St. Louis. These Boards were not ecclesiastical existences, and yet they were exercising the same power as a Presbytery. It had, however, been said that the Secretary was only obeying the orders of the Assembly. Yes, but he had yesterday shown that these orders were all of his own penning. They all emanated from him. He should like to know whether, in a previous meeting of the Board, the Secretary had not expressly said that he repudiated the sustentation principle? In carrying out his own views, he had got the Assembly to adopt them. Mr. Edwards wanted to be set right. All expressions of personal kindness and confidence were, as he said yesterday, to be taken for granted; but the real difficulty in the case was, that the Board had usurped the power of the Presbyteries. He went into some details as to Fort Wayne Presbytery, all whose statements had been disregarded.

Dr. C. C. Jones, the Secretary of the Board of Domestic Missions, was introduced to the Assembly, and addressed it at length in reply to objections which had been made, and in full explanation of the policy of the Board.

Dr. Jones commenced by remarking that he was here at the request of the General Assembly, to make some statements in relation to a subject which had occupied its deliberations for two days past. And in the first place, he must express to the Assembly in the name of the Board of Domestic Missions, the highest gratification both they and himself had received from the course of the discussion; it gave them a great deal of satisfaction to observe the openness and candour which had distinguished the views put forth on both sides during the past debate. It was their undoubted right, as it was that of every Presbytery, and every member of the Church, on all fitting occasions, to examine into the economy of the administration of all those who in their name, and as their agents, conducted the business of the Church.

So far as the Board of Missions was concerned, everything was open to the freest examination. They desired their mode

of operation to be fully understood, well assured of this, that the good sense and piety of every friend of Zion would in the end settle down on that policy which had been pursued in the Presbyterian Church *ab origine*. They held this doctrine, as a Board, that neither that nor any other of the Church Boards was either a first, a second, or a "third power," in the Church. They were only a Committee of the Assembly. The Assembly could make, and could unmake them, and it was theirs to keep their own servants in the right path. They had no desire to exercise powers which never had been granted to them.

To say that the Board was infallible, would be saying what was not true—all made mistakes; but one good thing about it was, that where mistakes were discovered they could be rectified. The Board was glad to rectify them: and when through inadvertence they had injured any church, they were prompt to make the *amende honorable*, and to repair the injury, so far as it could be done. The Board was composed of honorable high-minded ministers and elders; who were not assumptive, and not above receiving and profiting by advice. Many of them were business men of great experience and the highest character, who sacrificed time very valuable to them, and sacrificed it freely, devoting it most heartily to the benefit of the Church, and the promotion of Christ's cause in the earth.

Dr. Jones had made these preliminary remarks in order that the Boards might be set right as to their own views of the position they occupied. They were Committees of the Assembly—their rules prescribed by the Assembly, and they were fully responsible to the Assembly, and all their doings liable to be investigated. Dr. Jones was glad of it. He would not have it otherwise. He was against irresponsible power anywhere—in the Church as well as out of it. Hence the discussion had been highly agreeable to him, as developing our interest in the missions of the Assembly, which had cheered his heart. Located at the desk, from week to week, and speaking to his brethren only through the quiet medium of the pen, he desired to see their faces, and to know by personal interview how they felt toward the missionary cause. And he rejoiced that every man here had given undoubtable evidence that the work of Domestic

Missions was dear to his heart. He thought the whole discussion would eventuate in doing much good to the cause.

It had, if he remembered right, been said during this debate, that the Board of Missions was under the control of the chief executive officer of that Board. He had not so understood it. If the remark had been intended to apply to the humble individual who happened now to occupy that position, he was not conscious of it, and had certainly never sought it, nor would he ever knowingly seek any other power but that which a kind Providence should be pleased to confer through the operation of a clear judgment and a rightly directed heart. If any man possessed a clear head and a clean conscience, as long as that man stated or proposed what was clearly right, he was prepared to follow him; because he did not follow him, but truth, of which he was but the exponent. He was prepared to defer to such a man, and to bless God for the opportunity to do so. And as to the manner of doing business in the Board, they were all intelligent, independent men, who met from month to month, and openly discussed the affairs committed to their management; they listened attentively to statements and returns, and gave their opinions pro or con, and as often followed the advice of one as of another. They threw their intelligence into a common stock, and came to their conclusions with much unanimity.

As to his being a Pope, his political principles, as well as his ecclesiastical predilections and associations, give him a very slim chance, should he set up for such a dignity; and besides, he would have too many competitors. (Some laughter.) And, in the second place, Presbyterianism itself was so thoroughly and radically republican, that the mightiest who should engage in such an attempt, might be very sure of being speedily prostrated.

Let him next direct the attention of the Assembly to another thing that had been made a subject of remark, and that was the nomination of members for an ensuing year. A list of such nominations had usually been brought forward by the Committee of the Assembly who had charge of the Board's Report. It was previously put up for inspection in some public place in the church, where all might inspect it beforehand—and every

member had a perfect right to nominate whom he pleased. All was open and above board. And so far from getting in those men only who were agreeable to a single individual, the men were selected here and there, and everywhere; and, in fact, it was a very good thing in practice, that there was this diversity—and for himself he would fully as leave, if not “a little leaver,” (to use a child’s phrase) that there should, at times, exist different and opposite opinions in the Board, as it served to elicit truth.

As to the objection, that the Board gave no answers to communications as to what had been called, by some, its new policy. It was true that the Board had seen such communications, both anonymous and over highly respectable names; but he had never been directed by the Board to reply. He did not feel called upon to answer anonymous communications on any subject; it had been his practice through life never to notice them. Nor were others, which appeared in the public prints, and with names to them, always to be replied to; the question was, whether it was right, expedient, or necessary; and if not, they let it go. Such things might make some impression at the moment, but quickly passed away. If a man meddled with strife that did not concern him, or undertook to set all his neighbours right, his task would outlast the days of Methuselah. There was no necessity; the whole economy of the Board had been explained fully by the publication of an article that had extensive circulation, and the monthly report of the Board was extensively read. Dr. Jones was not much given to writing in the newspapers—he abhorred controversy, and would not touch it; yet the spirit of a man was there, and when the thing had to be done, they would do it—that was a settled matter.

Another remark had been thrown out—he did not know that he understood it; but it had been intimated that a threat had been made by the Secretary of the Board, that if the Board did not conform itself to his views, he would resign. This was all news to him. He had not heard of it before. No members of the Board had ever told him of it; and it was profoundly new.

Dr. Jones next alluded to some intimation that the Synod of

New Jersey was dissatisfied with the course of the Board, and would probably withdraw from under its care.

Dr. Murray distinctly disavowed for the Synod any such purpose.

Dr. Jones was glad to hear it. He noticed what had been said of some other Synods, and went into some statistics to show that the Board was largely in advance to many of them, and giving it as his advice that if they wanted these feeble churches sustained, they had better pause a little before they withdrew. He noticed these particular cases, in order to show that the Board was trying to do its duty; and he put it to the Assembly to say when the Board was pressed with applications for missions from all quarters of the country, especially from the South and from the South-west, whether it was not right to examine a little into the condition of things in these old and feeble congregations, and to ask whether they could not begin now, and take care of themselves? and whether if they should not do so, they would not be directed to duty? They must do it; the path of duty was perfectly plain. He stated and explained the mode of supplying and paying ministers either independently or through the Presbyteries. In some cases the Presbyteries sent to the Board all moneys collected in their bounds for Domestic Missions, and made application to the Board for missionaries; the Board met them and made up whatever was needed to pay them. In other cases the Presbytery raised on the ground what was needed, and applied to the Board to commission the persons employed; and the money raised went through the accounts of the Board. After some further explanatory remarks, he went on to state how the business was conducted in the office. When he came into office the whole system had to be remodelled. As soon as he could get competent clerks, he had a new set of books opened, on the double entry system; and the accounts were now so fully methodized, that a person who understood book-keeping, could begin at one end and find out, by going through, every thing that had been done. He had himself been bred in a counting-room; and he would say, that if accounts were to be kept straight, rules must be strict, and strictly enforced. Their Treasurer was a thorough merchant and accountant.

In the matter of the reduction, the Board found itself between two fires. Some Presbyteries and members said to them, reduce your salaries, or we quit: while others have said, if you go on with your reductions we must quit. Which would the House recommend them to do? What ought they to do? Just what they had done. They should go on, kindly, but firmly, and do their duty to the whole Church.

As to the surplus of \$17,000, of which so much had been said, he had not thought it would give brethren distress to learn that they had money wherewith to pay their debts. For himself, he had felt very much pleased when the Treasurer came to him and announced the cheering fact. How the surplus got there he had already explained. It arose from additional contributions on the one hand, and from the fact that fifty-six churches within the last year had ceased to be dependent on the Treasury for a single dollar.

This was a clear saving: it put the Board on its legs and enabled them to lift up their faces to heaven and thank God that they "owed no man anything." And after all, this was but a working balance, ready to meet those months of the year when comparatively little came in. It belonged to our missionaries and they would get it as their stipends became due.

Dr. Jones then took up the subject of aid to feeble churches, and went, in substance, into a re-declaration of the grounds of the procedure of the Board in gradually reducing these allowances, with a view to rendering them self-sustaining, which he had made in his Report to the Assembly, and which have been already very full reported.

He contended that this was no new policy; that it was due to the existing state of the Church; was wise and righteous, and had received the Divine blessing.

Mr. Halliday thought the question had been sufficiently debated, and, therefore, called the previous question, which was sustained, and the contested resolution was adopted.

A motion being made to append the resolutions submitted by the Committee on Bills and Overtures, to those on the Report of the Board of Missions, on motion the subject was laid on the table. Mr. Edwards gave notice that he would enter his protest against this decision.

We have given much space to the record of the debate respecting the Board of Missions, because we regard the principles involved of general and permanent interest. The two main points at issue were, the relation of the Board to the Presbyteries, and the principle that the Board is a missionary and not a sustentation organization. As to the former of these questions, it seemed to be contended for, on the one side, that the Board was bound to obey the Presbyteries as their agent in the appropriation of the funds under its control; and on the other, that while great respect is due to the wishes and resolutions of Presbyteries, the Board is the final judge, as to what churches shall be assisted, what shall be the amount of the aid furnished, and how long that aid shall be continued. Perhaps the truth, as commonly, lies in the middle. The Board cannot be under a hundred masters, each having the right to say what is to be done with money derived from the whole Church. The Board is intrusted with a certain income, to be appropriated for the support and spread of the gospel. They must of necessity have a large discretion in the disposition of this income. They must distribute it, not agreeably to the wishes of a Presbytery limiting its views to its own necessities, but agreeably to the relative necessities of the whole Church. This is plain, and, therefore, whenever a Presbytery recommends a particular church to the Board for aid, it is competent for the Board to decide whether, consistently with other demands, they are able to furnish the required assistance, and to what extent. As to the question of their *ability* to afford aid in any given case, the Board must be the judge. But as to the question whether a particular church *deserves* aid, whether it ought to sustain itself, or if not able to do so, be abandoned to its fate, the case is very different. The ability to decide, and the right to decide these questions, as it seems to us, are with the Presbyteries. It is evident that a central committee of a half dozen brethren in Philadelphia cannot know the circumstances of every missionary church in the country, and be able to sit in judgment on the question what each can do in the matter of self-support, and whether the post is worth maintaining or not. Besides, it is the prerogative of the Presbyteries to judge of all questions of this nature respecting the churches within their own bounds.

For the Board to say, we *cannot* aid a church, because we have not the money, is one thing. But to say, we *will not* aid it, because we think it ought to sustain itself, is a very different thing. In the one case, the Board keeps its place as the agent of the Church, in the other, it sets itself over the Church, by putting up its judgment against the judgment of the only competent tribunal for the decision of the matter. It is analogous to the case of the Board of Education. That Board is not bound to aid every young man recommended by the Presbyteries. On the questions how many candidates it can assist, and to what extent it can aid them, the decision is with the Board. But it cannot sit in judgment on the decisions of the Presbytery and reverse them, and say, we *will not* assist a candidate whom you pronounce worthy, because we think him unworthy. This would be to invest the Executive Committee of the Board of Education with Presbyterial powers over the whole Church. If a Presbytery pronounces a man worthy, the Board of Education cannot refuse to aid him on the ground of his unworthiness, though it may on the ground of the lack of funds. In like manner, the Board of Missions may decline aid to a congregation recommended by a Presbytery, on the ground of the want of funds, but not on the ground that it does not need aid, or ought not to have it. This principle secures the Board its independence, and full discretionary power in the control of its funds, and at the same time it secures the Presbyteries in the exercise of their undoubted right. It is the actual or apprehended disregard of this principle on the part of the Board, which seems to have excited so much opposition in various parts of the Church. To have a committee in Philadelphia sitting in judgment on the question, whether a church in Indiana ought to be assisted, or should sustain itself, and reversing the decision of its Presbytery as to that point, and to claim and exercise the same power over every Presbytery in our connexion, may well excite opposition. How long would the Church tolerate the Committee of the Board of Education, rejudging the judgments of all the Presbyteries as to the qualification of candidates for the ministry. We do not know that the Board of Missions claim the power to which we object; but if they do, as the Assembly has repeatedly sustained their

course, the remedy is to be found in friendly discussion, until the views of the Church are settled, and then they will not fail to express themselves through the Assembly. We repeat the statement of what appears to us the true doctrine, that it may be distinctly apprehended by our readers. The Board of Missions has the right to the distribution of its funds at its own discretion, and may, therefore, decline to aid a church recommended by a Presbytery, on the ground of the want of funds. But it has no right to set its judgment over that of the Presbyteries, as to whether a given church ought to be aided. The question how much money can be granted to a particular field, rests with the Board; but the question, what churches within its own bounds shall be aided, rests with the several Presbyteries. And we think the practical recognition of this clear distinction, would go far towards producing harmony and cordial co-operation, instead of growing discontent, such as was manifested in the Synod of New Jersey last fall, in several of the Synods of the West, and on the floor of the General Assembly.

As to the second question, the difference of opinion seems to be this: The Board on the one hand appears to regard itself as almost exclusively a missionary institution, designed to aid in the formation and support of new churches. If, after due trial, such churches do not become self-sustaining, they are to be dropped, and the funds appropriated to more productive fields. On the other hand it is contended, that the object of the Board is two-fold, the formation of new churches and the support of feeble ones. The most zealous advocates of the missionary character of the Board would not deny that the support of feeble churches, however long established, came within its legitimate province; and the most zealous of the other side would not deny that the proper missionary work was the primary object for which the Board was instituted. The difference seems to relate to the relative importance of these two objects. The complaint is, that the Board is regarded too exclusively as a missionary institution, and that churches are abandoned, at its discretion, who do not within a certain time promise to be self-sustaining. It is certainly competent to the Church to found an institution whose exclusive object shall be the support of

missionaries, as distinguished from pastors, and from whom aid shall be withdrawn as soon as a church is organized and a pastor is settled. But it will not be asserted that our Board of Missions is such an institution. It was designed for the two-fold object of founding new churches and aiding in the support of feeble ones. There would be no room for dispute as to how far the latter object was to be prosecuted, if the relation of the Board to the Presbyteries were regarded in the light in which we have presented it above. It rests with the Presbyteries to say how long the churches within their bounds shall receive aid, because they alone are competent to form a correct judgment, and to them belongs the right of judgment. But besides this, we fully agree with those brethren who contended against making "self-sustentation the great principle of our missionary operations." We hold that this is unscriptural, unjust, and unwise.

It is unscriptural, because the Lord has ordained that "they who preach the gospel shall live by the gospel." It is a clear principle of the word of God, binding on the Church, that every minister devoted to his work is entitled to a competent support. It is no less clear that the duty to provide such support rests on the whole Church, and not exclusively on the particular congregation whom the minister may serve. This duty arises from the unity of the Church, and from the command of Christ to preach the gospel to every creature. This command binds the whole Church, and in reference to the whole world. It is clearly the duty of those who are able to secure the gospel being preached to the scattered thousands in our Western States, and this duty surely does not cease to be obligatory in reference to those who, though unable to sustain a minister, organize themselves into a church and contribute what they can to his support. We cannot but regard, therefore, as unscriptural, the plan of casting off all churches who are too feeble to sustain themselves, or of insisting that every minister should look exclusively to his own congregation for support.

As this plan is unscriptural, so also is it eminently unjust. Justice does not demand that the income of all preachers of the gospel should be equal, for the difference in the expense of living in different places and other circumstances render this

impossible. But it does demand that every minister should have a competent support, and that one should not be left to starve while the others have more than they need. On what principle of justice can it be defended, that ministers of the same church, serving the same Master, doing the same work, devoting equal energy and talent to the same cause, should be allowed to want the necessities or comforts of life, while others are sustained in affluence. We know it is said, as we have heard it said, that men, to be ministers and missionaries, should be willing to endure hardships, and to make sacrifices in the service of Christ. This is very true, but it is true of all ministers, not of a particular class of them. All the hardness ought not to be thrown on the backs of the devoted and the self-denying. The government may order one officer to the smooth waters of the Mediterranean and another to the Arctic ocean, but it extends its fostering care alike over both, and secures for each a competent support. It does not first establish the principle of self-support, and then place one in a paradise and another on an iceberg, and expect to prevent all remonstrance from the latter, by telling him, "A soldier must endure hardships." Where there is equality of labour, of service, and of responsibility, let there be, as far as possible, an equality not of income, but of support. As this scheme is unscriptural and unjust, so it is eminently unwise. It is unwise so to cramp our younger ministers that they are unable to procure books, or to secure time for study. It is unwise to force them to devote so much of their attention to the means of support. Hundreds of our ministers are obliged to give one half or two-thirds of their time to make a living for themselves and their families. It is unwise to make preaching the gospel to the poor a penalty; to punish those who undertake that service with poverty, and force them to forego the privilege, or to see their wives sinking into domestic labourers, and their children growing up without the means of cultivation. It is unwise to pursue a system which must produce heart-burning and discontent in a large class of our ministers. They cannot but feel, and they do feel, that they are the subjects of a great practical injustice; and when they see their more favoured brethren voting that every church must be self-supporting; that the

minister of a poor congregation must be contented with a poor living, they cannot help feeling aggrieved. And finally and especially is it unwise for Presbyterians to confine their preaching to a certain class of the people. The determination that every Presbyterian church shall sustain itself, is a determination that we will preach the gospel only to the rich, or, at most, to those who are able to pay for it. Woe betide us, whenever any such determination shall receive the deliberate sanction of our Church. It is already our reproach, that the poor are excluded by our system from our churches; that our plan of making each congregation sustain itself, thus throwing the support of the preacher upon the hearers, shuts our church doors, even in our cities, upon thousands. This is a novel principle. It has no sanction from Scripture or from the practice of God's people. In no age and in no country has the Church acted on the principle that every separate congregation should sustain itself. This was not the practice of the first centuries, nor of the middle ages, nor of the period of the Reformation, nor of any of the churches of Europe, nor of our noble brethren of the Free Church of Scotland. We do earnestly hope the Presbyterian Church will save itself from the reproach and curse of being only for the rich. We do not see how this result is to be avoided, if the principle is to be carried out, that every congregation must support its own minister.

No complaint was made on the floor of the Assembly, and we have heard no complaint, as to the spirit, the ability, or enterprise, with which the service of the Board of Missions is conducted. The only difference is, as to the principles which should control its action. These principles can only be settled by free discussion. We hope, therefore, that the matter will not rest with the decision of the last Assembly, but that the discussion may continue until some plan is hit upon which shall satisfy all parties. Such plan, we are persuaded, while it secures the proper independence and discretion of the Board in the distribution of their funds, must preserve to the Presbyteries their right of saying to what churches the aid granted shall be applied, and how long that aid shall be continued. It must also secure from want those who are honoured of God in being called to preach the gospel to the poor.

Theological Seminaries.

The Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge presented several reports at different times, from the Standing Committee on Seminaries. One of these related to the existing institutions. First, the Union Seminary in Virginia: the relation subsisting between the General Assembly and the Union Theological Seminary are of an exceedingly intimate and responsible kind. As appears from the Minutes of the General Assembly for 1826 and 1827, this body has a "negative on all appointments to the offices of Professors and Trustees," and "on all general laws and rules adopted for its government;" the right, if it shall appear that in any respect it is so managed as to be injurious to the interests of truth, piety, and good order, "of appointing visitors to examine into the state of the Seminary, of requiring the dismissal of any unsound Professor, and, in case of refusal, to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary in the case." The bodies controlling said Seminary, are therefore required "annually to send up to the General Assembly a detailed report of all their transactions relating to the Seminary," disapprobation of which by the Assembly, renders them null and void. The authority thus vested in the General Assembly entitles that important institution to a share in our attention, confidence, and co-operation, which, we are persuaded, it has never enjoyed. The Committee finds nothing in this report requiring special notice; and would recommend the adoption of the following resolutions: 1. Directing the report to be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes. 2. That this Assembly declares anew its full confidence in the management of that important institution, and hearty concurrence in the measures used to extend its sphere of usefulness, and place its interests on a permanent basis.

Mr. Van Zandt, of Virginia, made a brief statement in relation to the Theological Seminary at Prince Edward. He was glad the Committee on Seminaries had discovered the fact that that Seminary had not received from the Assembly the fostering care to which it was entitled. The people of Virginia re-

garded it as of great value and importance, and so did many in North Carolina; but it had been suffered to slide into the shade. An impression seemed to prevail at the far South, and in the North and West, that Union Seminary was extinct, or at least in the last stages of a precarious existence. He wished to counteract that impression by a statement of facts. Although this institution had not been favoured with the patronage of the Assembly, yet so far from its dying, or being likely to die, its prospects were brightening daily. Sixty thousand dollars of well vested funds; buildings and accommodations for from fifty to seventy-five students; a Faculty of from three to five Professors, and ample extent of land all around it, were among some of its advantages. There were now three Professorial Chairs—two had been possessed for many years—there was now a third. Efforts were making, with good prospect of success, for the establishment of ten Scholarships, similar to those in Princeton Seminary. He wished the Assembly to understand that there was such a place as “the South.” Though it was neither beyond the Alleghany mountains, nor north of Mason and Dixon’s line. Union Seminary was the child of prayer, and its interests had been fostered by men whose names had long been held in honourable remembrance. Its corps of Professors were second to none; and it enjoyed the perfect confidence of the neighbouring Synods, who felt a great interest in its prosperity.

Mr. Van Zandt offered these statements, that this institution might be kept in remembrance when the Assembly came to discuss the question of the position of a new Theological Seminary.

This part of the Report was then adopted.

The next portion of the Report was then taken up, and is as follows:

Resolutions presented by the Committee on Seminaries, in reference to the Western Theological Seminary, were adopted:

1. Expressive of the gratification of the General Assembly at the continued prosperity of the institution, and commending it to the prayers, confidence, and patronage of the Church, as well adapted to answer the great objects of its establishment.
2. Rejoicing in the success which has crowned the efforts of the

Board in liquidating all its pecuniary liabilities, and in completing the endowment of three Professorships; and reversing the recommendation of the last Assembly to the Board, to endeavour, as soon as practicable, to endow a fourth Professorship, and also to erect houses on the Seminary grounds for all the Professors. 3. Regretting the resignation of Dr. Alexander T. McGill, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government, where his services have been so long, so acceptably, and so usefully enjoyed; and that it is absolutely necessary for the best interests of this institution, and of the Church, that said Professorship be filled without delay. 4. That the request of the Board, to be permitted to extend the term of vacation two weeks beyond its present limits, be granted.

A brief conversation arose as to the language used in relation to the resignation of Dr. McGill; but no alteration in it was made.

The third portion of the Report was next taken up, which relates to the Princeton Seminary, the first part of which, relating to the Scholarship Fund, was referred to the Committee on Finance; the remainder, which was then adopted, recommended that, inasmuch as the Rev. E. P. Humphrey, D.D., having declined the appointment tendered him of the Professorship of *Pastoral Theology, Church Government, and the Composition and Delivery of Sermons*—this is a suitable time to make an election to that Chair, and that it be done according to the prescribed mode; and that the term of service of *seven ministers and three ruling elders*, Directors of the Seminary, expiring at this time, that this number should be elected. It was also

Resolved, 1. That the Reports of the Directors and Trustees of the Seminary be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes.

2. That the Assembly views with great satisfaction the evidences of the continued prosperity of this important Institution, contained in the official Reports laid before it; and, encouraged by the smiles of God so long enjoyed there, exhorts all who are in any way connected with it, to continued faithfulness in the great work in which they are engaged.

The last portion of the report, relative to the formation of a new Theological Seminary in the West, states that the papers from the various bodies and various parts of the West, on the subject, which had been already before the Assembly, had been considered by them. It also adverts to the importance of the object aimed at, and then proceeds to state that the whole region interested in this enterprise—so far as it is Presbyterian at all—appears, before this Assembly, not only voluntarily, but emphatically pledged—1. To the point that the Assembly ought to establish an additional Seminary of the first class in the West. 2. That the Assembly itself ought to determine, by a vote of its members, at this time, the place where it should be built up. 3. That no other Theological Seminary shall be set up or carried on, in the same general region, by our judicatories or people, if the Assembly will now do what is desired of it, in the premises; at least until the project of the Assembly shall have had a full trial. The Committee is therefore of opinion, that the call of God's providence is clear to the Assembly, and that it should now go forward in dependence on Divine strength and guidance in so great an enterprise. It therefore recommends the adoption of the following resolutions:

First. The Assembly will now decide, by a majority of votes of its members, at what point in the West a new Theological Seminary shall be established by it.

Second. It will, by God's help, establish at the point to be thus designated, and with the least possible delay, a new Theological Seminary of the first class.

Third. The Committee on Seminaries is charged with the duty of laying before this Assembly, in the meantime, and with the least practicable delay, a plan for the endowment of said Seminary, and for raising the funds necessary for setting it up and sustaining it.

Fourth. The same Committee is charged with the further duty of laying before this Assembly a plan for the organization of the Seminary itself, as to Professors, Directors, Trustees, students, and the course of studies.

The first resolution, determining to fix the location of the new Seminary now, being read, it was adopted, leaving the blank unfilled which designates the place for the Seminary.

On motion of Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, it was resolved to proceed at this time to fill the blank.

Nominations being called for, Dr. Wood nominated New Albany; Mr. McKinley, Peoria; Mr. Young, (by order of his Synod) St. Louis; Mr. Smith, Nashville; Mr. Pharr, Danville; Dr. Lord of Ohio, Cincinnati.

On motion of Dr. Murray, it was agreed that the claims of the respective places nominated be stated to the Assembly previously to taking the vote.

The real contest was between New Albany, St. Louis, and Danville.

In favour of New Albany, the Rev. Dr. Woods made a long and effective argument. The principal points urged in favour of the selection of New Albany were: 1. The fact that an institution already existed there, under the patronage and control of seven Synods. This Seminary had, by a vote of its Directors, and with the sanction of the Synods, been offered to the General Assembly, with all its appurtenances and endowments. It was evidently better to accept that offer, and to build on a foundation already laid, than to commence elsewhere entirely anew. 2. Its geographical position was favourable. It stands in the centre of the great basin east of the Mississippi, and west of the Alleghenies; nearly midway between Pittsburgh and St. Louis, and Chicago and Nashville. It was, therefore, easy of access to all the people for whose benefit the new Seminary was specially designed. 3. Its being within the limits of a free State, and on the borders of a slaveholding State, makes it neutral ground; the precise locality to which the North and South could, with equal confidence, send their young men to be educated. 4. The Seminary was already partially endowed; property to a very considerable amount must be sacrificed, if any other location should be adopted. The total amount of property belonging to the Seminary was \$50,000. 5. The location had been deliberately fixed upon by a convention held in 1838, and had commanded the general approbation of the West from that day to this. If the West was to have, and to sustain the Seminary, the West should determine its location. Public sentiment in the West, it was contended, was

decidedly in favour of New Albany. 6. The place is healthy, and the expense of living is small.

The claims of St. Louis were ably advocated by Rev. Samuel McPheeters, who gained great credit by his whole bearing during the discussion. Though it was his first appearance as a member of the Assembly, and though he was opposed to some of the ablest and most experienced men in the Church, he is universally regarded as having done full justice to the cause he advocated. The great arguments in favour of St. Louis were: 1. Its central geographical position, not so much for the population that now is, as for that which is to come. It is the centre of the great valley of the Mississippi; and of easy access from all portions of that immense region. 2. It was not only the geographical, but the vital centre. Thither all streams tend; and thence controlling influences must flow forth. The Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri meet at St. Louis, and bear on their waters not only the commerce but the life of the West. Where these great rivers meet must be not only the centre of wealth, but the centre of influence. 3. The Romanists, wise as serpents, see all this, and are making St. Louis their head-quarters for the whole West. Presbyterians should not yield the ground to them. The presence of Romish institutions in that place, was a strong reason in favour of our making it the seat of a general Theological Seminary for the West. 4. The Seminary, if placed at St. Louis, would have its own sufficient field whence to draw its resources of money and students, without interfering with any other existing Seminaries, which, it was contended, could not be said of any other proposed location. 5. There was every reasonable prospect of an adequate endowment. Fifty thousand dollars had been pledged, but a much larger sum would doubtless have been offered, had the question been seen to turn on the ease of endowment. 6. The Synod of Illinois, it was stated, preferred St. Louis, and another Synod had unanimously endorsed the resolution in favour of that location. The Assembly, therefore, might be assured that a large part of the West would be gratified by a decision in favour of that place.

The claims of Danville were urged by Drs. R. J. and W. L. Breckinridge, at great length, and with all the ability for which

they have long been distinguished. They began by urging objections to the other places named. As it regards St. Louis, it was said, it was situated at the very verge of the population whose interests were intended to be served. Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, all lie to the east of that position, while to the west of it there are only the State of Missouri and the wild Indian region. For generations, St. Louis must be as much on the western, as Pittsburgh is on the eastern border of the mass of population in the Mississippi valley. 2. The expense of living in a large town would render the support of the professors and students far more burdensome to the Church than in either of the other locations. 3. Strong objections were made to large cities as places for theological seminaries. 4. The fact that the Synod of Missouri is numerically a small body, and that the territory within its limits is almost entirely missionary ground, rendered it very undesirable to throw upon that part of the Church the burden of founding and conducting a first-rate seminary. The brethren and churches there had more than they could do in supplying the demands already existing among them. 5. The delegates from Missouri on the floor of the Assembly were not united—some of them were the open advocates of a different location.

As to New Albany, it was argued the experiment had been tried and failed. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge said: The Seminary at New Albany had been a matter of effort with the West for the last twenty-five years. During all that length of time, she had been trying to build up a seminary, of which New Albany was the general representative and the general legatee. And what had been the result of these twenty-five years of labour, all under the same control, and all on the north side of the Ohio river? A dead failure; a failure; a dead failure—absolute and thorough.

Dr. W. L. Breckinridge, after referring to his zeal in behalf of the New Albany Seminary, and passing a high eulogium on its professors, said:—But the whole aspect of the institution had changed—it had run down—nor could anything else be made of it. The thing had gone down: it had come, if not to what the wagoners called the “dead balk,” it was very near, and all expected it would come to a dead stand-still. He said

these things with pain: but the brethren of this Assembly would be misled if they should think otherwise. New Albany was at a dead stop. The brethren were disheartened; they had nearly lost all hope. Even the beloved brother (for he was a good and beloved brother), who had so ably advocated and defended that seminary, could not conceal the fact that he was disheartened. The condition of the institution resembled that of a once prosperous merchant, whose affairs, by one misfortune after another, had run down, and who apprehended that he was, or should soon become a bankrupt. It was not, necessarily, his own fault: he might be perfectly blameless in the whole matter, but still the fact could not be concealed that he was insolvent and must wind up his affairs. Of the former friends of the institution, some were alienated, and some openly and decidedly opposed. Was it not, under circumstances like these, the part of wisdom to make a new movement, and to try elsewhere? As to removing the seminary from that location, being in any degree discreditable to the brethren who had done their duty to the seminary so long and so well, Dr. Breckinridge had felt surprised that the thought should be entertained for a moment. Was it discreditable to a merchant, who after trying one street did not succeed, to try his hand in another place?

To show that New Albany was no longer solvent as an institution, it was sufficient to show that *it had no funds!* And surely no man but one that was unhappily alone in the world (and such beings were not often fit for much), would go there and labour unless collections were taken up from time to time to pay his butcher's and his baker's bills. The only actual income of the institution was at this time about \$600—half a salary to support half a man! To be sure they showed on paper a large fund of one sort or another; but it was scattered from Dan to Beersheba, and it would cost more to get it than it would be worth when it was got. A man must get on a horse and ride two days before he could find the man who had given his note for \$10 or \$25. The real estate had been sold to pay professors; and what was worst of all, the funds of the church on the north side of the river had been solicited again and again, till that was *out*. In the Board of Directors he had

told them that \$1200 ought always to be counted on from our Synod, but no more; and unless they could make up the deficit from their funds on the north side of the river, they had better wind up and quit. This was before any other place was talked of. With salary but for a man and a half—their hopes from Indiana gone—from Cincinnati gone—what could they do? Those brethren had been most liberal—the world could show none more so, but they were wearied out, and the thing was *done*. On the honour of a Christian gentleman, he could say to the Assembly, if they looked for any more aid to that institution, they would be mistaken. If it was to be endowed at all, the Assembly must endow it—and where would they go to get the money? To Philadelphia?—to New York?—to Baltimore? Would Pittsburgh open her churches? Would the churches in the South? They might, possibly, out of kindness, do a little, but they were shut up to the support of Princeton. In a word, he would sooner bind himself to go to California, and come back again with the money needed for New Albany, than to raise it in any other way.

Another objection to New Albany was said to arise from the laws of the State in relation to corporations. It was asserted that no safe charter could be obtained in Indiana. "In the existing state of her legislature, the Assembly could not get a charter, or, if she did, the incorporators might change it in a moment. These legal difficulties were far too great to be passed over, if they did really exist, then they were conclusive of the question as to New Albany."

As to Danville, the first argument was drawn from the objections to the other places named. If they were all out of the question, the Assembly "was shut up to Danville." But secondly, the money for the endowment of a first class institution could be obtained within the bounds of Kentucky. There were already \$20,000 safely and profitably invested; \$60,000 additional were pledged by men whose "promise would be bankable in any part of Kentucky." In fifteen or eighteen days one congregation had subscribed \$20,000, and ground for a site. Ten acres of land had been offered, and as much more as might be needed. The money-argument in favour of Danville was as strong as it well could be. Thirdly,

Danville was accessible by the railroads now in the course of construction to all parts of the West. Fourthly, It is a cheap, retired, collegiate town, exactly suited for such an institution. Fifthly, It is the seat of a flourishing Presbyterian College, of whose charter and immunities great use could be made. Sixthly, It is south of the river Ohio, and in the bosom of a slaveholding State. The other institutions under the care of the Assembly were in the free States. There was, therefore, an obvious propriety in the new Seminary being placed south of the Ohio. To refuse to place it there on the ground that northern students would not go south, was a reason which the south would not hear, and which "calm, rational, northern men" would not sanction. Men on that floor coming from the whole south, would, it was said, hardly join with half or whole abolitionists in voting against a location in a slaveholding State. Other things being equal, there was a strong reason, therefore, for a southern location.

Dr. Breckinridge said, that the state of things was reduced to this, that the Assembly must have a seminary at Danville, or not at all. They began to feel this; and, therefore, some gentlemen were commencing to talk about putting off the choice to another meeting of the Assembly. But if the Assembly decided on Danville as the place, they might have a seminary there *now*. The funds were ready—and they might open their school on the first of September. They might make their choice between this result, or taking another spot, and having an institution on paper, that should linger out a dubious existence and then expire. To be sure, the location was not a matter set up for sale; but the funds for endowment were a matter that must be looked at. Brethren all knew what the Bible said about sitting down and counting the cost—and what derision the man was exposed to who did not begin by doing it. Funds were not pledged either at St. Louis, Cincinnati, New Albany, or Nashville—nothing would do *now* but Danville. Then the thing could be done, and done on the spot. There were \$60,000 now ready—and he would just as leave have said \$100,000—for any one of the twelve men who had offered that sum, could get on his horse, and could raise the other \$40,000 in six months, if the Assembly would go cordially into the

thing. If the Synod of Kentucky would authorize him, and the Synod of Tennessee would give their assent, he would not be afraid to undertake it himself. If then the Assembly believed what they said, the thing was done *now*. And gentlemen who had so much zeal on the subject of slavery, ought to remember that the whole question of the education of the slave population belonged to those south of Mason and Dixon's line; it was open to them, and to none else, and they were awake to that subject. Indeed, a great deal too much glorification had been made of what they were doing in the matter: but he placed the subject before the Assembly for its serious reflection. Nothing of this could be done on the north side of the river—it could not be even touched at St. Louis—but its operation would be to throw open the gospel to the slave, and he begged the Assembly to consider the relations of the Presbyterian Church to the education of the black race.

When the vote was taken, the result was—For New Albany, 33; for St. Louis, 78; for Danville, 122; leaving a clear majority in favour of Danville of 11 votes.

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge thereupon moved that solemn thanksgiving be offered to Almighty God, with earnest prayer for his divine blessing on what had been done. The motion was unanimously agreed to, and the Moderator, accordingly, with much solemnity and earnestness, addressed the throne of the heavenly grace.

The decision of this important question rested with the West. Had the Church in that region been united, no opposition would have been made to their wishes. Being, however, so much divided among themselves, the votes of the south and east were cast according to individual conviction.

There has been a diversity of opinion as to whether we should have few or many theological seminaries. Some would restrict the number to three—one for the East, one for the South, and one for the West; others would have them as numerous as our Synods. The reasons against the undue multiplication of such institutions are so obvious and weighty, that the general idea when the Assembly met, undoubtedly was, that only one seminary should be established for the whole region west of the appropriate limits of the institution at Allegheny. The loca-

tion of the new seminary at Danville, seems to be universally regarded as a renunciation of that idea. The very advocates of that location admitted that the time would soon come when another institution would be demanded for the northwest. Supposing the Assembly to have given up the idea of one central Seminary, the decision in favour of Danville is sufficiently intelligible. Apart from the commanding personal influence enlisted in its favour, it was made apparent that there were zeal and strength enough in Kentucky at once to found and endow the Seminary, whereas, if it was placed elsewhere, it would either have to struggle for existence, or to look to the distant parts of the Church for support. We do not see why this should be so, but such was doubtless the impression under which the Assembly voted. The decision having been made, and a location selected which offers so many advantages, we think it the obvious part of wisdom for all concerned to submit. Let the West rally round the new Seminary, and get it fairly established, before another is even thought of. There can be no need for any other institution besides those at Allegheny and Danville, for years to come—and it will only alienate and weaken to have new projects now started.

The Committee on Seminaries, after considering the additional matters referred to it, recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, as containing provision, adequate for the present, for all the objects contemplated, as necessary to the organization of the new Theological Seminary, to be established in the West:

1. The new Seminary shall be called the Danville Theological Seminary, under the care of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Its first session shall be opened at Danville, Kentucky, on the 13th day of October, 1853, under the care of the Professors to be elected by the present Assembly, or as many of them as may accept the chairs tendered to them.

2. The Assembly will proceed, on Tuesday the 31st of May, at ten o'clock A. M., to elect four persons as Professors in the said Seminary, who, upon signifying their acceptance of their said offices, respectively, by note in writing, addressed to the Moderator, for the time being, of the General Assembly, shall be fully invested with the right of office; and shall thenceforth

hold their respective chairs during the pleasure of the General Assembly; and they shall be inducted into office with such formalities as the Board of Directors, to be appointed by this Assembly, shall direct. The chairs to be thus filled, to be called by the same names, and to have attached to them the same subjects, studies, and duties as are now provided for by the plan for the Theological Seminary at Princeton; and the Professors of the new Seminary shall receive, as a compensation for their services, the sum of \$1500 a year each, payable half yearly; and also a house to reside in—which said houses shall be provided only when the state of the funds of the Seminary will conveniently allow of their purchase or erection; and the said plan for Princeton, as now existing, shall be in force, in all respects, in the new Seminary, until the further order of the General Assembly—except so far as its provisions may conflict with any action of the present General Assembly.

3. The Board of Directors shall consist of twenty-seven ministers and twenty-seven ruling elders, any nine of whom, met at the appointed time and place, shall be a quorum to do business. The whole of these shall be elected during the present sessions of the Assembly; but they shall be so elected, as that one-third of each class shall go out of office annually. The first meeting of the Board shall take place at Danville, Kentucky, on the first day of September, 1853—or as soon thereafter as may be possible. At which time they shall provide for the organization of the Seminary, and the induction of the Professors into office at that time, or as soon afterwards as may be convenient.

4. William L. Breckinridge, Edward P. Humphrey, William C. Matthews, Samuel Cassady, William Richardson, J. S. Berryman, or any three of them, shall be a Committee to take charge of the whole matter of raising funds to endow the said Seminary—with power to appoint one or more agents to do the work. They shall report their proceedings to the General Assembly from year to year, and shall continue to act till the further order of the Assembly.

5. Robert J. Breckinridge, Thomas W. Bullock, Benjamin Warfield, Richard Pindell, James Matthews, J. Wood Wilson, John A. Lyle, and John D. Matthews, or any three of them, shall be a committee to arrange with the Synod of Kentucky,

and the Trustees of the Central College of Kentucky, the terms and conditions on which the General Assembly can use and enjoy, on its own behalf, and for the purposes of the said Theological Seminary, the charters, franchises, and benefits, held, and capable of being afforded, by said Synod and College. They shall also endeavour to procure from the Legislature of Kentucky an act of incorporation for a Board of Trustees for the General Assembly, similar in its general features to that granted by the State of Pennsylvania, in the year 1799. The Trustees appointed under which act, when obtained, shall take charge of the funds collected for said Seminary. And this committee shall report their doings to the next General Assembly.

6. John C. Young, John T. Edgar, Willis Lord, James Wood, Samuel Steele, James Smith, N. L. Rice, Z. Butler, James Hoge, J. J. Bullock, Robert J. Breckinridge, and E. D. McMaster, or any three of them, shall be a committee to revise the plan of the Seminary, now provisionally adopted, and report to the next General Assembly, in detail, a complete plan for said Seminary—embracing every department thereof, and covering the whole matter of studies, professorships, students, terms, vacations, scholarships, classes, course of studies, and whatever else may fall under the practical and interior operations of the Seminary.

7. Whatever funds are now held, or may be hereafter raised, for the benefit of said Seminary, shall be liable, as to the income of all funds now vested, and, so far as may be needful, both principal and interest of funds yet to be raised, to meet the necessary current expenses of the Seminary of all kinds. And to this end, the Professors who may be inducted into office, shall, after their said induction, be a committee to receive said income and funds, as far as may be necessary, as aforesaid, from any agents, corporations, or others, having charge thereof; and they shall appropriate the moneys so received, to the necessary current expenses of the Seminary, of all kinds—keeping a strict account thereof—and reporting, in detail, to the next General Assembly. This order, to be in force only until a Board of Trustees for the Assembly, and a Treasurer for said Board, shall be duly appointed under the laws of Kentucky.

8. The General Assembly has gone forward in this present work, under the leadings of Divine Providence, relying on the ability and willingness of God's people to furnish the large means necessary to accomplish it in a proper manner, and upon God himself to bless it abundantly. They do therefore commend the subject to the prompt and efficient liberality of all the churches under its care, and more especially those churches which lie in the wide region which will be first and most largely blessed by the Institution. Deeply sensible that nothing can be done without the blessing of God, humbly and confidently relying on him, they see no reason to doubt that what they have projected can be surely accomplished.

The following gentlemen were elected as Professors in the new Seminary:

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, Professor of Didactic Theology.

Dr. Edward P. Humphrey, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government.

Dr. Palmer, Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature.

Dr. Phineas D. Gurley, Professor of Pastoral Theology.*

* The state of the ballot on these appointments is thus reported :

The tellers on the vote for a Professor of Didactic Theology, reported as follows :

Number of votes given,	- - - - -	183
Necessary to a choice, -	- - - - -	92
Of which Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge had received, -	- - - - -	124
Dr. Rice, -	- - - - -	54
Dr. J. F. Crowe, -	- - - - -	1
Dr. Humphrey, -	- - - - -	2
Blanks, -	- - - - -	2

So that Dr. Breckinridge had a majority of 32.

Whereupon he was declared by the Moderator to be duly elected.

The tellers on the vote for the Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature at Danville, made the following report of the result of the ballot :

Total number of votes given,	- - - - -	186
Necessary to a choice, -	- - - - -	94
Of which Dr. Palmer received, -	- - - - -	109
Dr. Lindsley, -	- - - - -	75
Dr. W. L. Breckinridge, -	- - - - -	1
Dr. L. W. Green, -	- - - - -	1

The tellers on the ballot for a Professor of Pastoral Theology at Danville, made the following report :

Whole number of ballots cast,	- - - - -	183
Necessary to a choice, -	- - - - -	92
Of which Dr. Gurley had received, -	- - - - -	140
Dr. Edgar, -	- - - - -	35
Scattering, -	- - - - -	8

So Dr. Gurley was declared duly elected.

For the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, there was but one nomination—Dr. Humphrey.

Election of Professors for the Seminaries at Allegheny and Princeton.

The first ballot for a Professor of Pastoral Theology, Sacred Rhetoric, and Church Government, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, resulted as follows:

Whole number of votes,	-	-	-	-	217
Necessary to a choice,	-	-	-	-	109
For Dr. Boardman,	-	-	-	-	98
For Dr. Plumer,	-	-	-	-	46
For Dr. Spring,	-	-	-	-	25
For Dr. McGill,	-	-	-	-	46
For Dr. Magie,	-	-	-	-	2

Dr. Magie, before balloting commenced, withdrew his name, as Dr. Spring did his before taking the second ballot the following day.

The whole number of votes was again,	-	-	-	-	217
For Dr. Boardman,	-	-	-	-	130
Dr. Plumer,	-	-	-	-	31
Dr. McGill,	-	-	-	-	51
Dr. Spring,	-	-	-	-	2

Dr. Boardman was, therefore, declared to be duly elected.

Two Chairs were to be filled in the Seminary at Allegheny. Dr. Alexander T. McGill was unanimously appointed, without a ballot, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government.

For the Chair of Pastoral Theology and Rhetoric, the vote stood thus:

The whole number of votes were,	-	-	-	-	188
Necessary to a choice,	-	-	-	-	95
For Dr. John Hall, of Trenton, N. J.,	-	-	-	-	101
For Rev. T. V. Moore, of Richmond, Va.,	-	-	-	-	42
For Dr. James Hoge,	-	-	-	-	2
For Dr. M. B. Hope,	-	-	-	-	1

Dr. Hope's name was withdrawn before the balloting; neither of the other gentlemen voted for on this ballot were in the city at the time.

It is to be presumed that all the brethren elected to the several chairs above named, have before this come to a decision whether to accept or to decline the offices tendered to them.

The remarks, therefore, which follow, are not intended to bear on any of the above cases, but to suggest certain principles which may be worthy of consideration for the future.

First, What is the authority properly due to the Church in appointing men to office? According to one view, it is absolutely nothing. The call of the Church carries with it no authority. It simply opens a particular door, and says to the man elected, you may enter if you see fit. A certain amount of deference is, of course, rendered to the wishes or judgment of any large number of Christian brethren, but the idea never seems to have entered into the minds of many of our brethren, that the Church has a legitimate and divine right not only to the services of the ministers, but to an authoritative voice as to where and how that service shall be rendered. The Rev. Mr. Edwards of Indiana, expressed in few words the true doctrine on this subject, when he said: "There was one thing which seemed to have escaped the minds of the brethren; it was, that every minister of the Presbyterian Church promised at his ordination to submit to his brethren in the Lord; the Assembly had a perfect right to transfer, as under the sought guidance of the Spirit of God, any member of the Church to any other station where, in its judgment, he might better serve the general cause, and more effectually promote the glory of God. Let the Assembly proceed with great consideration and delicacy indeed, but with firm adherence to its rights." This is one of the essential distinguishing principles between Presbyterianism and Congregational independence. To the latter there is no real, objective, tangible unity of the Church; no body larger than a parish to which allegiance and obedience are due. The doctrine of our standards is, that the Spirit of God dwelling in his people makes them one body in Christ, and that to this body the allegiance and obedience of every member are due. The Church, however, is neither omniscient nor infallible, and therefore it may often, through ignorance, order things which, if better informed, it would forbid. Consequently no order or decision of the Church binds the conscience without appeal. The Church may order a man on a foreign mission, or to some other station, ignorant of his domestic relations, or of his physical constitution. The person thus ordered may properly

say, I cannot go, because I have relations whom I cannot, with a good conscience, leave; or, because I have an organic disease which disqualifies me for the work. As soon as such facts are known, his going ceases to be the will of the Church, and he is guilty of no disobedience in refusing the primary outward call. It would, however, be disobedience, and, according to our doctrine, a violation of his ordination vows, for such a man to refuse compliance on the ground of his preferring some other work to that to which he was called; or on the ground that his own judgment differed from that of the Church. The case, we conceive, is in many respects analogous to the relation of our naval officers to the department at Washington. If an officer is ordered to a particular station, and informs the Secretary that his constitution will not endure the climate; or if he can assign any other good reason for declining, the order is never pressed. But if such officer were to answer, "I prefer a home to a foreign station;" or, "I think I can do the service more good here than there"—he would show he had no idea of his proper place. We think this is a matter deserving serious consideration. Men are solemnly called to certain parts in the Church, and then gravely sit down to determine where they can do the most good, as though their judgment was to be put above that of the body in whom God dwells by his Spirit, and whose decisions he has promised to control.

Admitting that the will of the Church is authoritative—how is that will to be ascertained? We answer: first by the legitimate action of her appropriate organs. To us the General Assembly is the organ for expressing the will of our whole Church, and if any man refuses to regard the decision of the Assembly as the voice of the Church, he must show good reason for so refusing. It, no doubt, often happens that the acts of the Assembly are hasty, inconsiderate, and erroneous—not expressing the deliberate judgment even of the members present, much less of the whole Church. We are very far from saying that every decision of the Assembly is to be regarded as expressing the voice of the Church; but such decision is *prima facie* evidence of what the mind of the Church is; and if it is contested it must be for reasons given. It is not, however, only through the action of public bodies that public sen-

timent is known; neither does the Church manifest her will exclusively through ecclesiastical courts. There are a thousand channels of communication from the whole to the several parts. The inward convictions of the Church manifest themselves in a thousand ways, so that practically there is seldom any difficulty in determining what that mind is. What we are concerned about is, asserting for the mind of the Church an authority paramount to the private preferences or opinions of individuals. If the Church calls a man to the work of foreign missions; it is not competent to him to say "*I think* I can do more good at home;" or, if she calls him to be a teacher, it is not for him to say "*I think* I can be more useful as a pastor."

Another question of no little practical importance is, when should a man decide whether he will accept a given office, before, or after his election? Some men seem to think that the question is not before them until the election has been made, and that they cannot be expected to answer beforehand what they will do, and, if asked, reply, That is a question we cannot answer. It is indeed obvious that in many cases no opportunity is afforded to form a decision before the election. Not unfrequently the election is the first intimation received on the subject. Or the election may come so unexpectedly that no time is allowed for consideration. Or it may take place under circumstances which render it very doubtful whether it expresses the mind of the Church. All this is plain, but it is aside from the real point of difference. There are cases in which a brother may have had for weeks or months the probability of his election to a certain office before his mind, so that full opportunity is afforded for consideration, and yet the principle is assumed and acted upon, that he is not called upon to decide or even seriously to consider the matter until he is elected. The true principle, we conceive to be just the opposite, viz: that a man is bound to prevent his election to any office or station which he does not intend to accept; and consequently that refusing to prevent such election when it could be done, imposes a strong obligation not to refuse. The reasons for this are obvious. Great trouble, anxiety, and effort are often involved in an election, which no man has a right to impose on others to no purpose. Or great delay may be occa-

sioned in filling important posts; and thus manifold injury be inflicted on important interests. In civil matters this principle is always acted upon. If a man is nominated as governor of a state, in political convention, he may very properly say, he does not wish the office, that its acceptance would involve great personal sacrifice; that he did not consider himself qualified for the post; that he earnestly wished some other person should be selected; yet if these objections are overruled, and he consents to allow the election to go on, the case is decided. If chosen he feels bound to accept. That is, it is universally regarded in politics that the proper time to refuse an office is before, and not after an election. And we see no reason why it should not be so in the Church. It would save a world of trouble.

It is neither to be expected nor desired that those who do not hold this principle should act upon it. We repeat what we said before, that the object of these remarks is not to bear on any pending cases, which we presume are already decided in the minds of those concerned, but to suggest considerations for the future.

Historical Society.

A memorial was presented to the Assembly from the Presbyterian Historical Society, requesting the Assembly to take certain action to promote the interests of the Society, whereupon the following resolutions were adopted.

1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly hereby testify their interest in the organization of the Presbyterian Historical Society, and deem the objects of sufficient importance to call the attention of the Synods and Presbyteries to such forms of co-operation in securing the materials of our Church history as may seem to them expedient.

2. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly commit all the manuscript materials, pertaining to the history of the Presbyterian Church, which have been collected in past years under their authority, to the custody of the Presbyterian Historical Society.

3. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly give to the Historical Society permission to select from the publications of

their Board of Publication such volumes as may belong to their department, for the purpose of our Historical Library; and the further permission to select, from time to time, whatever works may be necessary for the purposes of exchange with other Historical Societies or agencies.

Church in the City of Washington.

The Report of the Committee on the Church in Washington being taken up, Dr. Smith of Baltimore offered a substitute for a portion of the original report, which was adopted, and the question being on the adoption of the paper, thus amended,

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge said he had no objection to the Presbytery of Baltimore doing this work, but he objected to the Assembly becoming so completely responsible for the enterprise.

Mr. Stockton thought the subject should be left to the friends of the Presbytery of Baltimore, with the commendation of the Assembly.

Mr. Atkinson said, the question was simply, whether having put our hand to the plough, we should look back. After having made the attempt to do this thing, to abandon it would be most disastrous. He had himself acted for a short time as an agent for this enterprise, and had been much encouraged. Other denominations were doing a similar work for themselves in Washington, and we must sooner or later have this church. The Assembly is the proper body to act in this matter. It is a work in which the whole Church should engage.

Dr. Henry said he had no objection to the Presbytery of Baltimore appointing an agent to go through the churches and collect the money for such a church, but it did not seem to him to belong to the Assembly. We need the funds which can be collected for Church Extension, for general purposes in destitute regions.

Dr. Junkin said there was a tide in the affairs of men which ought to be improved; it was so now as to our interests in Washington. All arguments against an expensive church for Washington, would bear against expensive churches everywhere. Can it be possible that brethren can think that such a population as that at Washington, and its peculiar relations to

our whole country, do not make a strong appeal to us to do this work. We have sustained great losses as a denomination there already for want of it. Two General Assemblies have already recommended the object, and a portion of the money has been raised. Shall we go back? The high importance of the object should commend it to all. We ought to look this thing in the face, and if we cannot build it up, let us talk it up.

The previous question having been moved, the question was taken on the amended report, and the report was adopted by a large majority.

1. It affirms the importance and desirableness of the object.
2. Requests the Church Extension Committee for the City of Washington, appointed by the Presbytery of Baltimore, to appoint an agent to raise the sum of \$50,000 for this object.
3. Directs them to purchase a suitable lot as soon as possible; and, 4. Commends the whole project earnestly to the sympathies and support of the churches.

During the discussion of these resolutions, Mr. Lowrie stated that he was authorized to say that whenever \$48,000 were raised, the remaining \$2000 should be forthcoming.

Rights of Conscience for Americans Abroad.

The report of a Special Committee appointed by the last General Assembly, of which Dr. Plumer was chairman, on the subject of the rights of conscience of American citizens in foreign parts, was taken up and read.

Dr. Baird hoped that the report would be adopted, that part of it might be published, and that the Assembly would recommend the churches under its care to memorialize Congress in favour of securing by treaty the liberty of Americans abroad to the enjoyment of the rights of conscience. General Cass and Mr. Underwood had both begged him not to let this measure fail. Mr. Underwood had made an able speech in its behalf; and the Government was favourable to the object. Dr. Baird had visited Washington on purpose to see the Government, in this matter, and had found both President Fillmore and Mr. Everett, Secretary of State, eminently favourable, and he had reason to believe that the present administration were not less so. The measure met with strong, though secret opposition,

from the Roman Catholics. Copies of a memorial to Congress, praying that such provision might be made by treaty, had been carried to the Catholic priests, bishops, and laymen, and thus far, not one of them had signed. Rome was well aware that her interests would be the loser by any change. Dr. Baird observed that there was not a Protestant country on the globe that did not allow Roman Catholics freedom of worship; even Sweden, the most intolerant government in Europe, allowed this privilege to foreign Catholics, and they now enjoyed and exercised it in Stockholm. Certainly it was right and just that our citizens should enjoy the same right in Catholic countries.

Chancellor Johns rose to set himself right in this matter. Concurring with the language of the report as to the right, considered as a civil right, of freedom of conscience for our citizens abroad, he differed from it as to the mode of getting this right secured. As these were civil rights, he deprecated the first movement of ecclesiastical bodies, as such, in approaching Congress on the subject. There was great danger in it as a mere matter of expediency, because if we once opened the door to such applications, there were other ecclesiastical organizations all round us far stronger than we, and who would beat us two to one. It would be far better for the members to exert themselves to throw their personal influence around our representatives in Congress, than to attempt an approach to that body in our ecclesiastical capacity. By attempting this, we encroach at once upon that sacred principle of our Constitution—the perfect separation between Church and State. In every Popish country the very first step of Rome was to get the supremacy over the civil power. They had done it; and did we expect to get the better of them on their own ground? No; the right invaded was a civil right; better leave the subject to the civil power. We had no more right to memorialize Congress as an Assembly, than Congress had to memorialize us as a General Assembly. Judge Grier, in his letter that had been read, was very cautious to make a distinction between the right of an ecclesiastical body to petition, and the right of a citizen.

It was the recognition of this very principle which had saved

to our Church her rights in the late distressing controversy about church property. The principle was a fundamental one. No civil court could interfere with our action as an ecclesiastical body, nor could we, as such, with the action of Congress.

Dr. McDowell had been greatly surprised at the position taken by the Chancellor. He had supposed it to be the settled right of all to petition our rulers; and whether we should do so as a church, or in our private capacity, was a mere question of expediency. The right in question was not a civil, but a religious right—it was immediately connected with religion; and it was the attachment to that right which had brought our fathers to these shores. There was no time, now, to discuss the subject; but the fallacy of the Chancellor's argument lay in confounding civil with religious rights.

Dr. Matthews moved that the report be received and adopted, and the resolutions printed in the Appendix to the Minutes; the rest to be referred to the Board of Publication.

A desultory debate arose—Dr. Murray advocated the report, and hoped it would be unanimously adopted.

Dr. Junkin protested against the position taken by the Chancellor, denying that it was any infringement of the separation between Church and State for the Assembly to memorialize Congress on this subject. It might be difficult to point out the precise limits between a civil and religious right: but rights of conscience, whatever they were, ought to be as much defended by our government as rights of property.

Dr. McDowell advocated the postponement of the whole subject to the next General Assembly.

Dr. Magie opposed the postponement, and thought the matter might be as well settled at once. He hoped the Assembly would express its decided opinion, and make that opinion tell in the proper quarter.

Dr. Neill thought we ought to move in this matter very cautiously. The subject had been long considered, and was much discussed at the last meeting of the Assembly. A committee had been appointed, who had looked into the question, and had in the report given us their views at length. He seconded the views of Dr. Magie, and hoped the resolutions would be adopted. The postponement was lost—the report adopted,

and, after a long conversation, it was agreed not to place it on the minutes, but to recommend to our religious journals to give it a wide circulation.

Complaint of James Russell.

The case of James Russell against the Synod of Georgia, is a complaint against the Synod for re-affirming the action of the Presbytery of Flint River, censuring him in a case where he was a prosecutor, and where, although the charges against the person prosecuted were not sustained, the Presbytery had still censured him for the exhibition of a bad spirit. The Rev. J. Y. Alexander was prosecuted by Mr. Russell for having manifested an unchristian spirit, &c. The Synod of Georgia re-affirmed the action of the Presbytery, censuring Mr. Alexander, but at the same time censured Mr. Russell for the improper spirit which he had manifested. It is against this action of the Synod censuring him, and not sustaining his charges against J. Y. Alexander, that he now complains to the General Assembly.

Dr. Junkin went into a narrative of the whole unpleasant series of disputes and mutual recriminations, which marked the progress of the affair. The difficulty originated in the zeal of the minister in the cause of Temperance reform; which giving offence to some of his elders and people, their remonstrances did but aggravate his severity, and things continued to go from bad to worse, till the Presbytery was called on to investigate the affair; from its action thereon the party appealed to Synod; and from the action of the Synod he brought his case up to the General Assembly.

The pleadings having thus been gone through with, it was

Ordered, that the roll be called twice; that at the first time each member should be at liberty fully to express his views of the case; and on the second calling, should deliver his vote, either—1. To sustain the appeal; or 2. To sustain in part; or 3. Not to sustain.

The roll was thereupon called, and such members as pleased availed themselves of the privilege of explaining the reasons of their vote.

The roll being called again for the votes, it was reported by the Stated Clerk that there were,

For sustaining,	-	-	-	-	-	13
For sustaining in part,	-	-	-	-	-	12
For not sustaining,	-	-	-	-	-	81
Non liquet,	-	-	-	-	-	13
Excused from voting,	-	-	-	-	-	2

There is no part of our system which works so heavily as that of appeals and complaints. There are great inconveniences connected with it. 1. The whole Church is liable to be harassed and occupied by causes of no general importance. Three hundred men sitting in Philadelphia as the representatives of the whole of our Church, may have their time largely occupied in deciding whether a man in Georgia showed, on a given occasion, six months ago, a bad spirit. 2. The General Assembly is, from its size, an incompetent tribunal. Most persons would rather be tried by twelve men chosen out of the Assembly by lot, than by the whole three hundred. 3. The consumption of time is intolerable. A judicial case recently occupied one of our Presbyteries sixty days. It would require three weeks session of the General Assembly, intelligently and righteously to review that case. This is out of the question; and hence, 4. There is a frequent denial of justice. Such is the disposition of the house to get rid of a protracted judicial case, that every expedient is resorted to, to stave it off.

We know that the minds of many are directed to the means of correcting these evils, consistently with our principles. Some propose to make the decisions of Synods final in all cases of appeal or complaint from the Presbyteries. But this violates our great principle that the whole must govern the parts, and that each part has a right to the protection of the whole. Besides, the remedy does not meet the case. It is impossible that our Synods can devote the time required to hearing such cases. We think we shall have to adopt the Scottish (and the Kentucky) method of commissions. A commission is a body consisting of not less than a quorum of the court appointing it, and in which every member of the court who chooses to attend, has the right to a seat, clothed with the full power of the

court itself. The Synod of Kentucky set the example of acting judicially by commission in the case of the Cumberland Presbytery. We think the practice must ultimately be sanctioned and incorporated into our system.

SHORT NOTICES.

Reason and Faith, and other Miscellanies of Henry Rogers, author of the "Eclipse of Faith." Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Company. New York: Charles S. Francis & Co. 1853, 12mo. pp. 458.

A collection of essays originally contributed to the Edinburgh Review, and which will be welcomed by many of the readers of that journal in their present form. "The Eclipse of Faith," as many of our readers know, is a brilliant and effective *sortie* upon the modern outworks of infidelity, in the shape of Rationalism, and generally of philosophy falsely so called. This additional collection of essays by the same author, and on the same general class of subjects, will be found to be characterized by the same wide and complete mastery of the subject, in all its endless and ever-shifting phases, the same keen and trenchant logic, the same ease and raciness of style, and the same pure and lofty tone of evangelical piety. Though a large portion of the present volume is chiefly literary, rather than controversial, yet in view of the thorough handling of the mythic hypothesis of Strauss, and his English coadjutors Foxton and Froude, in the essay on "Reason and Faith; their Claims and Conflicts," taken in connection with the previous volume, "The Eclipse of Faith;" we think Mr. Rogers has fairly won a place among the foremost apologists whom the modern form of the great Christian controversy has produced.

The Child's Matins and Vespers. By a Mother. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 111 Washington street. 1853.

This little manual was written by the authoress for her own children. This circumstance has breathed into it a spirit of earnestness and tenderness, which scarcely any thing else would have ensured. It is made up of, 1. A series of simple reflec-

tions, appropriate to the morning and the evening of each day of the week, carried through several successive weeks; 2. The ten commandments, each followed by a short application, in the way of exposition and enforcement; 3. A collection of Scripture promises; and finally, a set of prayers for every morning and evening of the week.

The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament. A series of Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, by Frederick Dennison Maurice, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. New York: Charles S. Francis & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 466.

We take for granted, our readers already well know the author's intellectual character, and his theological stand-point, if indeed a progressive like Mr. Maurice can be said to have a stand-point at all. The work before us displays all the usual vigour, originality, and boldness of the author's way of thinking; combined with his well-known direct, earnest, effective, though by no means faultless, rhetoric. It is peculiar in this, that the leading views it inculcates, clearly, and indeed avowedly, owe their parentage to his intellectual and social relations with an accomplished legal gentleman of Scotland, Thomas Erskine, Esq., of Linlithgow, to whom the volume is dedicated. It is highly curious and suggestive, to observe the effect of this *strike* upon his theological philosophy of social and political truth, of the old Scottish doctrine, incorporated in the testimony of the Scottish heroes of the seventeenth century, and the great soul-inspiring claims of their national proclamation, that God himself is the King, the Lawgiver, the Judge of a nation; that his government over the Jews was not a more actual government than that which he exercised over Scotland, and still exercises over Christian nations. This infusion of the blood of Old Scotland into the vigorous circulation of Young England, cannot fail to awaken in the minds of thoughtful readers both interest and hope. The reader, whether he can agree with all the bold thoughts of the author or not, will at least find this book filled with what Bacon so significantly calls the "*semina rerum*."

The Difficulties of Infidelity. By George Stanley Faber, B. D., to which is added *Modern Infidelity Considered.* By Robert Hall, A. M. And a Catalogue of all the Books known to have been written on the Evidence of Revealed Religion. New York: William Gowans. 1853. pp. 217, 69 and 30.

A beautiful reprint of two of the best known and ablest works on apologetics, in the language. The form of the book

is that which we have several times before had occasion to commend in Mr. Gowans' publications, as blending chasteness and beauty with convenience. The catalogue of books on the Evidence of Revealed Religion, appended by the publisher, is a very valuable feature of this edition. It is hardly to be expected that such a catalogue should be made absolutely complete at once; but the intelligent reader, who has any knowledge of the difficulties of the task, will be much more surprised at its fulness, than disappointed at missing any particular work from its thirty closely printed pages.

Poetry of the Vegetable World: A Popular Exposition of the Science of Botany, in its Relations to Man. By J. Schleiden, M.D., Professor of Botany in the University of Jena. Illustrated with Engravings. Edited by Alphonso Wood, M. A., author of the "Class-Book of Botany," &c. Cincinnati: Moore, Anderson, Wilstach & Keys. New York: Newman & Ivison, 1853. 12mo. pp. 356.

The title of this book will be likely to mislead. The author is a man of science and learning; and his work has so few elements of poetry, that we are at a loss to conceive what ever suggested such a title. The book displays a most extended knowledge and mastery of the subject; and every part of it is treated with reference to the most advanced scientific theories. Indeed, the scope embraced in the successive portions of the work is more varied and discursive than strikes us as wise for popular effect. We cannot by any means agree with all the author's metaphysics; but they are not put forward in a form likely to be either dangerous or offensive. But the reader may rely upon getting the most recent and authentic views of the physical philosophy of the vegetable world, set forth in earnest and glowing prose, with an occasional strike of the vague and dreamy character so common in the modern scientific works of Germany. Our botanical readers will, of course, recognize in Prof. Schleiden, one of the foremost names in their favourite science, and the leading advocate, if not the first propounder, of one of the two hypotheses, which are at this moment *sub judice*, in regard to the physiology of the elongated pollen-tribe, in the production of the primary cell, within the nucleus of the ovule in plants. And although the weight of authority seems likely to determine against the hypothesis of the author, on this particular point in the philosophy of reproduction, yet it is supported by so many and such striking analogies, that every professional student will be glad that so much of the views of the author, on the whole range of vegetable physiology, has been made accessible to us in a popular form, and in our mother tongue.

The Doctrinal Differences which have agitated and divided the Presbyterian Church; or, Old and New Theology. By James Wood, D.D. Philadelphia; Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1853. 12mo. pp. 290.

A new and enlarged edition of a well-known standard book, which we have several times had occasion to notice favourably.

The Old and the New; or, Changes of Thirty Years in the East, with some allusions to Oriental Customs as elucidating Scripture. By William Goodell, Missionary in Constantinople. With an introduction, by Rev. William Adams, D.D. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1853. 12mo. pp. 240.

This is a very interesting and instructive little volume. The title-page sufficiently describes its plan; and the name of the respected author is a sufficient guaranty of its style of execution, and the value of its contents. Mr. Goodell, who is now one of our oldest and best-known American Missionaries, has brought together the fruits of his missionary experience in a light that is peculiarly entertaining. It is very curious to note the changes which the dynamic force of the gospel has already initiated among those conservative races of men who have lain unmoved for such a succession of centuries. The relation of the book to the interpretation of the Scriptures, gives it an additional value, as well as an additional charm. The coloured illustrations also add greatly to the graphic force of the letter-press. Altogether we have peculiar pleasure in recommending the little volume to our Christian readers, and especially to those whose hearts warm to every thing that comes from the missionary field.

Life of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. Edited by Rev. Jas. C. Moffat, M.A., Professor of Latin, and Lecturer on History in the College of New Jersey, Princeton. Cincinnati: Moore, Anderson, Wilstach & Keys. New York: Newman & Ivison, 1853. 12mo. pp. 435.

The Life of Dr. Chalmers marks an epoch not only in the religious history of the Church of Scotland, but in the history of Scotland herself, and indeed of Protestant Christianity. It is neither fitting nor possible that such a man should die. It strikes us, therefore, as a happy thought, to popularize this stirring Life, by bringing it within the means of every Christian man and woman in the land. The editor, Prof. Moffat, of the College of New Jersey, has done his work with carefulness and fidelity, preserving for the most part the language, and in all cases the spirit of the original work of Dr. Hanna. It can hardly be necessary to say, that those who can command the Memoirs, in four volumes, would be unwise to accept in lieu of them the single volume now before us. Its object is not to supersede, but to outrun its heavier predecessor. Thousands,

it may be hoped, will catch the inspiration, and repeat on their own scale the example of a man whose Christian earnestness was one great secret of his unexampled influence and usefulness.

Memoir and Sermons of Rev. W. J. Armstrong, D. D., late Secretary of the Am. Bd. Com. for Foreign Missions. Edited by Rev. Hollis Read. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1853. 12mo. pp. 411.

The earnest, busy, public life of Dr. Armstrong, first as a pastor, and then as secretary of our oldest foreign missionary organization, closed as it was by a tragic catastrophe which sent a thrill of sorrow throughout the land, combine to give a melancholy charm to his *Memoirs and Remains*. The thousands who knew Dr. Armstrong, whether in the well-known fervor of his public ministry, or as a warm-hearted and disinterested personal friend, will welcome this simple but truthful memorial of him. The leading traits of his character were his benevolence, self-denial, earnestness, and piety; the whole coupled with a clear, discriminating, vigorous intellect. His sermons, which make two-thirds of the volume, are, like himself, filled with lofty reverence for God, and a warm, compassionate, irrepressible love for the salvation and spiritual welfare of his hearers. We have seldom read sermons which have impressed us more deeply with the conviction of honesty in their faithful appeals to the conscience, or by the commanding power of moral goodness in the preacher.

The Young Lady's Guide to the Harmonious Development of the Christian Character. By Harvey Newcomb. Revised edition, with an Address on Female Education. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1853. 12mo. pp. 330.

Mr. Newcomb has been for some years an industrious and prolific writer on practical and useful subjects, chiefly intended for the benefit of the young. The work before us is more elaborate than any previous one we remember to have seen. It is remarkable for judiciousness, good sense, and piety. It treats true religious character as progressive; its growth depending on the correctness and completeness of our doctrinal knowledge, coupled with true and earnest culture of our character and active powers, and of our devotional or spiritual experience. The plan of the book is comprehensive, and filled out as it is with earnestness, solemnity, piety, and good sense, it forms a safe and excellent *vade mecum* for a Christian young lady, and indeed for Christians generally, of all ages and of either sex.

Two Sermons on Church Communion and Excommunication, with a particular view to the case of Slaveholders in the Church. By Noah Porter, Pastor of the First Church in Farmington, Conn.

The doctrine of this sermon may be briefly stated thus: All

who give evidence of Christian piety ought to be admitted to the Lord's table, however that piety may be marred by remaining sins and infirmities; many slaveholders give credible evidence that they are the true friends of Christ; therefore, *though slavery is an iniquity*, slaveholders, if on other grounds entitled to Christian communion, ought not, on this account, to be debarred from it. Having reached this conclusion, the author very justly argues that it is fatal to the views of those abolitionists, who would deny the Lord's Supper to such professing Christians as give no evidence of a want of piety, beyond the simple fact that they hold slaves; or who would withdraw from all Bible, missionary, or tract societies, that do not anathematize slaveholders as such.

The justness and high importance of this great doctrine of the discourse, and of its applications, cannot be doubted by any who make the Bible the rule of faith and practice. We cannot, however, say as much of some of the principles and reasonings by which the author defends this position. These seem to us to undermine his conclusion. He escapes this result only by advancing a false principle in morals, quite as objectionable as the great error against which his discourse is levelled. He says:

"There is no question of difference among us, or among any of the Churches of the North, (?) so far as I know, about the sinfulness of slavery. They all, I believe, are agreed in pronouncing it, as the late Congregational convention at Albany pronounced it, a 'stupendous wrong.'" * * *

"By necessary consequence, there is no question among us, whether we may in any circumstances justify slavery, have fellowship with it, apologize for it, excuse it, or in any manner countenance or aid it. Having once decided that slavery is sinful, we have decided that, as followers of Him who came to take away sin, we are bound not only to have no fellowship with it, but to reprove it."

If this be so, how can we extend that sort of countenance and fellowship to slaveholders, which is involved in admitting them to the Lord's Supper? To this the venerable author gives a twofold answer.

1. "You enter into partnership with another in trade. He may be an infidel or a profane swearer. But your fellowship with him extends only to your business. * * * Just so, if your fellowship with another in the Lord's Supper expresses approval of his sin, you are so far a partaker of his sin. But it does not express this." Our difficulty with this is, that while it is true under certain limitations, yet the same thing might

be said, if the communicant were an habitual and incorrigible liar, thief, or adulterer. Of course Dr. Porter does not mean to open the doors of Church communion to such reprobates. And why? Because persistence in such sins is plainly inconsistent with Christian character. But if slaveholding be like these, a sin in its own nature, and not only so, but a scandalous and flagrant sin, does not all persistence in such known sin, according to the principles of the gospel, prove a want of true piety, and unfitness for the communion? And, according to the same standard, does not that state of mind which, after due labour used, cannot see the sinfulness of any scandal, or obvious immorality, or "stupendous wrong," argue a moral blindness which cannot be attributed to any who are led by the Spirit of God? We think so. And so we think that conceding to slaveholders a right to a place in a Christian church, is conceding that mere slaveholding is not a sin or an immorality, which is giving up the cardinal principle of abolitionism, held, as Dr. Porter believes, by all the Churches; as we believe, by only a party, at the North. Hence those who hold that slavery is an immorality, but yet that slaveholders should not be excluded from the Church, must find some reconciling principle, according to which he who commits this sin is nevertheless not a sinner. What is it? This brings us to the second principle advanced by Dr. Porter for the solution of the difficulty in hand. He says: "The morality of any particular action depends on the governing motive—the state of the heart which prompts it. Slaveholding from motives of humanity is one thing; and slaveholding from motives of cupidity is another." Once abandon the dogma that slaveholding is in its own nature an immorality—allow that in itself, aside from abuses practised in connection with it, it ranks in the category of things morally indifferent—and there is a high sense in which this is true. But how can it be true on the hypothesis that slaveholding is in its own nature morally wrong? For example, does he who lies, or steals, or worships idols, from "motives of benevolence," thus make such sins no longer sins, or himself no sinner? Such an idea upturns all foundations, and installs every one's caprice, or notions of expediency, above the law of God and of rectitude, as the standard of morality. That which is in itself sin is evermore such, with whatever views or motives committed. If men do not see it to be such, if they call evil good and good evil, this is due to a moral blindness which God abhors and condemns. It is against this, in our view, demoralizing principle, which many good men have taken up without due reflection upon its nature and fruits, because it quickly cuts, instead of untying, many of the gordian knots of casuistry, that we wish especially to protest.

The only true solution of it is, that the mere holding of slaves, i. e., of a title to their services without their consent, ranks with things morally indifferent. Those who have this power are, of course, responsible for the manner in which they exercise it, and if they practise immorality therein, are amenable, when members of the Church of Christ, to her discipline, like other transgressors. This view alone accords with Scripture, or with the unperverted moral judgments of mankind. No other is consistent with the continued peace, unity, and purity of the Church, or can prevent the disruption of the existing bonds of Church fellowship, and of our national union.

These sermons abound with sensible views, and breathe an excellent spirit. The main principle advocated is just and important. The points in the argument to which we have taken exception have hitherto been adopted by many good men in all parts of the country, who have felt called upon to withstand the abolitionists, but have not thoroughly reasoned out the subject. We are persuaded that they furnish no basis for a permanent acquiescence in the conclusion which they are designed to establish, viz: that mere slaveholding ought to be no bar to the communion of saints. That conclusion is rather the protest of Christian judgment and feeling, against the fanatical dogma that simple slaveholding is an immorality, than logically consistent with it.

A Discourse, commemorative of Amos Lawrence; delivered by request of the Students in the Chapel of Williams College, February 21, 1853. By Mark Hopkins, D.D., President of the College.

Mr. Lawrence was a merchant of extraordinary intelligence, integrity, and success. He appears also to have been adorned with some of the finest traits of character as a man, and to have possessed no small measure of religious sensibility. The most remarkable feature in his character, however, was his beneficence. He was the chief benefactor of Williams College, and gave to charitable, religious, and public objects, during his lifetime, near half a million of dollars. And not only so, but, according to Dr. Hopkins, he gave his "personal attention and sympathy" along with his money. He gave, moreover, "as a Christian man, from a sense of religious obligation." So far he was a model for multitudes of professors of religion, who are luxuriating in affluence, and prostitute their wealth to purposes of avarice and self-indulgence. As he never withdrew from the Unitarian body, it is pleasing to read in the following extract of a letter from him to Dr. Hopkins, the symptoms of evangelical feeling which he manifested, and which, in all ordinary

cases, must be the foundation of such a character. "Our dead Unitarianism of ten or fifteen years ago is stirred up, and the deep feelings of sin, and salvation through the Beloved, are awakened where there seemed to be nothing but indifference and coldness, and my hope and belief is that great good will follow." This was written in 1849. He also expressed the deepest interest in the revivals in Williams College, and the conversion of the students. This surely betokens a spirit far different from the old Unitarianism of Boston. Truly, we know not what God may yet do for the recovery of those ancient but apostate churches, which may yet be "beloved for the fathers' sakes!"

Twentieth Anniversary. A Commemorative Discourse, delivered in the North Church of Hartford, May 22, 1853. By the Pastor, Horace Bushnell.

This is a review of the author's ministry. The most noteworthy passage in it is the following, in which he says, referring to the time of his settlement: "I had many and great difficulties on my hands, in respect to gospel truths, which are now gone. In the list of my qualifications at that time for a preacher of Christ, I discover nothing which moves my respect, but the very small mustard seed of religious experience I seem to have had, together with a certain honesty of determination to find, if possible, the truth. * * * In these two conditions I see, indeed, possibilities of good, but how slender a furniture for the work actually on hand. I was coming into religion on the side of reason and philosophy, and, of course, had small conception of it as a faith and supernatural gift to the race. Now it is a faith, luminous, glorious, vital, and clear, and of course it is a little of a philosophy. I confess with some mortification, so deep was I in the beggarly elements of the school, that I did not really expect to remain in the ministry long."

We suppose this must be taken as the explanation of what the author's friends have been accustomed to say, viz: that his recent books indicate an advance upon his former theological views. Beneath the scheme presented in them, he was in a yet "lower deep" at the beginning of his ministry. If we understand him, he was then a sceptic, wholly unsettled as to the "first principles of the gospel of Christ." His progress seems to have been from believing little or nothing, to believing what is generally pronounced "another gospel." How came it that one thus needing to be taught the rudiments of Christianity, should be installed as the guide and teacher of others? Did he disguise or conceal his views? Or was the body that laid hands on him unfaithful? Or is there some other solution?

A Bee-Keeper's Manual. By the Rev. L. L. Langstroth. Northampton: Hopkins, Bridgman & Co., 1853.

The author having been compelled to abandon the active duties of the ministry by ill-health, has undertaken to shed light on the characteristics and management of bees, a department in which he has the advantage of being an enthusiast. Besides this, he has long been a close and accurate observer of the habits, ways, and instincts of this remarkable insect. He has brought a cultivated and gifted mind to the study of the subject. Besides what can be gathered from books, he has added much that is somewhat original, and derived wholly from his own observation. Those curious in such things will find much in the book to entertain them. Those who study these matters philosophically, will, of course, avail themselves of the stores of information here presented. To practical apiarians the treatise is full of valuable hints, while it brings to view inventions of the author for the practical management of bees before unknown.

Receiving and Giving. A Baccalaureate Sermon, delivered at Williamstown, Mass., August 15, 1852. By Mark Hopkins, D. D., President of Williams College.

Although it has but just fallen in our way, we take pleasure in calling attention to this discourse. It is distinguished by that combined justness, breadth, and delicacy of thought, expressed with that taste, force, and eloquence, which are so apt to characterize the sermons and other discourses of Dr. Hopkins.

Second Latin Book; comprising a Historical Latin Reader, with notes and rules for translating; and an Exercise Book, developing a complete Analytical Syntax, in a series of Lessons and Exercises, involving the Construction, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Latin Sentences. By Albert Harkness, A. M., Principal of the Classical Department in the New England Normal Institute. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway, 1853. pp. 362.

Presuming some familiarity on the part of the student with the forms and inflection of the language, this work "aims to introduce the learner to a true knowledge and appreciation of the structure and spirit of the Latin tongue; and thus to prepare him to enter with success and pleasure upon the consecutive study of some Latin author." To this end the book seems, so far as we have the opportunity of judging, remarkably well adapted.

Regeneration. By Edmund H. Sears. Printed for the American Unitarian Association. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1853. pp. 268.

This is a work of elevated thought and feeling. Mr. Sears seems to belong to that class of Unitarians who cannot be satisfied with the cold negations of Unitarianism, and who are struggling to find something like the gospel without its cross, and therefore, without its offence, and without its power.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Otto Strauss has prepared a Commentary on the Prophecy of Nahum. 8vo, pp. 134. $1\frac{1}{2}$ thaler. Like his brother, Frederic Adolphus Strauss, the Commentator upon Zephaniah, and the author of Sinai and Golgotha, he is evangelical in sentiment, and a follower of Hengstenberg. Without displaying any great originality or critical acumen, this publication evinces much good sense, and an extensive acquaintance with the labours of those who have previously examined the same ground. Much use has been made of the recent explorations in Assyria for confirmation or illustration; and references to Layard, Botta, Rawlinson, Bononie, Rich, &c., are to be met with perpetually.

L. Diestel, *The Blessing of Jacob*, in Genesis xlix., historically illustrated. 8vo. pp. 127. $\frac{3}{4}$ thaler. This is another virgin publication, from the pen of a young scholar, now privat-docent of theology in the University of Bonn. The questions relating to the genuineness of this important chapter are discussed, and the whole passage expounded.

The Hebrew and Chaldee Thesaurus of Gesenius has at length been completed by Roediger, and the concluding number issued. 4to, pp. 1359-1522. But few papers were left by Gesenius in a state of readiness for the press. These have been incorporated in their appropriate places, and distinguished by the addition of his name. There are still some indexes, additions, and corrections to be published. $2\frac{1}{2}$ thalers (complete, 17 thalers.)

The Pentateuch, or the Five Books of Moses, with the He-

brew text, a German translation, and explanatory notes, by Dr. Herrheimer (a Jewish Rabbi). The first volume of the second edition has been issued, containing Genesis. 8vo, pp. 208. 18 ngr.

H. Hupfeld, *Quaestionum in Jobeidos locos vexatos Specimen. Commentatio.* 4to. pp. 17. 6 ngr.

P. Schegg. *History of the last Prophets.* Part I. 8vo. pp. 203. $\frac{3}{4}$ thaler.

The publication of Stier and Theile's Polyglott Bible is slowly progressing. The second volume, containing the former and the latter prophets, has been completed. The first volume containing the Books of Moses, and the fourth, containing the New Testament, had been issued previously. There still remains the third, which is to contain the Hagiographa, and is to appear in successive numbers during this and the following year.

C. Tischendorf has published the Apocryphal Gospels in the original, with a text corrected by some MSS. not before examined, and some Gospels not before published. 8vo, pp. 463. $3\frac{2}{3}$ thalers.

A second edition has appeared of Bruder's Greek Concordance to the New Testament. 4to. pp. 878. 8 thalers.

J. P. Nickes, *On the Families of Greek Manuscripts of the Old Testament.* Part I. Judith, Tobias, Esdras. 8vo. pp. 43. $\frac{1}{2}$ thaler.

C. B. Moll, *The System of Practical Theology presented in Outline.* 8vo. pp. 404. $1\frac{1}{2}$ thaler.

J. Köstlin, *Luther's Doctrine of the Church.* 8vo. pp. 216. 24 ngr.

A. F. O. Münchmeyer, *The Office of the New Testament, according to the doctrine of Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions.* 8vo. pp. 83. $12\frac{1}{2}$ ngr.

G. Thomasius, *Christ's Person and Work.* Exhibition of the Evangelical-Lutheran dogmatics, from the central point of Christology. Part I. 8vo. pp. 462. $2\frac{1}{3}$ thalers.

L. Noack, *Theology as the Philosophy of Religion, presented in its scientific organism.* 8vo. pp. 249. $1\frac{1}{2}$ thaler.

L. Noack, *History of Christian Doctrine in its organic development presented in a condensed view.* 8vo. pp. 461. $2\frac{1}{3}$ thalers.

H. M. Chalybaeus, *Philosophy and Christianity.* 8vo. pp. 188. 24 ngr.

J. Müller, *The Views of Luther and Calvin respecting the Sacred Supper compared (in Latin.)* 4to. pp. 34. $\frac{1}{3}$ thaler.

J. L. Saalschütz, *The Laws of Moses, with the supplementary*

Talmudic and Rabbinical enactments, for students of the Bible, jurists, and statesmen. 2d edition. 8vo. pp. 926. 5 thalers.

Rabbi Moses ben Nachman's Dissertation on the Excellencies of the Mosaic doctrine, delivered in Saragossa before King James of Arragon. From the rare edition of Prague, 1595, with explanatory remarks by A. Jellinek. 8vo. pp. 40. 12 ngr.

Bet ha-Midrash, Collection of small Midrashim and Miscellaneous Treatises from the earlier Jewish literature. Published by A. Jellinek. 8vo. pp. 159. 1½ thaler.

A. Jellinek, Thomas Aquinas in Jewish Literature. 8vo. pp. 49. ½ thaler.

Goldenthal, The most recent historical school in Jewish Literature, with an account of the Hebrew works of Leopold Duke, connected with this department. 8vo. pp. 32. ¼ thaler.

A. Peip, Science and Historical Christianity. Preface to an outline of Christian Science. 8vo. pp. 56. ¼ thaler.

Letters, Briefs, and some other Acts of Clement XIV., illustrating his pontificate, drawn from the secret archives of the Vatican, and now just published, by A. Theiner. 8vo. pp. 403. 1½ thaler.

A. Theiner, History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV., from unpublished State Papers in the secret archives of the Vatican. 2 vols. 8vo. 4 thalers.

G. Weber, History of the Non-Catholic Churches and Sects of Great Britain. Part I. 2d vol. The Constructive part of the Reformation, and the Forming of the Puritan Sects. 8vo. pp. 704. 3 thalers.

The Biographies of the Troubadours in the Provençal language. 8vo. pp. 58. ½ thaler.

J. A. Helfert, Huss and Jerome. 8vo. pp. 332. 2 thaler.

E. Vehse, History of the German Courts since the Reformation. Vol. xxi. 8vo. pp. 322.

William von Humboldt. 16mo. pp. 260. ⅓ thaler.

J. Brandis, Rerum Assyriarum tempora emendata. Commentatio. 8vo. pp. 66. 12 ngr.

W. F. Rinck, Religion of the Hellenes developed, from the Myths, teachings of the Philosophers, and the Worship. Part I. Of God, and the relation of the world and man to God. 8vo. pp. 368. 1 thaler 24 ngr.

R. Lepsius, On the Twelfth Dynasty of Egyptian Kings. 4to. pp. 29. 2½ thalers.

The 5th No. of Grimm's German Dictionary completes the letter A. Each number contains 240 pages.

Kleinschrod, Pauperism in England, with an Appendix, on the Dwellings of the Poor and Labouring Classes in their influ-

ence on their Physical, Social, and Moral Condition. 8vo. pp. 130. 27 ngr.

Studien und Kritiken, for 1853. No. 3. Schöberlein, Confession and Union. Schultz, Cyrus the Great. Graf on the Position of the Exordium in the Sermon. A Correction of Neander's Church History.

Zeitschrift für Luth. Theologie u. Kirche for 1853. No. 2. J. H. Kurtz, Jefta's Offer. L. Hellwig, erweckendes Bild der Lutherischen Kirche unserer Väter. W. Flörke, der Stand der Amtsfrage. H. E. F. Guericke, praktische Aphorismen zur Amtsfrage. Bibliographie der neuesten theolog. Literatur.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The popularizing of knowledge goes on at a rapid rate in England. We have before noticed the great activity displayed in the department of school-books. These are to be counted not by single ones, but by complete sets, comprehending, up to a certain point, the whole circle of knowledge. One peculiarity marks nearly all. They are intended for special education. Of course the primary books are the same, but the moment that manuals ascend above the rudiments, they are specially adapted to the trade, pursuit, or social position of the learner. This of course renders them more effective in their way, but very one-sided, and not suited for the purposes of a broad and liberal education. This is even the case with the text-books for those who go to the Universities. The form of a whole series, down even to the elementary volumes, is determined by the character of the examinations at Oxford and Cambridge. They are therefore disfigured to adapt them to the cramming system in use at the Universities.

The Crystal Palace has given a great impulse to the movement, begun before, to disseminate a knowledge of the scientific principles of the arts among artizans. The lectures at London on the "Results of the Exhibition," have given birth to courses all over the kingdom addressed to workmen, in which men of the very highest social and scientific position have taken the lead. There are indications of an attempt to instruct workmen, even in the principles and practice of art, especially as applicable to manufactures and the productive arts. This is proposed to be done by teaching classes in the elements of the subject; and by means of magnificent collections in the manufacturing districts, which will familiarize the operatives with beautiful forms. A most forcible and beautiful exposition of the practicability and advantages of this endeavour, is found in Cardi-

nal Wiseman's lecture at Manchester, on the "Relation of the Fine Arts to the Arts of Production;" which has been reprinted here in the (Catholic) "Freeman's Journal."

Instruction by lectures upon all subjects, and to all classes, is on the increase; and by the very necessities and tendencies of the case, "The Lecture" will have the effect of correcting in some degree the pedantry that now reigns over English education. To a superficial examiner even, the effect that a prevalence of lecturing has had, and is going to have on English style, is very evident. What is addressed to young minds and common people, must be expressed in a very simple, straightforward manner, and with no technical words; and the attempt to do this, has already given us models of pure, beautiful, and racy English, as (e. g.) the "Introductory Lectures" of Queen's College.

The East India Question is occupying more and more of the public mind. The most noticeable publications on the subject are "The Administration of the East India Company: a History of Indian Progress." By John W. Kaye, author of a "History of the War in Afghanistan." "India as it may be: an Outline of a proposed Government and Policy; a Scheme for the government of India." By George Campbell. "The Indian Question in 1853," by H. T. Prinsep, one of the oldest and ablest of English statesmen in India. "Statistical Papers relating to India." Printed for the Directors of the East India Company.

Two other volumes by Mr. Kaye are also announced, one entitled "Memorials of the Indian Government," being selections from the papers of Henry St. George Tucker, late Director of the East India Company; the other entitled "Life and Correspondence of H. St. George Tucker."

Among the books just published we notice:

"The Civil Administration of the Bombay Presidency. By Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, Fourth Translator and Interpreter of Her Majesty's Supreme Court, and Member of the Bombay Association." Published in England at the request of the Bombay Association. "History of the Byzantine Empire from A. D. 716 to 1057." By George Finlay, Esq., Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Literature and author of the "History of Greece under the Romans."

"Church History in England: being a sketch of the History of the Church of England, from the earliest times to the period of the Reformation." By the Rev. Arthur Martineau, M. A., vicar of Whitkirk, Yorkshire, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. "Hebrew Politics in the times of Sargon and

Sennacherib:" an Inquiry into the Historical meaning and purpose of the Prophecies of Isaiah, with some notice of their bearings on the Social and Political Life of England. By E. Strachey, Esq.

"History of Scotland, from the Revolution to the extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection, (1689-1748.)" By John Hill Burton, author of "The Life of David Hume."

"History of the Protestants of France: from the commencement of the Reformation to the Present Time." Translated from the French of G. De Félice, D. D., Professor of Theology at Montauban. For this English translation Dr. Félice has written a supplementary chapter, bringing down the history to the present month.

"The Fall of the Roman Republic: a short History of the last Century of the Commonwealth." By the Rev. Chs. Merivale, B. D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 7s. 6d. cloth.

Three volumes are now published of Mr. Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire. They bring the history from the first Triumvirate to the establishment of the Empire under Augustus. These volumes display a complete mastery over the materials, and have passages of polished sarcasm that have not been equalled since Gibbon.

"Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea and the Bible Lands, from December 1850, to April, 1851:" by F. De Sauley, Member of the French Institute, 2 vols. maps and illustrations.

"Castile and Andalusia:" by Lady Louisa Tenison, with numerous highly finished engravings, and illustrations on wood.

"A History of Latin Classical Literature:" by the Rev. R. W. Brown, M. A., Professor of Classics at King's College, London. We presume that this will be immediately republished, and, if one may judge from the author's "Greck Classical Literature," it will be very useful as a full synopsis for schools.

"Memoirs of Mary, Duchess of Burgundy," by Louisa Stuart Costello.

"A Summer Search for Sir John Franklin; with a peep into the Polar Basin: by Commander E. A. Inglefield, R. N.; with short notices by Professor Dickie on the Botany, and by Dr. Sutherland on the Meteorology and Geology; and a new chart of the Arctic Sea." 14s.

"How to Stop and when to Stop, or Punctuation reduced to a System:" by William Day. Price one shilling. An acute and useful work, and one greatly needed.

"The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk;" com-

prising travels in the regions of the Lower Danube in 1850 and 1851. By a British resident of twenty years in the East. 2 vols. A graphic, sensible, and interesting record of travel in those countries to which all eyes in Christendom are now turned. The writer, though coming into the Christian Provinces of Turkey, full of prejudice against the Turks, came to be a zealous advocate of the rule of the Sultan.

The third and fourth volumes of the Grenville Papers contain the letters assumed to have been written by Junius. The introductory and marginal notes of the editor, W. J. Smith, Esq., go to prove that Lord Temple was Junius, and Lady Temple his amanuensis. His proof rests "on comparisons, analogies, words, phrases, opinions, sympathies, feelings, agreements, disagreements, multiplied to an extent which leaves the mind perplexed and exhausted."

I. Payne Collier, Esq., the distinguished Shakspearian critic, some time ago purchased at a book sale a folio copy of the plays of Shakspeare, and lately examining it closely, found the margin covered with manuscript annotations, mostly corrections of the text, apparently from the hand of some one who had witnessed the early representations of the plays. These corrections he found so satisfactory, they cleared up so many passages, that heretofore have puzzled critics, that he published them under the title of "Notes and Emendations," (which have been republished here.) The propriety of these emendations has been violently called in question in the following publications:

"The Text of Shakspeare vindicated from the Interpolations and corruptions advocated by I. Payne Collier, Esq., in his Notes and Emendations:" by Samuel Weller Singer; and "A few Notes on Shakspeare; with occasional Remarks on the Emendations of the Manuscript Corrector in Mr. Collier's copy of the Folio of 1623;" by the Rev. Alexander Dyce.

The very authenticity of the Folio and its notes, has been called in question. Mr. Collier has however found the gentleman who before had it in his possession; and the evidence leaves no room for doubting that the corrections in the Folio are by a contemporaneous hand. Mr. Collier is hard at work, tracing up the author of the notes, whose name is Thomas Perkins.

CONTENTS OF No. III.

JULY, 1853.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—Idea of the Church, (concluded from April No.).....	339
ART. II.—The Bible in the Counting-House.....	390
ART. III.—Journal and Letters of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D..	409
ART. IV.—Theology in Germany.....	430
ART. V.—The General Assembly.....	450
SHORT NOTICES.....	528
LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.....	538



THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1853.

No. IV.

ARTICLE I.—*Religious Endowments.*

THE legal term *mortmain* is frequently used, especially in common discourse, and sometimes in books, in a mistaken sense. It is sometimes confounded by well informed men, and even by lawyers, with another and distinct subject. Mortmain, in strict propriety, means the acquisition or holding of real estate by a corporation or body politic, having perpetual succession. The popular meaning of the word is the vesting of land or other property, either in a corporation or in individuals, in such form as that the produce or beneficial interest may become permanently applicable to religious or charitable purposes. The proper legal term descriptive of property thus situated, is Charities or Charitable Uses.

It may be useful to deduce succinctly the history of these two subjects. In so doing, perhaps, the best explanation can be given of the general principles upon which religious and charitable endowments are based in the jurisprudence of England and this country.

The prohibition to alienate in mortmain, or, in other words, to give or grant to a corporation, existed in the Roman law. Diocletian gave this rescript: Collegium, si nullo speciali pri-

vilegio subnixum est, hæreditatem capere non posse, dubium non est. This special privilege was obtained from the senate or emperor. According to Mr. Gibbon, however, the progress of Christianity and the civil confusion of the empire contributed to relax the severity of the law upon this subject, and before the close of the third century many considerable estates were bestowed on the opulent churches of Rome, Milan, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, and the other great cities of Italy and the provinces.—*Gibbon*, vol. 2, chap. xv. An edict of Constantine eventually gave validity to legacies to the Christian Church, and broke down the Roman statute of mortmain.

In the Scotch law the terms *mortification* and *mortmain* are nearly synonymous. Feudal subjects granted in donation to churches, monasteries, and other corporations, are said to be given in mortmain, or to be mortified; either because all casualties must necessarily be lost to the grantor or feudal proprietor when the grantee or vassal is a corporation which never dies, or because the property of their subjects is made over to a dead hand, which cannot, contrary to the donor's intention, transfer it to another. The grant of lands to religious houses was prohibited in Scotland at a remote period.—*Shelford on Mortmain*, p. 3. It will be remarked, that the origin of mortmain in the law of Scotland is traced to the feudal system. The better opinion undoubtedly is, that it sprung from the same source in England—that it did not originate in enmity or opposition to the Church, though it waged a long warfare with monks and churchmen, who sought to enlarge the wealth and influence of their orders and establishments, but found these laws to be in their way.

It seems very certain that at common law, it was incident to every corporation to have a capacity to purchase lands for themselves and their successors. The monastery at Glastonbury is said by William of Malmesbury to have existed in the time of the ancient Britons, ages before the invasion of the Saxons, A. D. 450. The king of the West Saxons erected a church there which he and the succeeding kings enriched to such a degree, that the abbot lived like a prince, had the title of *lord*, and sat among the barons and in parliament, and no person, not even a bishop or prince, durst set foot on the isle

of Avalon, in which the abbey stood, without his leave. The revenue of this establishment at the time of the Reformation was said to have been above £4000 per annum, besides seven parks well stocked with deer. Richard Whiting, the last abbot, who was hanged in his pontificals for refusing to surrender the abbey and take the oath of supremacy to Henry VIII., had one hundred monks and three hundred domestics.—*Encycl. Brit. ad verbum.* If such accounts are to be relied on, it does not appear improbable that within two hundred years after the Conquest, near one-half of the most valuable landed property in the kingdom, had been acquired by religious houses and ecclesiastical persons. Lord Hardwicke is reported to have wondered that they had not got the whole. At a period of unrestrained violence, mixed with abject superstition, the doctrine that a man could make atonement for a life of lust, rapine, and blood, by grants or devises to the Church, was zealously inculcated by the monks and clergy. It is worthy of observation, that even at the present day it has been calmly laid down by a distinguished Roman Catholic prelate (Cardinal Wiseman) in his testimony before a committee of the House of Commons, that “if a person has, through the whole of his life, disregarded the duty of charity and giving alms in proportion to his means, I think he is bound to make up for that neglect of a serious Christian duty when he comes to die; and in that case it would not be undue influence on the part of the priest to advise him to leave what was a proper proportion of his property for charitable purposes.” The soft words with which this sentiment is sugared can hardly cover the bitterness of the potion beneath, to any reflecting and discriminating mind. What an engine of extortion in the hands of unscrupulous men, acting upon such a principle, is the confessional! What has thus been gently intimated in England in 1852 was boldly claimed and roughly exercised by the churchmen and monks who wielded unbounded power and influence during the ages of superstition and darkness. It will be seen that the Papal dominion, from the time it first reared its crest in the Christian Church to the present hour, has maintained its claim to unbroken unity, at least in the one great purpose of acquiring temporal wealth and power.

The first statutes of mortmain in England were aimed at the religious houses particularly. Magna Charta (9 Henry III. c. 36, re-enacted 25 Edward I. c. 36) provides "that it shall not be lawful from henceforth to any to give his lands to any religious house, and to take the same land again to hold of the same house. Nor shall it be lawful for any house of religion to take the lands of any and to lease the same to him of whom he received it. If any from henceforth give his land to any religious house, and thereupon be convict, the gift shall be utterly void, and the land shall accrue to the lord of the fee."

At this period and long subsequently, personal estate formed a very small part of individual wealth when compared with landed property. Plate, armour and the richest valuables were frequently attached as heir-looms to the castle of the proprietor, and thus were made to partake of the incidents of realty. It was not lawful, except in certain parts of England, where the old Saxon laws had been retained after the Conquest and allowed to remain as particular local customs, to devise lands by last will and testament. Hence it appears by the terms of this earliest statute, which remains on the subject, that the first shift resorted to by ecclesiastical subtlety was to evade this prohibition of devises, by inducing men to make grants to the monasteries, with the assurance or understanding that the grantors should nevertheless enjoy the lands by a loan as long as they lived. This was even better than a will, for the gift was irrevocable, which a will never is. Lord Coke has observed, that the religious houses and regular clergy were to be commended for always having of their counsel the most learned men in the law. It is certain that means were soon invented by them to evade this statute, by purchasing lands holden of themselves, and by taking leases for a long term of years.

As to the first named evasion, the statute gave no interest to avoid the grant in mortmain, except to the lord of the fee. Of course, where the religious house held the position of lords of the fee, which they did in many instances, land owners during those periods of insecurity having resorted to them for protection, and acknowledged themselves to hold of them as their vassals, they could buy in the tenancy, and become absolute proprietors without hazard. There was no one to take advantage

of the forfeiture. As to the second evasion, the statute spoke only of a gift or grant of the land itself—which could mean at the least a freehold or interest for life. In the case of a corporation which never dies, that is the same as a grant in fee simple. A loan even for a thousand years is not a freehold—it is but a personal estate: and hence such a term of years was held not to be within the letter, however clearly it was within the spirit of the statute. The courts were at that time occupied for the most part by ecclesiastics, acute and fertile at all times in coming plausible grounds for any decision which might tend to fill the coffers of the Church.

Hence the next statute, (7 Edward I. st. 2) called the statute *De viris religiosis*, was passed in order to meet these evasions. "It is provided that no person, religious or other, whatsoever he be, that will buy or sell any lands or tenements, or under the colour of gift or lease, or that will receive by reason of any other title whatsoever it be, lands or tenements, or by any other craft or engine, will presume to appropriate to himself, under pain of forfeiture of the same, whereby such lands or tenements may any wise come into mortmain." It then proceeds to add, as the penalty for such alienation, forfeiture to the immediate lord, or on his default to the king, to whom a right of entry was given.

Driven from these contrivances, the counsel learned in the law of the abbeys and religious houses, proceeded still further to confirm the justice of Lord Coke's eulogy, by new devices of legal ingenuity. The next process was to set up a fictitious title to the lands intended to be acquired. An action was brought against the tenant to recover them. The tenant, by collusion, made no defence, whereupon judgment was given for the religious house, which thus recovered possession of the lands by sentence of law upon a supposed prior title. The tenant himself, being a party to the suit, and all claiming under him, were for ever precluded from setting up any title to the premises. The judgment was conclusive—*res judicata*—and thus the title is effectually passed as if it had been aliened by grant or feoffment: for as recoveries were prosecuted in a course of law, they were presumed to be just. It was held that titles thus acquired were not within the words of the statute. Thus

originated common recoveries, which for many hundred years were the principal assurances by which a tenant in tail could dock the tail and enlarge his estate to a fee simple, and which have been superseded for this purpose in this country, and latterly in England, by a more simple mode of conveyance, though there are still cases in which they may be used.

This occasioned another statute, (13 Edward I. c. 32) which provided that in such cases, notwithstanding the tenant made default, a jury should be impanelled to inquire whether the demandant really had right to the thing or not, and if there was no such right, the land should be forfeited in like manner as upon an ordinary alienation in mortmain.

Some smaller shifts of clerical cunning, such as setting up crosses upon lands to indicate that they claimed privileges as belonging to the orders of Knights Templars and Knights Hospitallers, and such as entering upon and consecrating as church yards large tracts of land adjoining churches, were repressed by statutes 13 Edward I. c. 33, and 15 Richard II. c. 5.

The next most signal device of the ecclesiastics and their lawyers to elude the statute of mortmain was the adoption from the Roman law of the doctrine of uses. Where land is granted to A. on the confidence that he will allow B. to take the profits, the interest of B. was called an *use*. The clerical chancellors assumed the jurisdiction in such a case, of compelling A. to observe the confidence thus reposed in him by the grantor. At law this use or confidence was not recognized. Of course feoffments made to natural persons to the use of religious houses did not fall within the words of the mortmain laws. Hence the churchmen had the honour of introducing and naturalizing in England the subject of uses, to which trusts succeeded: a head of jurisprudence so fruitful of consequences, that wherever the common law has penetrated, it has followed and been found the most pliable instrument to effect the varied purposes of increasing wealth and luxury. The statute 15 Richard II. c. 5. however fixed the character of mortmain upon uses.

Sir Francis Palgrave has expressed the opinion that these various statutes were not passed with the special view of hindering the growth and wealth of the monastic orders, much less with a view to prevent the exercise of undue influence by the

clergy to the disherison of lawful heirs, but mainly, if not altogether, for political and feudal reasons. It is evident that when all possessors of real estate were heavily burdened with feudal services, the vesting of land in dead hands, *in mortua manu*, which could render no feudal service, increased the burthen of those not exempt. As corporations never die, there could be no descents with the feudal incidents of relief, primer seisin, marriage, and wardship, nor escheats for want of known heirs, nor escheats in cases of attainder, because the corporation, as such, could commit no crime as it had no soul. These were large sources of revenue to the feudal lords. But the policy did not take its rise merely in consequence of these pecuniary incidents of tenures. There was the obligation of the vassal to accompany his lord to the field in time of war. It rested not of course upon the man of religion. At that period there were also a great many civil obligations connected with land, which could not be discharged unless the freehold was in possession of laymen. If religious persons held an undue proportion of land, there would be a deficiency of persons to attend the view of frank pledge, by which the peace and order of the district were attempted to be secured; a deficiency of persons to put in assize as jurors. Attendance upon assizes in early days was exceedingly burdensome; it was so burdensome that it was a very common thing for persons to obtain a remission of that service. These duties were very onerous, and if there were but few freeholders, it became a great hardship upon them. Thus, one of the objects, though not expressed in the statutes, preventing alienations of land to persons of religion or to religious houses, was to prevent a diminution in the number of persons in the county or hundred able to perform those services to the community. (Evidence of Committee of the House of Commons, 1844.) Mr. Burge, the distinguished author of an elaborate and learned work on the Conflict of Laws, was also of the opinion that the statutes of mortmain originated not in any design to prevent religious or charitable institutions from receiving gifts, but in the desire to preserve to the Crown and to the mesne lord those feudal rights of which they would unquestionably be deprived, if property were permitted to be given to a body incompetent to part with

it. The law would not allow the Church to part with property it had acquired: it became, therefore, inalienable, and the crown and the mesne lords lost all the incidents of escheat relief and other feudal profits, which were of considerable value. (Ibid.) It is to be noted, that ecclesiastical persons were not expressly prohibited by law from alimony until the reign of Elizabeth; but it in no way weakens the force of Mr. Burge's opinion, since it is well known that a policy of the Church much more effectual than any mere parchment prohibition, opposed the alienation of any property upon which her iron sinews were once laid.

During the whole period to which our attention has been directed, alienation in mortmain was lawful where a license for that purpose had been obtained, at first from the immediate lord of the fee, and afterwards from the Crown. These licenses were usually granted after an inquest returned upon a writ of *ad quod damnum*, finding if any and what damage would accrue from the grant of the license. Thereupon if it appeared fit, the license was granted with a *non obstante* of the statutes of mortmain. When at the Revolution the whole doctrine of the royal prerogative to dispense with acts of Parliament by a clause of *non obstante* was exploded, this right to grant license to alien in mortmain was specially reserved to the Crown by the statute 7 and 8 William III. c. 37.

We have already had occasion to remark the fact, that lands in England after the Conquest were not devisable by last will and testament, except in certain localities. One of the means by which this power was at first indirectly acquired was through the medium of uses. Uses generally were held to be devisable. A man desirous of possessing the power of disposing of his land by will, made a feoffment or grant to the use of his last will, as it was termed, for brevity's sake: that is, he made a conveyance to some friend in confidence, to allow him, the grantor, to enjoy the profits as long as he lived, and after his death to convey to such person or persons as he might nominate and appoint by his last will. Thus he would be able to have by him a disposition of his estate in the event of sudden death, yet retaining at all times the power to revoke and alter it—a power which seems now to us so indispensable. The Par-

liament of 28 Henry VIII., in the vain hope of entirely rooting out and destroying this subtlety of uses, passed a statute declaring that the person entitled to the use should be in law the owner of the land—a statute which it has been said had only the effect of adding three words to a conveyance: for it was held that though when a deed was made to A. to the use of B. the possession and legal title was transferred to B. by the statute, yet if the deed was expressed to be to A. to the use of B. *to the use of C.*, the operation of the statute stopped at B. who was the legal, while C. was the beneficial owner. This new kind of use—a use upon a use—was recognized in the Courts of Chancery by the name of a trust, and enforced as fully as its progenitor had been. The effect of the statute, however, was to render uses no longer devisable, and therefore as the power of devising lands was found to have worked well, the statute of wills, 32 Henry VIII., was enacted, which gave the power, but expressly excepted devises to corporations or bodies politic.

Such is the law of England. We have not in this country re-enacted the statutes of mortmain, or generally assumed them to be in force; and the only legal check to the acquisition of lands by corporations, consists in those special restrictions contained in the acts by which they are incorporated, and which usually confine the capacity to purchase real estate to specified and necessary objects; and in the force to be given to the exception of corporations out of the statute of wills. 2 *Kent Com.* 282.

There are, indeed, very few cases in which corporations in this country are not prohibited from acquiring or holding lands or other property beyond a certain amount. As to the construction of such restrictive clauses, every thing depends naturally upon the particular phraseology employed. If the proviso be limited to the purchase of lands of a specified yearly value, then it is quite clear that if the value be within the prescribed limits at the time the purchase is made, and the lands afterwards rise in value for any reason, the title of the corporation is not thereby affected. *Bogardus v. Trinity Church*, 4 Sandford: Chancery Rep. 684. If at the time of the grant the income exceed the prescribed limit, it is a question between the corporation and the sovereign power, of which third persons

cannot avail themselves. The question is a different one where the terms of the proviso expressly restrict the corporation, as they do in some cases, to the *holding* of property beyond a certain value, or still more commonly, yielding more than a certain net income. In such cases the corporation would seem bound to dispose of its invested funds, or real estate, so as to keep its income from such sources within the prescribed limit, under the penalty of forfeiting any surplus to the sovereign power: for here too, it may be equally affirmed that strangers have no power to intermeddle. It is a question exclusively between the commonwealth and the corporation which holds its franchise from the sovereign by its charter, and is responsible to that sovereign alone for the infringement of any of its prescriptions, or the usurpation of any powers not therein contained.

When the ecclesiastics had introduced the general doctrine of *uses* from the Roman law—separating the beneficial from the nominal ownership of property—the dedication of property to indefinite charitable uses soon followed. Although the Roman law is indeed a fruitful source which has supplied copious streams to the jurisprudence of all nations, it may be questioned whether the feudal tenures of frankalmoign and divine service do not exhibit the same end, accomplished practically in another way before that period. It is true the distribution of the free alms of the donor was the feudal service annexed as a condition to the tenure—the non-performance inducing a forfeiture of the feud. The essential and fundamental principle of the use or trust, however, is that it shall never fail or cease for the want of a trustee, or the neglect of his duties, but Chancery will remove the trustee and appoint another, and see the object of the donor carried out. It is the indefinite character of the trust—the uncertainty of the particular objects to which the benefaction is to be applied—that constitutes what in law is termed a *charity*. A legacy in trust for A. B. and C., however poor and deserving objects of charity, is a simple trust; and property cannot thus be tied up as to particular persons, either actually ascertained and named, and capable of such precise ascertainment, beyond a life or lives in being, and twenty-one years afterwards, that being what is called the rule against perpetuities. But a legacy in trust for a man's poor relations, or

in trust for the poor of such a parish, is a charity not within the rule against perpetuities, and may last for ever—that is, as long as the fund remains to be distributed and objects exist within the scope of the intention which founded the charity. It is immaterial whether the persons to be benefitted be *in esse* or not, or how uncertain the objects may be, provided there be a *discretionary power vested any where* over the application of the property to those objects.

In England, when the particular objects named have failed or cannot take, when the testator's or donor's intention cannot be carried out for some reason in the mode he has himself prescribed, or when the fund is more than sufficient for the objects specified, the rule is to execute the charitable purpose as nearly as possible. This is the famous rule of *Cy Pres*, which was at one time carried to most extravagant lengths, but is now very much limited and restrained. In America it has never had a foothold. Undoubtedly there may be unimportant, immaterial particulars, in which a charity may depart from the direction of the donor when it becomes impracticable from a change of circumstances; but if what the donor has made a fundamental condition cannot be observed, the charitable use must fail, and the property revert to his heirs. Rather this, than the monstrous power to be vested any where, of saying to what other charitable use the fund shall be devoted. That would depend too much upon the opinions, it may be the prejudices, of the person occupying the seat of judgment.

During the times of Popery in England, lands were frequently given to superstitious uses, though not to any corporate bodies, so as to be within the statute of mortmain. At the Reformation all future grants for such purposes were declared void by the statute 23 Henry VIII. c. 10. It has exercised to a very considerable extent the ingenuity of the English courts to determine what is or is not a superstitious use within the prohibition of this statute. It seems in general, that whatever religious doctrine or practice is not recognized as lawful by the Established Church, or as tolerable by act of Parliament, is considered to be a superstitious use. Thus, masses for the dead—burning tapers in honour of saints—Unitarianism—Judaism—have been decided to be superstitious uses.

Next follows the statute 43 Elizabeth, c. 4, which was at one time considered as the foundation of the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery over charitable uses. That opinion is now, however, universally abandoned—the publications of the British record commission in 1827, having shown above fifty cases of bills and answers in Chancery relating to charitable uses, from the reign of Richard II. to that of Elizabeth. The main object of the statute was to facilitate the exercise of that jurisdiction, and for this purpose it vested in the chancellor the power of issuing a commission, to inquire into and redress the abuses which might be found to exist in the administration of the numerous charities then existing in England. The commissioners to be appointed by him were clothed with very extensive powers. Although not the source of jurisdiction, this statute has always been and still is resorted to as a legislative exposition of what is a good charity—if not from the express mention, at least by analogy to the cases enumerated in the preamble. These are, “relief of aged, impotent, and poor people—maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners—schools of learning—free schools and scholars in universities—repairs of bridges, posts, havens, causeways, churches, sea-banks, and highways—education and preferment of orphans—relief, stock, or maintenance for houses of correction—marriages of poor maids—supportation, aid, and help of young tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and persons decayed—relief or redemption of prisoners or captives—for aid or ease of any poor inhabitants concerning payment of taxes.”

The most important English statute upon this subject is 9 George II. c. 36. It is often, though improperly, called a statute of mortmain. It will be at once seen, however, upon the recital of its provisions, to be a law in restraint of devises and bequests to charitable uses. It enacts that no land, nor money to be laid out in the purchase of land, nor charged or secured in any way upon land, shall be conveyed or given in trust or for the benefit of any charitable uses whatsoever, unless such conveyance or gift be by deed, in the presence of two witnesses, executed twelve calendar months before the death of the donor, and enrolled in the Court of Chancery within six calendar months next after the execution thereof—such deed to be

without any power of revocation or reservation for the donor, or any claiming under him.

This statute is said by Mr. Shelford to have been made to prevent the mischief arising from improvident alienations or dispositions to charitable uses by dying or languishing persons, and it has been declared by several judges to be founded in good sense and sound policy. For a long series of years, devises to charitable uses in England had not only been wholly unrestrained, but had received a more liberal construction than other gifts, and had become so excessive in their amount, that the legislature deemed it expedient, as there was so much land already in mortmain, to lessen the facility of placing more in that situation. The very liberal construction adopted by the courts in favour of charitable gifts, was perhaps another reason which occasioned the statute. The particular views of the legislature were first (as expressed in the title of the act) to restrain the disposition of lands, whereby the same became inalienable, it being considered of great importance in a trading country to allow the free alienation of lands; and second, to prevent testators in their last moments from being imposed on by mistaken notions of religion, in giving away their estates from their heirs or families. *Shelford*, 120.

This law, however, has not given general satisfaction in England. It will be noticed that it is confined to real estate. Personal property to any extent may be bequeathed to charitable uses—and landed estate may be devoted to like purposes, provided it be by a present absolute gift, and the donor lives a twelve month after he has made the disposition. It has been strongly urged that the difference between real and personal estate has now become very unimportant: the vast increase of the amount of personal property in the progress of improvement and accumulation, has completely overshadowed the power which at one time was supposed to reside in land alone. The evil of withdrawing land from commerce is no more than that of withdrawing money; nor need either be locked up, if care be taken that while the product of the fund is sacredly appropriated to the objects of the charity, the trustee, with or without the direction or approbation of the court, shall at all times be at liberty to change the investment of the principal from

reality to personalty, and *vice versa*, as circumstances may render advisable. It is insisted also, that undue influence exercised over death-bed dispositions, and the unreasonable disherison of near relations, may demand that such bequests should be watched with a jealous eye; but that these evils can be restrained otherwise than by a sweeping provision which trenches upon one of the natural rights of a man over his own property, and which prevents him who has no claim of kindred upon him, and who is in the full exercise of a sound and disposing mind, from dedicating his property, whether real or personal, to the cause of God and humanity.

This question seems in England to have become very much imbued with the feeling which the attempted strides of the Papacy there have excited in the Protestant mind. It is not to be denied that there are considerations connected with the subject well calculated to make a serious though liberal Protestant hesitate about supporting a repeal most loudly called for by those who are evidently aiming, with the assistance of Puseyism, to establish a strong foot-hold for Popery in that kingdom.

In 1844, a select committee was raised by the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord John Manners, "to inquire into the operation of the laws of mortmain, and of the restrictions which limit the power of making gifts and bequests for charitable and religious uses." The committee, as usual, heard the testimony of several eminent lawyers and divines, and came to the conclusion, that although they did not feel authorized by the terms of the reference to report in favour of any specific alterations of the laws of mortmain, they felt bound to state, "from an attentive consideration of the evidence submitted to them by witnesses, whose means of information and authority must be held to be great, that the operation of the laws is most unsatisfactory, leads to doubt, expense, uncertainty, and litigation, and frequently defeats good and pious purposes, which the present aspect of the country would induce all men to wish fulfilled; while from the existing facilities for evasion, they cannot be regarded as serving the main purpose for which they are supposed to be maintained, by securing the heir from the unexpected alienation of property to which he might reason-

ably have hoped to succeed." Emboldened by the report of the committee, Lord Manners, in 1846, brought in a bill to relax the law against pious and charitable bequests. It led to an animated and spicy debate, but was opposed by the Ministry, and was lost on a division—a show of only seventeen votes, probably its whole strength in the House, having been made in its favour.

In 1851, a movement with an opposite aspect was made by Mr. J. E. Headlam. On his motion a committee was appointed "to consider the propriety of *extending* the law of mortmain, so as to include personal estate, and generally to consider whether any alteration should be made in the law as it affects testamentary or other dispositions in favour of religious, charitable, or permanent objects." This was at a period of high feeling against what was deemed Papal aggression in the erection of an Archbishopric of Westminster, and several Bishoprics by the See of Rome, and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was then pending. It is not improbable that the inquiry grew out of this excitement. It was conducted in the usual manner, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster was himself examined before the Committee. The investigation, and the manner in which it was conducted, have drawn down upon the Committee the indignation of the Papal party. One of them, a Mr. Finlason, a barrister of the Inner Temple, who had before made his bow to the public as a legal and political writer, has written quite a book on the subject, which he entitles "An Essay on the history and effects of the laws of mortmain, and the laws against testamentary dispositions for pious purposes." He affirms that "it is perfectly plain, that the overwhelming preponderance of the evidence before these Committees was against the law as it stands; and it is equally clear that the secret object of both Committees, especially the last, was to discover some pretence for depriving the Catholic community of any advantage that might arise from an anticipated alteration of the law by means of some exceptional legislation, imposing additional restrictions intended to operate especially against them." The report of neither Committee however, bears out this assertion. The last report contained

recommendations "that the same law should be enacted with respect to all dispositions of personal estate given for charitable purposes, whether it be directed to be laid out in land or not," and "that it should be incumbent upon all persons to whom *real* or *personal property* is given or bequeathed upon any permanent charitable or religious object, to make a return either to Commissioners or some public Board, of the nature of the gift, and the particular purposes to which it is to be applied." With respect to the main subject of the law, devises of land, the Committee said: "They do not recommend any alteration in the law which prohibits devises of land for the purpose of raising a revenue to be devoted to charitable purposes; but that there should be an exemption from all restraints upon alienation in favour of sites of land to be used for religious edifices, (for any religious community,) or to be used for hospitals, cemeteries, nunneries, or places of education." No action having been had on this report in Parliament, the law in England remains unchanged.

In this country the law of charities has been settled upon the broadest and most liberal footing. In some of the States, indeed, the statute of Elizabeth has been held not to be in force, but the principles of the English Court of Chancery prior to, and under it, in exercising their jurisdiction, have been fully adopted. The statute of 9 George II. is believed to be in force nowhere in this country.

The principles upon which trusts for religious and charitable purposes are administered by the Courts of justice both of this country and of England, are sound and conservative. The great object is to ascertain and carry out the intention of the donor or testator from whose charity the property has proceeded. It would require a treatise to show in how many varying cases this great principle has been sought to be applied, and to deduce from them all the rules which stand for the government of future cases. The leading rules may be thus given:

1. Where the founder or donor has clearly expressed his intention that a particular set of doctrines shall be taught, or a particular form of worship and government maintained, it is

not in the power of individuals, having the management of the institution, at any time to alter the purpose for which it was founded.

2. If a charity be created for a religious purpose, in a Christian congregation designated by the name of a sect, without any specification of the particular worship or tenets intended, the intent of the founder will be deduced from the tenets, doctrine, and discipline of the congregation, avowed and practised by its professors and worshippers at the time of the donation, and the charity will be held appropriated to such church and none other.

3. Where an institution exists for the purpose of religious worship, and it cannot be discovered either by the name of the sect or otherwise, what form or species of religious doctrine or worship was intended, the only means of deciding the question is through the medium of an inquiry into what has been the usage of the congregation, considering such usage as the best evidence of what was the original contract upon which it was founded.

4. Where a congregation has been organized in connection with no particular ecclesiastical form of government or sect of Christians, it is competent for such congregation by a majority to form such connection, provided there be no change of doctrines or fundamental principles involved; and having formed such connection it may afterwards withdraw and resume its independent position.

5. Where a church has been organized, and been endowed whether by donation or subscription, as belonging to any particular sect, or in subordination to any particular form of church government, it cannot break off from that connection and government. Property may be given to the support of tenets without subjection to any ecclesiastical power which upholds those tenets: but it may be shown also that it was given for promulgation of the one in subordination to the other.

6. Over the acts and doings of ecclesiastical bodies within the sphere of their legitimate jurisdiction, the judicial power of the State can take no cognizance. If such a body repudiates and disavows its essential fundamental doctrines and distinctive principles, it will forfeit the administration of all trust

property acquired by donation, before such act of disavowal. It will be dealt with as a trustee abusing the confidence reposed in him, and diverting the funds from the objects contemplated by the donors. But upon all merely administrative questions, the judgments of the ecclesiastical tribunals are final and conclusive. Their acts and decisions cannot be revised in the civil courts. Ministers deposed, whether for scandal or heresy, cannot claim the assistance of the civil power to restore them. As trustees they determine who are or are not the beneficiaries of their funds, and they cannot be called to account, unless for the perversion of these funds to objects or tenets not within the terms or intention of the original donation. Any other than those courts must be incompetent judges of matters of faith, discipline, and doctrine; and civil courts, if they should be so unwise as to attempt to supervise their judgments on matters which come within their jurisdiction, would involve themselves in a sea of uncertainty and doubt, which would do anything but improve either religion or good morals.

These are the leading principles upon which rests the security of religious endowments. However applicable these principles may be to all kinds of charitable trusts, it must at once occur to every one, that they cannot operate in practice with the same vigour in the case of voluntary benevolent societies—independent colleges and seminaries—and eleemosynary corporations, as they do in the case of institutions in connection with, and subordination to, ecclesiastical organization. The administration of trusts committed to such institutions can be more regularly and thoroughly supervised, and though equally liable to experience losses as all others, from unwise investment or the peculation of officers, they cannot be perverted to purposes wholly foreign, without the perversion also of the entire body. The minority who maintain the original principles of the sect, become the trustees of its funds. Even the entire perversion of the body would not lead to the perversion of its trust funds, if there were any in the community still honest and faithful enough to invoke the interposition of justice. It is not so with the institutions of a different character, unconnected with any ecclesiastical organization. They have no distinctive prin-

iples or doctrines. Even should formulas be required to be subscribed by those who teach or are entrusted with the active management of them, there can be no civil judgment pronounced on those who subscribe with mental reservations, or on any other footing than *in sensu imponentis*. It has been the want of ecclesiastical subordination to the doctrines, government, and discipline of some efficient ecclesiastical organization, which has resulted in carrying so many churches, colleges, and seminaries, so far from the original views and intentions of their donors and founders, that if they would awake from their tombs, their first work would be to demolish their own foundation; or, if that could not be done, to endow another to oppose the first. Thus has the money of orthodox and zealous Calvinists, invested in churches, colleges, and seminaries, been often perverted to the teaching and promulgation of very different and opposite views, even to the denial of the divinity of the Lord.

Let us not be misunderstood. In their best—their ecclesiastical form—all permanent religious endowments are surrounded with perils. Colleges and seminaries, however, we must have, and they must be permanently endowed. There are cases of Christian men, possessing no surplus beyond a comfortable maintenance while they live, and having no moral claims upon them from children, kindred, or those who stand in their place, who do right to bequeath a portion or the whole of their estates, according to circumstances, to objects of piety and benevolence. If they favour a permanent endowment for their property, instead of giving the principal to be at once used, let them weigh well the superior security of an ecclesiastical organization. But, as a general rule, a man had better be his own executor. The Church, in all her benevolent enterprises, should be sustained by the stated contributions of her living members. Her societies and boards should depend upon their confidence, and should not be ruined by permanent endowments above the need of that confidence.

The danger of the perversion of endowments is to be apprehended principally, if not exclusively, in the case of close corporations. Where the institution endowed is under the control of the Church, the whole body must become corrupt before

such perversion can arise. This is one great reason for preferring the plan of having our Theological Seminaries under the control of the supreme judicatory of the Church, or of Synodical bodies deriving their life immediately from the religious community, to that of placing them in the hands of a self-perpetuating board of trustees.

ART. II.—*Education in the High Schools of Germany.*

1. *Zur Gymnasialreform, Theoretisches und Praktisches*, von Dr. H. Koechly. Dresden und Leipzig, 1846.
2. *Die genetische Methode des schulmässigen Unterrichts*. Von Dr. Mager. Dritte Bearbeitung. Zürich, 1846.
3. *Das Privatstudium in seiner pädagogischen Bedeutung. Eine Skizze als Beitrag zur Kritik unsrer heutigen Gymnasien*. Von Dr. M. Seyffert. Brandenburg, 1852.
4. *Das Schulwesen im protestantischen Staate*. Von Dr. F. J. Günther. Elberfeld, 1852.
5. *Alte und neue Bildung mit Bezug auf das höhere Schulwesen*. Von Wilhelm Scheele. Elbing, 1852.

IN placing the titles of these works at the head of our article, we do not intend to review them, nor even to give an analysis of their contents. They are to serve as an index of the nature of our remarks; they are to tell the eye as it glances over these pages—Here is something on education—*education in the German gymnasia*; and then they are to invite or deter the reader, as his interest may dictate. At the same time, they have a right to their place as being among the most important of recent publications on this subject, which is considerably agitated in Germany. Never, perhaps, at any previous period of the history of German civilization and religion, were the minds of its most earnest men in such a ferment in regard to the all-important question of the best means of educating the young, as at present. The storm of their late revolutionary and reactionary periods has just passed away; the shattered

fragments of some parts of their social and political fabric have either been removed out of sight, or they have once more, with great pains, been skewered in their old positions; the smoke and dust have dispersed, the earth has ceased to rock beneath men's feet, and they look wondering about. Foremost among the bewildered faces we recognize those of the educators of the age, almost at their wit's end from fright and disappointment; they at first look at each other significantly, then they whisper—they murmur something—and finally you distinguish their louder voices. "Those were our pupils," they say, "those were our pupils, that stirred up all this noise; those were our pupils that carried on these regicide proceedings; those were our pupils that made the sky ring with the hated terms of Socialism, Communism, and Red Republic;—and those were our pupils, too, that made such fools of themselves and such a laughing stock of their country at St. Paul's, in Frankfort."

The late events have opened their eyes to some enormous defects, either in their methods of teaching, or in their political institutions, or else in both, which, it is true, had been pointed out to them before, but which never assumed that distinct and actual nature which tangible effects now press upon their attention. They feel that something is wanting in their national existence, to which none of their previously applied means, meant to be preventives, had sufficient reference. Any one but a German perceives at a glance what this is. When he sees a man of brilliant parts lecture for six weeks on the accentuation of a Greek noun of the first declension, his thoughts are, "However great the learning this may require, however much research and ingenuity it may manifest, what is the accentuation of a Greek noun to the great interests and the loud calls of the race of mankind? Must the brightest talents of one of the noblest nations thus evaporate in artificial, self-created regions of inquiry?"

But what is the German to do? His is not the frivolity and facile vivacity of the Gaul, nor the "common-sense" utilitarianism and bread-and-butter philosophy of the Briton, nor the *dolce far niente* worship and Madonna-devotion of his Southern neighbour; but his is a mind bequeathed to him from ancestors who routed Varus' legions, who were proud to give their

vote in the *Witenagemot*, or who—conceived grotesque gods for their Walhalla. These are the characteristics of his mind still: a genuine love of liberty, a meddling, active, bustling spirit, and a fancy doting on the obscure and lonely, the wild and weird, delighting to roam in a region out of space and out of time. Take away from him his public life, forbid him to cherish patriotic (not merely *loyal*) emotions, repress his feelings of true manliness, the Roman *virtus*, so that he should feel that

“There is a bondage worse, far worse, to bear
Than his who breathes, by roof and floor and wall
Pent in, a tyrant’s solitary thrall:
'Tis his who walks about in the open air,
One of a nation, who, henceforth, must wear
Their fetters in their *souls* ;”

and he will, nay, he must turn to the realms of mere thought, and construct wild philosophies, build fanciful theories, and invent impracticable systems. What if the arts, what if learning flourish? “When the æsthetic element represses other and that essential interests, when its cultivation is carried so far that it tends to alienate man from these interests, then it is always connected with much insipidity and sloth, with much self-complacency, with an aimless craving for diversion, and a morbid desire for mere pleasure. Ever to look and to listen, to enjoy and to criticise, becomes ultimately a hollow, effeminate, sybaritic life, which tends to destroy even the noblest powers.”* And as to learning, it is undeniable that the Germans have done much for it; “but it is not good when a nation which possesses *every* element of progress and advancement, is confined to an exclusively literary existence.”† It is not good for philosophy, as without practical application it must run into mere theorizing; it is not good for practical life, for the *πράττειν* does not belong to the man who can exert the native powers of his understanding only on nature as distinct

* Rosenkranz, *Leben Hegels*, p. 349.

† This is the motto which a wonderfully clear-sighted German theologian (Hundeshagen,) places on the titlepage of a work which, although it appeared before the late German commotions, said some very true things on this subject. Its title is: *Der deutsche Protestantismus, seine Vergangenheit und seine heutigen Lebensfragen beleuchtet von einem deutschen Theologen*. Frankfurt am Main, 1847. 8vo. pp. 539.

from man, or only on the dead life of the past, and who can look at the acting men of the present age only from a distance, and know them only from hearsay. Where the ideal and the real are thus divorced, there the development and advancement of life cannot go on in a healthful manner.

It is not strange, therefore, that the Germans should have partitioned off the subject of education also into so and so many categories, vacant shelves, which are there, whether any thing is to be placed on them or not; and it is owing to this among other reasons that their books on this subject are so little readable. We can often neither appreciate nor understand them, first, because we are not sufficiently conversant with the spirit that dictated them, the circumstances that called them forth, and the necessities they are intended to supply; and secondly, because they are so immeasurably in advance of us in the mere theoretical development of their system. Terms that seem to be to them the veriest household words, are to us as unintelligible as the terms *Holoptychius*, *Cricodus*, *Schilfglaserz*, or the opecculated species of the *dioptea* and *raphoneis oregonica* would be to some geognostic *Epimenides*, who should awake on one of these days.

If we open any one of the books mentioned at the beginning of this article, we shall find such systems as Basedow's, Pestalozzi's, Jacotot's, Hamilton's, Rudhardt's, and such methods as the deictic, the acroamatic, the mnemonic, the heuristic, the socratic, the catechetical, the eclectic, the genetic,* the calculating, and others, banded about with a freedom that convinces us at once that what is Greek to us, is their vernacular. An endless refining of the *theory*, not of the *art*, of teaching, has produced all these designations: they are afraid, it seems, to let

* The *genetic* method requires perhaps a more serious word. It is advocated by some of the ablest teachers of Germany. Dr. Mager, the editor of an excellent educational journal, *Die Pædagogische Revue*, has been labouring for its ascendancy for many years. Herbart has been trying to introduce it in metaphysical investigations. In its application to education it is defined by one of its advocates in the following language: *Geneticam methodum eam dicimus instituendi aut docendi rationem, qua res naturali suo ordine et ita exponuntur, ut a simplicioribus ad composita; a causa ad effectum, a minori ad majus, a faciliiori ad difficilius pergatur, singulorum tamen momentorum apte inter se conjugendorum diligentissima habita ratione.* (Lindner *De finibus et praesidiis artis pædagogicæ secundum principia doctrinæ christianæ*, p. 29.)

nature do her work; all is artificial, and their motto appears to be the German poet's epigram:

"Nature hide from childhood's eyes and ears,
Methodless, confusing it appears."*

The mind of every reader, probably, who considers all these methods, or, at least, the fact of their existence, will at once start both a philosophical and a practical query. The first is, that this German way seems to be quite an improvement on good old Bacon, who, following Aristotle, said that only *Duæ viæ sunt atque esse possunt, ad inquirendam et inveniendam veritatem. Altera a sensu et particularibus advolat ad axiomata maxime generalia, atque ex iis principiis eorumque immota veritate judicat et invenit axiomata media: atque hæc via in usu est. Altera a sensu et particularibus excitat axiomata, ascendendo continenter et gradatim, ut ultimo loco perveniatur ad maxime generalia: quæ via vera est, sed intentata.*† On closer inspection, however, we shall find those methods with their uncouth names to be but subdivisions, or, at best, modifications of what we have been in the habit of calling analysis and synthesis, observation and induction. "Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new? it hath been already of old time, which was before us."

And this may aid us in disposing of the second point, the practical query: Is it true that, with our vast educational interest, our almost infinitely diversified machinery of instruction, and every kind and grade of teaching, we should have nothing similar to the many methods which the Germans draw up in rank and file before us? We may answer in the words of Macaulay, who shows that a *government* may be strong and efficient without its being reared by line and plummet, and that it is only a refined and *speculative* phase of national existence which is inclined to systemization. "In rude‡ societies the progress of government resembles the progress of language

* Vor der Natur verbind dem Kinde Aug' und Ohr,
Verwirrend stellt sie sich ihm immethodisch vor."

† Novum Organum, Lib. I. Aph. 19.

‡ The kind reader will probably remember the adage: *Omne simile claudicat*. Moreover, the term may not be thought too harsh if we consider the age, the experience, and the intellectual speed and momentum which Germany has attained, as compared with this country of only seven decades.

and of versification. Rude societies have language, and often copious and energetic language, but they have no scientific grammar, no definitions of nouns and verbs, no *names* for declensions, moods, tenses, and voices. Rude societies have versification, and often versification of great power and sweetness, but they have no metrical canons: and the minstrel whose numbers, regulated solely by his ear, are the delight of his audience, would himself be unable to say of how many dactyls and trochees each of his lines consists. As eloquence exists before syntax, and song before prosody, so government may exist in a high degree of excellence long before the limits of legislative, executive, and judicial power have been traced with precision." It is thus with teaching in this country. There being but few attempts made to centralize the powers exerted, the energies expended, and the experiences gathered, uncounted methods may arise, and are actually arising, some doubtless extensively practised, all pursued with more or less success, or accompanied by failure, perhaps dying with the individual teacher, and affording no man a chance to give them "a local habitation and a name."

To become more intimately acquainted with ourselves, "to see ourselves as others see us," to be objective to ourselves, as it were, there is no better means than to compare ourselves with others, to look at others, their attainments, and their state. The sweep which intellectual activity in Germany has taken is so extensive, that whatever direction our national development may take, we shall certainly come into near proximity to some of the shoals and banks, of so few of which the Germans have steered clear. If we refuse to profit by the experience of others, we shall be obliged to experience the same mishaps, which will be so much the greater disasters in our case, as we are so much nearer the ultimate stage of the development of the race, as our progress, in any direction whatsoever, is, without exaggeration, a hundredfold more rapid than that of any nation of the old world has been, and as, by the accelerated flow of our nation's blood, any injury received must so much the more swiftly communicate itself to all parts.

If we are told that our system of education (if the singular number can at all be used) is the offspring of our character, re-

lations, condition, and circumstances; that it is what a German would call *naturwüchsig*, and that we ought not, we cannot imitate that of any other nation, our reply is twofold. The same objection is made by the Hindu to the Christian religion; he gives the same reason for refusing to examine its claims; and moreover we are not asked either to adopt or to imitate the German system; on the contrary, as a whole, we should most earnestly hope never to see it introduced into this country. That it is perfect not even a German would dare to affirm; but that it has some admirable, some excellent features which it would be well to "naturalize," there will be few, we presume, to deny. We will not tire the reader, and only ask him to consider Nestor's sage advice:

κάλλιον ἔστι μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἔρσθαι
ξείνους,

or to cite higher authority: πάντα δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε.*

Of most general interest among the works above mentioned, is the last one on the list, *Scheele's Alte und neue Bildung*. In a lively and pleasing style, with a thorough acquaintance with the subject, and a close logical coherence, the author pictures modern education, and evolves the historical necessity by which it has sprung from that of previous ages. He then criticises this modern system, and suggests the changes which the spirit of the age requires, and presents the necessity of other institutions of a high order besides those that mainly prepare for the study of one of the learned professions. The manner in which he shows the great importance of the Latin language, and how like Napoleon it still rules the nations, now from the grave as formerly from the throne, is well worthy of attention. *He reasons mostly ex concessis.* We should have to resort to fundamental truths to meet the doubts that are so often raised among us respecting the "utility" of the study of ancient languages; for the grounds on which their importance is maintained, are impregnable.

* We do not believe that this is an illegitimate extension of the principle. Nihil enim periculosius quam ea morositas, qua fit ut nobis insipida sit quævis doctrina, dum probare, quæ recta sit, non sustinemus. (*Calvin.*)—Pauli doctrina intelligenda est de hisce rebus, quæ adhuc incertæ hærent, et in ambiguo stant, et dum lis adhuc sub iudice pendet. (*Zwingle.*)

A dead language must ever retain the place assigned to it by the experience of many centuries, as long as it furnishes the means of education; as long as it presents a rich literature, the real treasures of which can never be disclosed by mere translations; as long as its grammar is exact and endowed with a variety of forms; as long as it furnishes materials for history; as long as it has an important bearing on the science of language, the complement of history; and as long as it contains the root of modern languages. Most of these requirements are found in the Greek language, all in the Latin. Drop the study of Latin, and you have removed the whole basis on which the literature of every modern nation rests. None of the languages of the present day contain the source of the history of the nation by which it is spoken; so that the history of the race from its remotest recollections, and their original oneness and mutual connection depend upon the record contained in some ancient language: we lose ourselves, if we drop this thread. Let us relinquish the study of Latin and Greek, and we have exploded that vast storehouse from which, almost exclusively, modern science draws its terms, its words, the very instruments by which a science or a discovery becomes the property of the world, from being the property of an individual. Moreover, what can we substitute for that which now is the germ of the science of the age—the comparative study of language? This claim is not arrogance. For neither astronomy with its unceasing discoveries, nor geology with its startling disclosures, has any reference to *man*. They may teach us the wonderful laws which regulate God's great universe; they may permit us to dimly trace a few facts in the history of the little planet we tread on, we live and die on; but what is it that draws the curtain from the inmost recesses of the past, opening to us a view upon the nations migrating from a common centre; that proclaims, in unmistakable speech, what pyramids and mummies, mounds and graves, skulls and buried arms fail to intimate clearly, namely, that men are a family of brethren; that confirms without hesitancy, that God "hath made of *one blood* all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth," and that, however great the diversity of the tongues and dialects of men now is, there was a time when "the whole earth was of one language

and of one speech;"—what science is it but the science of language?—and the languages misnamed dead are at once its foundation, its material, and the field of its culture.

"The tree of language branches the wide, wide world around,
Its wondrous roots are hidden in deep and solid ground.
Far in primeval ages wells up that source of power,
Creating *SPEECH*'s great wonders, e'en to this present hour.

* * * * *

The knowledge of these wonders 'tis we bring to the light,
The course which language taketh reveals its fountain's site;
Its billows murmur stories of deep significance,
Though neophytes discern but confused noise and chance."*

"There is in fact no sure way of tracing the history and migrations of the early inhabitants of the world except by means of their languages; any other mode of inquiry must rest on the merest conjecture and hypothesis. It may seem strange that anything so vague and arbitrary as language should survive all other testimonies, and speak with more definiteness, even in its changed and modern state, than all other monuments, however grand and durable. Yet so it is; we have the proof before us every hour. Though we had lost all other history of our country, we should be able to tell, from our language, composed as it is of a substratum of Low German with deposits of Norman-French and Latin—the terms of war and government pertaining to the former of the superinduced elements, the terms of Ecclesiastical and Legal use to both of them—that the bulk of our population was Saxon, and that they were overcome and permanently subjected to a body of Norman invaders; while the Latin element would show us how much that language had been used by the lawyers and churchmen."†

Language, then, being the storehouse of tradition, living on from nation to nation;—the clue of material and spiritual con-

* "Und so dehnt seine Zweige rings um den Erdenrund
Der Wunderbaum der Sprache und wurzelt tief im Grund;
Tief in der Vorwelt sprudelt der reiche Quell der Kraft,
Die, heut noch nicht versieget, des Wortes Wunder schafft.
Und dieser Wunder Kunde, die bringen wir herauf,
Den Weg zum Quelle zeigt uns der Sprachenströme Lauf,
Und ihre Wogen rauschen uns tief verstanden an,
Wo dumpfen Schall nur hören der Ungeweihte kann.

(Lorenz Diefenbach, Sprachforschung.)

† Donaldson, *New Cratylus*.

nection, which joins century to century—the *common memory of the human race*;—the study of its noblest representatives has little to fear from those opposed to it, though they be giants. Vandalism and a low utilitarianism cannot triumph. But those friendly to it—its professed friends and promoters—aye, there lies the danger. If at this moment thorough classical training is in jeopardy in this country through the encroachments of twenty subjects, which may all belong to what is called useful information, and may all tend to impart a knowledge of things (*realia*), but which have nothing to do with education proper, let us be candid and confess that the advocates of classical instruction themselves have left the door open for this host of harpies. If we, at any time, have had no well-defined conception of the real aim and object of education, if we have become formal, and lukewarm in our attachment to it, if the cry of the vulgar has been allowed to undermine our honest convictions, if our indifference has shaken men's faith in our sincerity, if we have set half-taught men and youths to wield that chisel which requires the steady hand of an artist like Arnold, if we have substituted the fact of having read so many pages for the ability to read them, if we have given Virgil and Homer to *children* to read, if we have let smattering take the place of grammatical firmness, if we have made boys learn by rote like parrots, instead of learning by reflection like men,—then we need not wonder if our sin has found us out, and of all our harvest-hope we have

“Nought reaped but a weedie crop of care.”

In a previous number* we gave an imperfect sketch of the method of instruction in the ancient languages, pursued in the German gymnasia. We proceed now to some other branches, and first to the Hebrew.

As a branch of instruction, the Hebrew language has a history of its own. It cannot be surprising that a new interest in the study of the Scriptures should be coincident in point of time with the Reformation; in fact, the advances which have been made in the grammatical study of the Hebrew language, have been due almost wholly to Protestants. That wonderful

* Princeton Review, October, 1852, p. 564, sq.

youth, the Franciscan Conrad Pellican, published his Hebrew grammar (*de modo legendi et intelligendi Hebræa*) in 1503, having compiled it without any aid except the Hebrew Bible and a Latin translation.* However, John Reuchlin is generally considered the father of Hebrew learning in Germany, for by his *Libri tres de rudimentis Hebraicis* (published in 1506) which contained both grammar and dictionary, he transplanted David Kimchi's learning into Christendom, and became the author of those technical terms which are still retained in the books treating of the Hebrew language. Thus aided, the Hebrew was soon introduced into the schools, and accordingly, we find that about the middle of the sixteenth century it was taught in the Saxon princes' schools, and in the year 1580 it was established by law as a regular branch of instruction; the same was the case in the schools attached to the monasteries in Würtemberg. It retained its place undisputed in the gymnasia, which sprung from these institutions, at least for such pupils as intended to study theology, until very recently, when voices began to be raised against it. It was said that it was favouring that one class of pupils, the future theologians, whilst nothing was offered in compensation to those who designed to devote themselves to law or medicine; that it was overburdening the student who had enough to do with his ordinary branches, that there was no reason why it should not or could not be studied with equal advantage, at least, during the first year of the University course, that the number of students of theology was so small in the gymnasia that it was unreasonable to waste the time of a teacher on a few, which could with greater advantage be employed in the instruction of a large class. Besides, the University must furnish the means to study the elements of the language, at any rate, since the students came there very unequally prepared, and since many do not resolve to study theology until they have entered the University.

Nevertheless, whilst the objections to the removal of Hebrew were so many and so great, these charges against its remaining were considered too slight and trifling. No student, it was

* Not long after the bolder monk of Erfurt had lifted up his voice, Pellican joined the Protestants.

said, ever complains that by adding Hebrew to his other studies in the gymnasium the burden became too great for him, since the study is voluntary; the language itself is much easier than Latin or Greek; it is not partiality to theological students to afford them the means of acquiring the Hebrew in the gymnasium, as other students may enter upon the study of law or medicine immediately upon leaving the gymnasium, whilst theology cannot be studied without an acquaintance with the Hebrew. As a language, moreover, it well deserves a place in the gymnasium, without at all encroaching upon its immediate object. For in the combination of sublimity of spirit, and simplicity of form, neither the Greek nor the Latin could bear a comparison with it. Besides, modern civilization rests after all as much, nay, by far more, upon the religion of the Old Testament, than upon Greek and Roman culture. If the latter, then, receives so much attention that the educated man may know the historical foundation on which he stands, does not the Hebrew language deserve at least an equal share of attention? On the other hand, if Hebrew should be dropped as a branch of instruction in the gymnasium, the theological course in the University would require to be lengthened by at least one year.* And would not thus the general standing of Hebrew learning be considerably lowered, since, at present, the student who comes to the University, has studied Hebrew for four, five, and even six years beforehand? Thus, too, the memorizing of paradigms which is so unpalatable to adults, falls in years when committing to memory is an ordinary, every-day affair.

This subject is worthy of special attention, as the question has been raised here and there in this country, whether our colleges ought not to afford the opportunity of acquiring the Hebrew. If we consider the age at which most of our theological students enter the seminary, the almost general repugnance to learning the rudiments of a new language so different in cha-

* *Præterea vix est, cur moneam, eum, qui theologiæ studere cogitet, non posse accedere ad academiam, nisi etiam linguæ Hebræicæ elementa et vocabulorum aliquam copiam memoria teneat. Nam qui in academia demum ad litterarum Hebræicarum elementa se applicent, eos partim cetera studia tardare vel omnino rerum suarum successum incredibiliter impedire, usus affatim docet.*" (*Nobbe De maturitate studiorum scholasticorum temporis Melanchthoniani et nostri*, p. 28.)

racter from all which they may have learned before, the multiplicity of studies that devolve upon them during their theological course, short at best as it is, the value of the time and labours of a theological professor, a scholar, who must devote perhaps ten lessons a week, and even more, to the thankless drudgery of hearing recitations in grammar and mere translation—we may well wonder that our colleges do not supply this great want. Two or three hours a week during the Junior and Senior years devoted to Hebrew would be an invaluable benefit to our Biblical scholarship, and, may we not say, to our Church? And it seems as if colleges, with a very small amount of self-denial on the part of professors, could much more readily afford the means to study Hebrew, than French or German, which all of our colleges do. We are amazed sometimes at the amount of Hebrew learning apparent in some of the books from Germany; but we should probably be still more astonished to see boys of fourteen years of age translate sections of modern history or of Greek and Roman antiquities into Hebrew, as fast as the original is dictated to them; or to see theological students, in taking walks with their teacher, translate newspapers into Hebrew for pasture.*

Of the method usually pursued in the instruction of Hebrew the following is an outline. As soon as the student can read the text, he commits to memory the pronouns and the paradigm of the regular verb, the formation of which the teacher explains at the same time; that is, he points out the preformatives and affirmatives, and their significations; then comes the doctrine of the suffixes, with the necessary paradigms of nouns and verbs. At this stage of his progress, the pupil commences to translate some easy passage of Scripture, the teacher frequently giving beforehand the meaning of the words contained in the subsequent lesson, to supersede the necessity of the student's hunting for the words, which would take too much time from him at this early period of his advancement. Reading and translating are henceforth continued, whilst some portion of the grammar forms at the same time a part of every lesson. Now he learns the

* This has actually been the custom, until recently, in some of the institutions of Württemberg. The decline of religion went hand in hand with a decline in this part of their scholarship!

doctrine of the letters, their changes, etc. As soon as he is acquainted with the gutturals and their powers, he commits the verbs with their gutturals; as soon as he has learned the nature and changes of the quiescent letters, he learns the paradigms of the irregular verbs. The paradigm given in the book is seldom conjugated in the class, but generally some verb like it. During the reading lessons the teacher constantly causes the student to repeat what he has learned before, and explains what he has not yet learned, so that he becomes acquainted with some rules of the syntax, such as the uses of the construct state, of the tenses, the article, the particles, etc., long before he learns them in the grammar; or the teacher explains one of these phenomena, and requires the student to learn the rules concerning them for the subsequent lesson from the book. Reading the text correctly, and also writing the Hebrew character, are constantly kept in view; the latter is practised by written grammatical exercises, such as the conjugation of verbs, first after the model of the paradigm in the book and with its aid, afterwards from memory. In preparing his reading lessons the pupil is also required to write out the words, which he must look for in the lexicon, and commit them perfectly to memory. Translations from the German into Hebrew are also in use, mostly, however, in such a manner that, the books being closed, the teacher gives the German of some passages read shortly before, or even at any previous time, and requires them to be turned into Hebrew, *ex tempore*. The more advanced student is also required to turn parts of the New Testament, or of the Apocrypha, into Hebrew; German-Hebrew dictionaries are hardly ever used. There are also frequent exercises in the reading of the unpunctuated text.

The study of the Hebrew, which generally occupies part of the last four years of the course in the gymnasium, is generally distributed, so that in the first year the pupil learns the accidence and practises it both orally and by writing; in the second, he translates parts of the historical books of the Old Testament, continuing the study of the grammar; in the third, he reads select portions of the Psalms and Proverbs, still retaining the study of the grammar; and in the fourth year, select portions from the prophets are read.

German grammar is taught in all the gymnasia; the methods are numerous, and differ very considerably. Although they arose successively, most of them are still followed in different parts of Germany. Shortly after the Thirty Years' War, when the study of the ancient classics was considered the Alpha and Omega of an education, it was thought that native authors and speakers could only succeed by imitating the ancients. Translation and imitation were consequently the only means used to impart the art of writing; hence German grammar was Latinized, or at least cast in the mould of the Latin grammar. To this period belong all those "fabulous" German grammars, from Gottsched to Heinsius and Heyne. But when German genius broke loose from the fetters of such an artificial and unnatural system, and German literature became of age, grammar, stiff from long repose, limped after it; it commenced to be practical; in order to adapt it to the necessities of the middle classes, technical and theoretical instruction were completely submerged under dictation, composition, and all sorts of exercises in style, so that the living, correcting teacher, was the supreme arbiter of all doubtful questions. This system insensibly fell back again into the imitating method, only that native writers were now set up as the models, instead of the Greeks and Romans. This method was still further improved by the appearance of such writings as those of Goethe and Schiller, which were now made the subjects of regular study and analysis. But when the modern science of comparative philology arose, and the *Germanists* raked up the almost forgotten ancestors of the German language, the Old High German, the Middle High German, and various other German dialects, the "historical grammar," with its method, made its appearance, which ascends to the highest sources of the language, traces the history of single sounds, of individual words, and of entire idioms, goes into the minutest details of syntax and diction, brings to its aid, for the purpose of elucidation, every available light from collateral languages and dialects, endeavours to remove all that is foreign, and to evolve the real substance of the language in the greatest possible purity. This method produced a complete revolution, and every method that has arisen subsequently, has not been intended to supersede, but to complete it. Jacob Grimm is its father. The next in order is Becker, with the logical method.

He supplied the theoretical sub-structure of system to the materials gathered before, and educed the most complicated forms and phrases, logically and naturally, from some one fundamental principle. The latest method is the "psychological," which, based on William von Humboldt's popularized ideas concerning language, endeavours to exhibit the relations of the human mind to the phenomena of universal grammar, and especially of the German mind to the German language.

Connected with this is the subject of composition, which receives particular attention in most of the gymnasia. System is pursued in this as well as in everything else. The progress is gradual from the lowest class to the highest. The first exercises in this department are copying extracts; this is intended as a practice of the rules of orthography and punctuation, and as a means for producing accuracy. Next comes dictation where the same ends are had in view. Then the teacher reads or narrates historical incidents, fables, tales, or descriptions, which the pupil afterwards writes down from memory. This affords the first practice in what may properly be called composing, that is, constructing sentences and periods. These exercises are followed by amplifications: a few of the principal features of a narrative, description, dissertation, (these, too, in systematic succession,) are given, which the pupil is required to carry out more fully and to complete. This is sometimes varied in such a manner that merely words are given which are required to be formed into a narrative, etc. This, of course, exercises the imagination. Hereupon follow exercises in changing the form, *e. g.* narratives are to be cast into the form of letters; the subject of the same letter is to be addressed to different persons; poetry is to be turned into prose; fables, parables, etc., into moral disquisitions; a figurative style is to be stripped of its metaphors, and *vice versa*, etc. etc. Then *Commentaries*, poems (generally) are to be explained, unusual phrases and expressions to be rendered clear, the connection of the parts to be pointed out, etc. This is a very extensive subject, commencing with the mere paraphrase of a fable, and reaching to the æsthetical development of a tragedy. Next imitations: the form of a greater or less production is retained by a change of its contents; or, in higher classes, a

description of an object, a person, a place, is given as a model to be imitated by the application of its principles, arrangement, etc., in the description of another object of a similar nature. The same is done with dissertations and the like. After this comes analysis; then its opposite. After that is required the treatment of a given historical material from a given point of view. Then description: of minor objects, phenomena, localities, edifices, machines, costumes, paintings, statues, travels, real or fictitious, festivities, spectacles, etc.* Descriptions of character occupy the next place; not only of the character of individuals, but also of nations, parties, societies, orders, periods; nor are they of a historical character alone, but also of heroes, of tales, poems, and dramas, or of imaginary characters, etc. After this are generally placed parallels and comparisons of objects in nature, historical or poetical characters, works of art, etc. Then investigations or criticisms; hereupon dissertations, and finally speeches and orations.

It will be readily seen that many of these divisions as here enumerated, admit again of such subdivisions that they afford matter for exercises in all classes, perhaps; that is, three, four, or more of these species may be practised during the same year, not successively, but by the side of one another; but here again, the principle of proceeding from what is easy to what is more difficult, is carefully observed.

The subject is always assigned by the teacher; the same subject for the whole class; it is generally one which does not go beyond the range of the pupil's knowledge or private reading, it gives the pupil generally an opportunity to show his improvement in the acquisition of certain matters that have been recently treated of in the class; the form of the composition, also, is always definitely given, whether it is to be an essay, or a speech, or a letter, etc., if it is to be a metrical composition, whether it is to be an ode, or a ballad, or a sonnet, etc. The minimum length also is prescribed. Such compositions are generally written once a fortnight. The teacher, on returning the corrected exercises to the pupils, tells them

* The Germans here make a distinction between *Beschreibung* and *Schilderung*, the latter being more elevated in style than the former.

how the class generally have succeeded in their work, reads and criticises some of the best and some of the worst, having previously classified and arranged all the compositions according to their comparative merits. Sometimes he reads a composition on the same subject written by himself, to show the class how the work should have been performed to be entirely satisfactory. Sometimes an hour will be spent by the teacher in narrating interesting stories, true or fictitious, or he will ask one and another of the pupils to do so; or some rare book will be read aloud. At other times the teacher will spend an hour in asking enigmas and riddles, which are frequently of a grammatical or etymological nature.

Arithmetic is taught in the lowest two classes of the gymnasium; text books are hardly ever used; very little, if any, cyphering is done in school hours; problems are dictated to be worked out at home, and written out, result as well as the work itself, in a copy-book, which is handed to the teacher in the next recitation, who, in the recitation after, returns it, with his marks noting the correctness or incorrectness of the several sums. The school hours are taken up partly with the explanation of new rules, etc., and partly with mental arithmetic; in this some scholars attain to great proficiency.

In Algebra the method is very much the same as that followed in this country, only that a text-book is hardly ever used, and the course is consequently slower but more thorough.

In Geometry the method is somewhat different. A text-book, again, is something the pupils in a majority of the gymnasia never hear of. The whole of the first year is spent in what are called the definitions and axioms, which with us are generally despatched in one or two lessons. The method followed subsequently is this: The teacher dictates a proposition, explains all the terms, and ascertains by questioning whether it is understood. Some one of the pupils is now required to draw the figure on the black-board which seems to be demanded by the proposition. If auxiliary lines are necessary, he is either led, by questioning, to find them himself, or other members of the class find them for him, or, if they are of a more complicated nature, the teacher draws them himself. The hypothesis is then stated, as well as the thesis (the thing to be

proved,) by some formula (if possible) resembling an algebraic one; then the demonstration is found by the pupil, aided by the teacher, in the same heuristic or zetetic manner to which we have had occasion to allude before. The pupils are allowed to take notes of the demonstration, provided their attention is not distracted by the operation, as they are constantly liable to have questions addressed to them just as much as the one who is engaged at the black-board. This demonstration is then fully worked out at home, when care must be taken to have as few words as possible, but represent everything by algebraic signs and by the position of the equations. All the propositions then gone through with in one lesson are repeated in the next without the aid of the teacher, when the pupils have an opportunity of supplying defects in their demonstration, and of correcting errors. For the lesson after this these propositions with their demonstrations are entered into a separate copy-book, which is handed to the teacher, at certain stated periods, for inspection and revision. The deduction of corollaries, the solution of problems, and the demonstration of minor propositions not treated of in class, constitute the remainder of the pupil's industry at home.

An important constituent part of an education is *the culture of the physical powers*. A number of melancholy experiences united to press this truth upon the attention of the Germans. But, as is usual with them, they discussed long and learnedly before they took hold of the idea, and introduced gymnastic exercises into their schools. The pedagogic difficulty with them was to determine whether these exercises were to be performed as play or as work. If they were to be considered as play, then it was contended they did not belong to the school as a school exercise, but considered as work they would seem altogether to concern only acrobats, jugglers, and so forth, or at best to constitute a part of the regular training of soldiers merely. After much had been spoken and written on the subject, a general assent appears to have been produced to the view which maintains that the aim of these exercises was to bring the youths of a school together in greater numbers, for the purpose of physical and corporeal development, so that, at the same time, they should not be left without supervision.

This was effected by the general establishment of *turnplätze*, gymnasia in the English sense of the word, where gymnastics were made a regular branch of instruction.

The principal methods followed are three in number, which bear severally the names of Jahn's, Spiess', and Ling's. That of which *Jahn* was the most prominent advocate, is the oldest. In 1793, GutsMuth published his *Science of Gymnastics*, which is founded, to a great extent, on the ancient Greek art, and which was designed to awaken the attention of parents and teachers to the necessity of giving the body a healthful development, whilst the intellect received its due share of training and exercise. The means which he employed to effect this development was a union of vigorous effort with unrestrained sport. Though his endeavours did not fail to turn the thoughts of multitudes to this subject, yet the convulsed state of Europe at that time, the wars of Napoleon, and the general calamities in the train of contending nations impeded its full development and its progress. But during the time that Germany, and especially proud Prussia, felt the yoke of the Corsican oppressor, Jahn had given to the ancient and yet novel art a new impulse among the descendants of the Teutons. The general armament against France, which almost emptied the universities and gymnasia—(these youths were not pressed into the service, they were volunteers)—only stirred up a greater desire, among the remainder, for personal prowess, and bodily strength and vigour, all of which were greatly advanced by those gymnastic exercises. Jahn's system—if such it can be called, for it is merely a natural development and regular arrangement of play—is by far the most prevalent. To look at one of these places where youths are assembled for gymnastic exercises, one would think each one did just as he pleased, without rule or order; and, in many cases, his supposition would be correct. In fact, this system has no special reference to respiration or muscular action, and teaches only the use of limbs. All it produces appears to be agility, and perhaps boldness. Generally all the pupils of the gymnasium are divided and arranged, not in classes corresponding to those in the school, but in sections according to size and strength, and each of these sections is committed to the special instruction of a *πρωγυμναστής* (*Vorturner*); this latter is either one

of the older pupils, or one of the teachers of the gymnasium: and many of us would perhaps be surprised to see some of those learned professors, with whose names and books we have become familiar, and whom we represent to ourselves somewhat like the figure on the cover of Klotz's lexicon, lank, worn out, in gown and slippers, almost buried among musty tomes—to see one of these in the gymnast's linen roundabout, going through some break-neck motions and perilous ventures, or playing leap-frog *con amore*. A practised teacher of gymnastics superintends and directs the whole. These exercises take place in the open air, twice a week, for two hours each time, and generally only during the summer months.

But these gymnastics had their evils; they were found, in many instances, to engender a certain degree of bluntness, which soon became rudeness, a pride in personal vigour and strength, a spirit of defiance, and negligence of external forms and appearances, so that when it was found that the various societies of gymnasts (they existed to a very great extent among the people at large*) cherished a spirit of liberty by (at least during the time of their gatherings) obliterating distinctions derived from birth, by engendering a spirit of equality, and a democratic turn of mind, they were considered in those monarchies, as politically dangerous, radical, and revolutionary, and the public places for gymnastic exercises were closed.

Thus this beautiful art languished, at least in the northern parts of Germany, until Prussia, in 1842, again endeavoured to revive it; that is, in connection with the gymnasia. But, in the mean time, a new system had arisen in the south, that of *Spiess*, who, failing to find thoroughness, order, and method in the old system, wished to make the whole subject much more one of the real and recognized branches of an education. This system makes the attendance of the pupils obligatory, as at any other branch of instruction; the different classes of the gymnasium are taught by different teachers as classes, and not together with other classes, daily at least for one hour; in summer in the open air, in winter in a building; the order of sequence in the exercises, as laid down in the books on the subject, must be

* The *Turner* societies among the Germans in America are their offspring.

strictly attended to, and not deviated from any more than the rules of Latin syntax. There are, however, occasional pedestrian excursions of the whole gymnasium (including the teachers) for amusement, and partly for the exhibition of gymnastic exercises learnt before, and the practice of those for which there is no opportunity in a more or less confined gymnasium.

The third and most artificial system is that introduced by the Central Gymnastic Institute, established at Berlin, which is to educate teachers of gymnastics, in as much as it is for want of these that gymnastic exercises have not been introduced yet into all the gymnasia, though the government ordered it about ten years ago. The difficulty was not that of obtaining men qualified to teach gymnastics, but men scientifically educated for the office of instructor, who should act as professors, and, at the same time, discharge the duty of teachers of gymnastics. The government attaches great importance to this office, because these teachers, with their pupils freed from the ordinary restraints of the schoolroom, are found to possess much more direct influence upon them than other teachers. It is also considered of the greatest importance that such teachers should be thoroughly acquainted with anatomy and physiology. The system pursued in that institution, and prospectively to be introduced into all the gymnasia, is that of *Ling*, a Swede, who divides the whole practice into four parts :

1. *Pedagogical gymnastics*, (subjective-active) which teaches us how to subject our own body to our will.

2. *Military gymnastics*, (objective-active) which teaches us to subject the will of another person to our own, (wrestling, boxing, fencing, etc.)

3. *Remedial gymnastics*, (subjective-passive) by which man endeavours to overcome those anomalies and diseases of the body which have arisen from some abnormal state or condition.

4. *Aesthetical gymnastics*, (objective-passive) which teaches us to manifest our thoughts and feelings by attitude and posture, or to express the idea of the beautiful by the movements of the muscles.

In some gymnasia, swimming, riding, and even dancing, are also taught.

Desultory and imperfect as this sketch is, it would be still

more so, should we pretermit every allusion to the religious position and influence of these gymnasia, the relation of classical studies to the Christian spirit in Germany, and the manner in which they are regarded by the earnest Christians there.

A quarter of a century ago, when F. Thiersch wrote his able work *Ueber gelehrte Schulen*, he believed he saw no greater foe to Christianity and to its spirit than the materialistic and utilitarian tendencies of the age, which endeavoured to banish the classics from the German gymnasia, or at least to greatly circumscribe their sphere. Nor was he alone of this opinion. Voices most worthy to be heard were raised in defence of a thorough and almost exclusive study of the classics as one of the chief pillars of a truly Christian education and sentiment. So much the more astonishing is it to see at the present time men of equal zeal for Christianity, charge the same branch of instruction with being the cause of a great part of the mischief in Church and State, recently experienced there. The fact is, thinking men had always followed with their sorrowing eyes the fearful inroads which Rationalism, infidelity, and hostility to Christ were making in their country: and proverbially slow as they are in perceiving the practical bearings of a subject, they met the enemy at impracticable points, and with inefficient weapons. At first the preaching of the word from Sabbath to Sabbath, faithfully and fervently, was believed to be sufficient to counteract the evil among the people at large; but by degrees they perceived that irreligion was on the increase, and that they would not succeed in sweetening the bitter waters without ascending to their fountain. At this point of time the field of theory became the arena of the combat, and the consequence was that Rationalism as far as its theoretic and literary pretences were concerned, yielded up the ghost. Nevertheless, its advocates continued to parade about the dead carcass, incredulous of its demise, and the people at large were as much exposed as ever to its deleterious influences. Believing scholars felt that their reasonings and arguments fell utterly powerless on the minds of those whose whole mode of thinking, whose *Anschauungsweise*, was *toto cælo* different from their own. To their schools of logic, then, to the Universities, they directed their view and their efforts, and much indeed was

written on University education and on the state of morals and discipline among the students. But all their discussions and investigations only convinced them more and more that they had not yet found the root of the evil. Now they turned to the gymnasia; and it is certainly true that it is from these that really proceeds the spirit that pervades and rules the life of society in Germany; for from these proceed all the ministers of Church and State, the royal officers as well as the representatives of the people, their judges as well as their teachers. And in what hands were these gymnasia?

In 1848, when Radicalism, leaning on the "glorious March-days," raised its head with unprecedented boldness, there was held at Berlin a large convention of teachers of gymnasia, in which it was moved to banish the Bible from the school, to cease teaching that the moral law is represented by the decalogue, to discontinue, thenceforth, requiring pupils to commit the Creed, and to prevent clergymen from giving religious instruction in the gymnasia.

But we are too hasty. How, it may be asked, came such a spirit of antichrist into institutions established by the Church, and required by the law of the State to instruct in the doctrines of the Christian religion? It cannot be denied that it had been engendered, fostered, and promoted, not by the classics, but by the mode pursued in studying and teaching them. When Grecian taste and refinement, Roman patriotism and heroism, the solemn dignity and wisdom of a Socrates, the self-denial and sobriety of a Stoic, the patience and perseverance of a Demosthenes, not to speak of the splendid images of epic and dramatic poetry, and of mythology; when all these were placed before the eyes of pleasure-loving youth in all their attractiveness, when the teacher studiously concealed their dark sides, or exhibited them only as necessary and pardonable evils, when the light of the word of God was never placed in contrast with the delusive, lurid fires of pagan poesy, the religious feelings were stifled, the sense of sin blunted, and the need of redemption was hardly ever experienced.

And such was the treatment of the classics for years and years. The whole race of modern philologists who constitute

the most important portion of the teachers in the gymnasia, proceed from a school in which the different elements of antipathy to Christianity, as they appeared respectively in Rousseau, Lessing, and F. A. Wolf are mixed. The *Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft* of the latter became the foundation of the classical philology of the present day. In this book Wolf utters the sentiment that the study of antiquity "constitutes the basis of the character of a perfect man; in the dedication (to Goethe) he calls it a "serious thought to enter into the whole worship of the inspired gods." Another corypheus of the same school, Heyne, says: "With sorrow I must confess that if I have not become altogether abandoned, I owe it more to the heathens than to the Christians." G. Hermann warns his readers against "the impious piety of those bats that talk as if man was wicked and could only obtain divine grace by believing."*

The disciples of such masters, of course, carried their own coldness and repugnance to the gospel into the gymnasium; they could not show to their pupils, that the law written in the hearts of the heathen was *also* a schoolmaster to lead them to Christ, and that with all their jocund view of life, with all their manly vigour, the very essence of their existence was a melancholy longing, a bitter resignation, a need of salvation without a power to save. Their visible efforts in groping after the truth, if haply they might find it, which, when pointed out by the Christian teacher, might themselves fill the soul with the preciousness of a Saviour, were never mentioned by those philologists. Even Epicurus had said, *Initium est salutis notitia peccati*; and if it was Anselm's dictum, *Credo ut intelligam*, Aristotle had said before him, δεῖ πιστεῦειν τὸν καὶ θάλλοντα. Plato says, that real goodness is neither natural to man, nor acquired, but that it is a gift of God, (εἰ δὲ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐν παντὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καλῶς ἐζητήσαμέν τε καὶ ἐλέγομεν, ἀρετὴ ἂν εἴη οὔτε φύσει οὔτε διδακτόν, ἀλλὰ θεῖα μοῖρα παραγιννομένη ἄνευ νοῦ οἷς ἂν παραγίγνηται.—Meno, § 42.)†

* *Impia pietas tenebrionum, hominem malum esse nec nisi credendo impetrare gratiam divinam dictantium.*

† What a contrast between this sublime humility of the truth-seeking spirit of the Greek, and the loathsome pride of the Roman: *Propter virtutem enim jure lauda-*

In the *Republic* (I. 5,) he describes a Grecian death-bed. "After a man," says he, "begins to think that he is soon to die, he becomes inspired with a fear and concern about things that had not entered his head before, for those *so-called myths* about a future state, which tell us that a man who has been wicked here must be punished hereafter, though he laughed at them formerly, then torment his soul with apprehensions that *they may be true*." In another remarkable passage, he speaks of the two classes of men—the godly as most blessed, and the ungodly as most miserable, (τοῦ μὲν θεοῦ εὐδαιμονιστάτου, τοῦ δὲ ἀθεοῦ ἀδελματάτου;* a former generation he believed to have been better and in closer community with the Deity, (οἱ μὲν παλαιὸι κρείττονες ἡμῶν καὶ ἐγγυτέρω θεῶν οἰκούντες);† the knowledge of a just and benevolent God he taught to be wisdom and true virtue, the want of it folly and unmistakable depravity.‡ Sometimes the ancients are quite "orthodox." Cicero says, *In libidine esse, peccatum est, etiam sine effectu*.§ Plato teaches eternal punishment: *Gorg.* p. 525. *Phæd.* p. 113. But such, and an hundred like instances, never occurred in the teaching of those learned men.

It is true, the law requires religious instruction to be given in every class of the gymnasium at least twice a week, and the course pursued (with considerable variations) is that the lower classes are made acquainted with Biblical history, whilst the chief articles of faith are explained, and portions of Scripture and hymns are committed to memory. In the middle classes the life of Christ and the history of the Church under the Apostles form the subject of instruction. The highest classes read the New Testament in the original, in connection with Exegesis, Introduction, an Exposition of the principal doctrines, or Church history. Catholics and Jews are neither required nor expected to attend these recitations; the former are taught separately by some priest of the Catholic Church, who is compensated by the gymnasium, and where the Jews are numerous,

mur, et in ea recte gloriamur; quod non contingeret, si id donum a deo, non a nobis haberemus. (Cic. Nat. Deor. III. 36.)

* Theætetus, § 86.

† Phil. 16. Cf. Polit. 271.

‡ Theæt. § 85.

§ De finibus, III. 9.

a Jewish rabbi is generally employed by the gymnasium to teach these.*

But it needs no demonstration to affirm that the character of such religious instruction depends, after all, upon the person of the teacher, or else it would be inconceivable how these gymnasia could have acquired their antichristian tendencies. If we look at some of their text-books and catechisms, the case will be very plain to us. A change of heart is not even spoken of in some of the catechisms in use among them. The doctrine of a Redeemer is treated for the most part historically, and only so that he is shown to be the Messiah of the Jews. The Holy Spirit is a spirit engendered by enlightenment and instruction, a sort of mental development and a communication of clear ideas. A knowledge of self is insisted on, but not in the Christian sense, not a knowledge of one's sinfulness and dependence, but rather in the sense of Plato, a knowledge of how great our intellectual wants and capacities are.

And how is it with religious exercises? These vary indefinitely, as everything else connected with these institutions, not only in the different gymnasia, but also in the same one at different periods, under different directors. In most of them the teacher who teaches the first lesson in the morning, reads a hymn, more rarely a short prayer in prose; sometimes he repeats it from memory. The pupils nearly always consist of a mixture of Lutherans, Reformed, Roman Catholics, "German Catholics," Jews, (in some institutions the latter form nearly one-half of the pupils,) here and there a stray Baptist or Methodist also. But there is seldom a word heard in these prayers that could offend any one of them: the name of Christ is rarely mentioned. Sometimes, in a Protestant gymnasium, it happens that the teacher who instructs during the first hour of the day in a certain class, is a Roman Catholic. Under such circumstances we have known instances where the teacher would bring some Protestant prayer-book with him, and hand it to one of the pupils to read a prayer. The variety of prayer-books, also, is very great; every shade, from sound doctrine to

* In the Catholic gymnasia, the remarks made in regard to Catholics, will, of course, apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Protestant pupils.

the merest moralism, may frequently be found in the same gymnasium.

At the beginning of a term, the exercises of the gymnasium are introduced by all the pupils assembling in the "Hall," and singing one of those celebrated German hymns, after which the Director delivers a short hortatory address. In a few gymnasia it is customary for the teachers and all the pupils of their denomination, to unite in the celebration of the Lord's Supper once or twice a year. In some the morning worship is common, that is, all the pupils assemble daily, or at least on certain days of the week in the "Hall," and sing a hymn, after which one of the teachers pronounces a prayer. In addition to these exercises a very few have a religious address at the beginning of every week.

The only other religious influence which some may expect to find, is that of the singing lessons, where those great German *Chorale* and Oratorios are practised and performed. But in these the whole attention of the pupil is so much absorbed by the music and the mere mechanical execution, that the words make no impression upon him. We can really assert that in a number of gymnasia the name of Christ is not heard so as to make any impression or awaken any thought, except, perhaps, in the two hours specially devoted to religious instruction. Even in history, when the enormous change is to be spoken of, which marks its page shortly after the commencement of the Christian era, the professor will endeavour to show the cause to have been the migration of nations, or the downfall of the Roman empire, anything rather than the true cause, so that one who should not attend the hours of religious instruction, might be a pupil of a gymnasium for years, and remain utterly ignorant (for all that the gymnasium does to the contrary) of the great motive power of the civilized world, and the only true hope for a blessed hereafter. In fact, we could mention the case of a Jewish boy not below ordinary capacity, and rather fond of reading, who had been in a Protestant gymnasium for five years, and being once prevented by a cold from singing in the usual singing lesson, was sitting still whilst the class were singing Paul Gerhardt's glorious hymn, *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*. He followed the words as they were

sung, and the long drawn notes gave him time for reflection. But he soon found that he understood nothing of the hymn. The

. . . "Haupt, zum Spott gebunden
Mit einer Dornenkron!"

suggested to him many a painting and engraving he had seen; but the next lines,

"O Haupt sonst schön gezieret
Mit höchster Ehr und Zier,"

were utterly unintelligible to him. He would doubtless have fallen upon a train of thinking which might have proved highly profitable, had not the last word of the next line, "*schimpfret*," which is obsolete, and seems to present an anomalous formation, given his thoughts a different direction.

As an index of the religious influence of the gymnasia, and its estimation among Christians in Germany, we would refer to the establishment of the *Christian Gymnasium at Gütersloh*, in 1851, in consequence of an action of the Convention of German Evangelical churches (*Kirchentag*), which met in Stuttgart, in 1850. Such a convention is a voluntary meeting of men from all parts of Germany, who are interested in the Church, and are endeavouring to find ways and means to stop the decrease of evangelical religion and true piety among them, and to further and aid schemes for the extension of Christ's kingdom. The School, as being the nursery of the Church, and entrusted with the intellectual and spiritual interests of the rising generation, her hope, could not fail to claim and receive a considerable share of their attention. It was generally conceded that the School was not doing its duty, that so far from being an ally to the Church, it was to be feared that in many instances the latter was injured by the School. Especially was this charged upon the gymnasia; and this feeling called forth the establishment of the above named institution, and of a similar one in Stuttgart, in both of which the prime consideration is the education of their pupils for the Church and true Christianity.

According to the Prospectus, the Christian Gymnasium at Gütersloh considers an education for the kingdom of God the highest aim and the ultimate object of all efforts at education.

It intends, therefore, to instruct youths carefully in the Holy Scriptures, to introduce them into the history of the kingdom of God, and of the Christian Church particularly, and to endeavour to convince them of the truth and the divine origin of Christianity—all on the basis of the Confession of Faith of the Evangelical Church. This end is also kept in view in the instruction in History and the Natural Sciences. Classical antiquity must be stripped of its “divinity,” the delusive halo with which it has been surrounded by an apostate, heathenish philology. But nevertheless, the classics will be taught with greater thoroughness and earnestness than has been done by the method which has sprung from the Pantheistic philosophy.

The action of the Convention awakened a general interest in the subject throughout the Protestant church of Germany, and at the Convention held in Elberfeld on the 15th of September 1851, it was found necessary to make the question as to the influence of the education of the gymnasia upon Christianity, one of the regular topics of discussion. In vindication of the gymnasia it was urged that too much was required of them; that their influence was over estimated; whilst, in fact, their tendency was towards a Christian education; that even the law required this of them. The speakers on this side endeavoured to show that even the various branches of instruction taken singly had a religious tendency. It was not *Protestantism* which excommunicated science. Those that designated the study of the heathen classics as unchristian, could not claim the example of Paul, and Basil the Great, and Augustine. It was Julian the apostate who wished to deprive the Christian schools of the study of the classics; but Luther, Melancthon, Spener, Francke, Neander, and others of this class knew how to esteem it. Even in the arrangement of their studies, the gymnasia recognized the Christian faith as a distinct element. If, therefore, the state of religion was low and deplorable, it was not the *gymnasia* which could be accused on account of it, but the whole Church, and parents, preachers, and teachers. *He that is without sin among you in this matter, let him first cast a stone,* exclaimed the chief speaker for the gymnasia.

The principal speaker on the other side of the question was

Dr. Rumpel, the Director of the new Institution at Gütersloh. He said that the very question showed that the necessity was recognized of the gymnasium's giving Christian instruction, but that it was not doing it. It was therefore not incumbent on him to demonstrate that the gymnasia were not Christian, but the burden of proof lay with the opposite side. He endeavoured to show, not that classical studies were of a dangerous tendency, but that the great philologists from whose schools the present generation of teachers had proceeded, had been alienated from the gospel. In their minds the spirit of antiquity had taken the place of the Spirit of God. Yet the treatment produced by this alienation was not confined to the instruction in the languages, but existed also in the other branches, such as History, Natural Sciences, and Mathematics. This whole current must be stemmed. Some *Christian* Wolf was needed for the classics. Some changes were undeniably needed; but as these were not, and could not be made instantaneously in the existing gymnasia, these *Christian* gymnasia had been established for Christian parents to have their children rightly instructed.

In the subsequent debate, various ways and means were proposed to bring the gymnasia back to Christianity. Professor Müller, of Halle, recommended chiefly the employment of theologians as teachers in the gymnasia. To this it was replied, that the attempt had been made to obtain such, but that the office of teacher was too toilsome a one, and offered too little compensation, to hold out sufficient inducement for theologians to enter it. Another minister thought that students of divinity ought to consider it a self-denying sacrifice required of them by their very profession, to offer their services as teachers. Some objected to the name *Christian* gymnasia, for the new Institution, and wanted the term *Church* gymnasia substituted for it. Others recommended the reading of Latin and Greek Christian writers in preference to the classics. Dr. Krummacher, of Berlin, closed the discussion with a characteristic speech, in which he said that the fault could not be justly charged upon any single agency; that it lay in the atmosphere, and that the religious teacher, as he was needed at this period, must be a very exorcist. The resolutions finally passed

were to the intent that as the existing (State) gymnasia were Christian institutions, in their fundamental arrangement, as well as by the requisition of the law, it was the duty of the Evangelical Church, and of every Evangelical Christian, to contribute by every possible means towards making them what they ought to be; that, however, private gymnasia were useful as supplying a want felt in some sections of the country, and as serving for models to the State gymnasia, which needed such a stimulus; and that the Convention was glad to see such an institution founded at Gütersloh.

At the charges implied in this, the teachers of the gymnasia raised a loud clamour, and numerous and ingenious defences were constructed; nevertheless, the general absence of the true Christian spirit in a large portion of the teachers, of a cordial faith in the Son of God, and of a hearty zeal for his cause, so evident to all, could not be supplied by the most ingenious apologies; besides, as they had conceded in the course of the debate that they left it to "the facts of history" to teach the pupil that the heathen were "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel," their position needed no further interpretation.

Yet it would be incorrect to suppose that all the gymnasia present this gloomy and cheerless aspect; that all the teachers had become apostate, and heathen or infidels at heart; or that corruption went on uninterruptedly, without a corresponding remedial power developing itself. The observer cannot have failed to mark that a better day is beginning to dawn in the conception and representation of antiquity. There are already pens busy showing that classical antiquity is of great importance in a *Christian* education; for its life and development are nothing but the unimpeded natural growth of the heart of man when left to itself. Both negatively and positively it points to Christianity. To exhibit this aspect of the bygone ages, and to lead the pupil to a perception of it, is the duty of the Christian philologist. Nor is this a mere ideal appellation; there are those that in all truth deserve it. To name only such as are somewhat better known on this side of the Atlantic, we would mention Lassaulx, a teacher in Bavaria, who has written a whole series of dissertations for the purpose of showing that all the mythology and religious rites of the Gentiles

were but a *σκία τῶν μελλόντων*, the types and prophetic annunciations of what was to follow. In his *Commentatio de mortis dominatu in veteres*, Lassaulx has collected a number of passages from the classics, which give us a vivid image of the gloomy despondency and despair which forms the background of the bright surface described in Schiller's *Gods of Greece* as unbeclouded gaiety, youthful pleasure in this life, imperishable beauty, a paradise full of peace, a heaven on earth. Lassaulx presses from the ancients a confession which shows us their dread, their horror in view of the vanity and perishable nature of all earthly blessings, and in view of the losses they meet with on the one hand and on the other, their forced indifference, and spiteful, defiant resignation.* Dr. J. F. Kurtz, in Russia, who is well known in the theological world, has written several books of a similar bearing; in his *History of the Old Covenant* he has some pertinent remarks on the pedagogical design of Paganism.

Nägelsbach of Nürnberg, a scholar and linguist as accomplished as he is modest, says, that in his investigations on this subject he could not but perceive the longing and striving of the human mind after the possession of the one, the living, personal God, without which the soul could not be at rest or peace, and for which no pantheism could compensate. "This seeking after God is the life-pulse of the whole religious development of Antiquity." All their attempts failed, and the life of the ancients would exhibit before us motion and progress without a guiding star and without a centre, were it not that we knew that God has a constant witness of himself in the conscience of man, which being itself the moral law of good and evil, affords foundation and security to the existence of man. It was this law "written in their hearts," which sustained the life of the world until the time when the mind of man, exhausted and weary from its unsuccessful search after the living God, received that as a gift of grace from above, which it had been constantly seeking after.†

In chronological order Creuzer should have been named sooner, but his theory is exceedingly liable to abuse, and has

* Some of Lassaulx's dissertations have been translated into English.

† Homeric Theology, p. xii, sq.

been abused by some of his English exponents. Still, in the preface to the third edition of his *Symbolik und Mythologie*, speaking of the unfavourable criticism the Rationalists had passed upon his work, he says: "They had begun to perceive that my investigations concerning the ancient religious systems led to a result which was diametrically opposed to their teachings. They start with the proposition that man is very good by nature, and needs only to perfect his reason to arrive at the highest felicity. But these investigations had shown that among almost all nations of antiquity there prevailed a vivid consciousness of spiritual corruption, and a desire after reconciliation with God." "Nor did my book please those who seek the utmost perfection of man in the element of beauty and in æsthetical manners." "Such æsthetic and poetic souls are loth to be reminded how deep the feeling of ruin and helplessness is, from which the sublimest poesies and the profoundest allegories of the ancients have proceeded."*

We have been somewhat more minute, in showing that there is a difference between the Classics as they ought to be taught, and the Classics as they have been taught, that the reader may not confound some of the admirable features of the German system of education with the evils resulting from that system as handled by godless teachers. We may rest assured that the Christian need not turn away entirely from those "ages dark, obtuse, and steeped in sense," but that he may still derive great lessons from the wanton childhood of our world, when matter "stole the style of gods," for though *Pride made the virtues of the Pagan world, yet*

"The Stagirite, and Plato, he who drank
The poisoned bowl, and he of Tusculum,"

who led an Augustine† and a Neander to the fountain of salvation, still point to Him who died to save lost man, and raised him from his moral grave.

* See in the *Studien und Kritiken* (1847, p. 211.) an account, how Ullman, the theologian, was influenced by Creuzer, the philologist, and how Creuzer's profound interpretation of the religious symbols of the Ancients cured Ullmann of religious scepticism.

† *Ille vero liber* (he speaks of Cicero's *Hortensius*, a philosophical treatise, only a few fragments of which are extant) *mutavit adfectum meum, et ad te ipsum. Demine, mutavi preces meas, et vota ac desideria mea fecit alia.* (August. Conf. III. 4.)

ART. III.—*Recent Doctrinal and Ecclesiastical Conflicts in Connecticut.*

1. *God in Christ*; by Horace Bushnell, 1849.
2. *Christ in Theology*; by Horace Bushnell, 1851.
3. *Remonstrance and Complaint of the Association of Fairfield West to the Hartford Central Association*, 1850.
4. *Appeal of the Association of Fairfield West to the Associated Ministers connected with the General Association of the State of Connecticut*, 1852.
5. *Complaint against the Hartford Central Association*, signed by fifty-two Ministers, and presented to the General Association of Connecticut at its meeting in Waterbury, June, 1853.
6. *Memorial of the Hartford Central Association*, presented to the same body.
7. *Answer to said Memorial with Rejoinder to the same*, published in the Religious Herald, Hartford, July 21, 1853.
8. *Minutes of the General Association of Connecticut from 1848 to 1853.*

BETWEEN New England Congregationalists and the principal Presbyterian bodies of this country, the most intimate relations have always subsisted. This mutual affinity has shown itself in all the forms in which it is possible for the "communion of saints" to display itself between bodies of Christians organized under different modes of Church polity. This essential unity has long been formally recognized by the mutual interchange of delegates in their annual ecclesiastical assemblies. Nor has this been a mere empty ceremony. In ways the most decisive, it has proved itself to be the token of a real fellowship. Ministers have been called and translated from one of these denominations to posts in the other, as if they were to all intents one communion. Candidates for the ministry, too, have resorted to the colleges and theological seminaries on either side of their own denominational lines, with great freedom, as convenience or other supposed advantages might incline them. Members of Congregational churches going to reside where there was a

Presbyterian, but no Congregational church, have, as a matter of course, united with the Presbyterian, in preference to any Baptist, Methodist, or Episcopal church. Presbyterians, in like manner, *mutatis mutandis*, have, of course, become members of Congregational churches.

For a long time the circumstances of these two great Christian bodies in the country were such, that their substantial unity in Christian doctrine and life was mostly in the foreground, while their differences in Church polity were kept more in the background, in their consciousness, their mutual relations, and intercourse. They felt all the comforts and attractions of the former. The occasions were rare in which they suffered chafing and alienation from the latter. As the Western territories began to be settled by emigration from the old Eastern States, these two great Calvinistic communities, true to their historic life and instincts, contributed a large quota of these enterprising and adventurous pioneers. The result was great numbers of small settlements, the germs of future towns and cities, in which was a mixture of Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Professing one faith, they had been accustomed to different forms of Church government. But this difference had not been made to assume any marked prominence or importance, because no experience had yet proved it irreconcilable, or an insuperable obstacle to union. On the other hand, the all-preponderating motive to union was, that, in many cases, neither class separately could sustain Christian institutions, while united, they could, at best, even with missionary aid, form but a weak, struggling congregation. Hence arose the celebrated Plan of Union, in which these differences as to polity were so accommodated that Congregationalists and Presbyterians could be united in one church or ecclesiastical organization, *each retaining his own peculiarities in the actual administration of Church government*. Congregational committee-men became members of the highest judicatories of the Presbyterian Church, and took part in deciding the most fundamental questions relating to her faith and order. This, however, caused little practical difficulty, so long as all parts of this extended but anomalous organization were true to the doctrinal standards, which had been the only publicly avowed creed of both the Congregational and Presbyterian

communions. But when a powerful party arose, determined to legalize in the Church a latitudinarian system repugnant to the distinctive features of this creed, the Plan of Union at once excited uneasiness and jealousy. The question, who had a constitutional right to vote in the assemblies of the Church, became a vital one of self-preservation. It was speedily arraigned and annulled as unconstitutional. On this issue, in form, but on the graver issue of serious doctrinal differences underlying it, in fact, as is well known, a formidable secession left the Presbyterian Church. This issue has proved to be singularly unfortunate for our New-school brethren. The Congregationalists, whose supposed wrongs inflicted by these summary proceedings they sought to redress, by rallying a new organization, have deserted them upon this question, and quite outdo Old-school Presbyterians in their dislike and denunciations of the Plan of Union. Almost any system of church government will work well enough, as long as there is doctrinal unity and mutual confidence and love. But when serious division in opinion and feeling arises, then men must know under what regimen they are living, and any vague, hybrid system, which has no certain powers, and confers no certain rights, is intolerable. Whether constitutional or not, it is not necessary here to decide; one thing is certain, the Plan of Union is outgrown, by general consent of Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Whatever may be the relative merits of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism, experience has sufficiently proved, that in those exigencies which put any system of polity to the test, their amalgamation is not endurable. In the language of Judge Gibson they are as "immiscible as water and oil." But, while this has been found impracticable, yet its adoption for so long a period, is a striking proof of the degree of substantial unity and recognized fellowship that have obtained between these Christian bodies. It is only in illustration of this fact that we have dwelt upon it. As to all other forms of manifesting this fellowship, they still remain, except so far as innovations and corruptions in doctrine or order in various quarters, or the heat of recent controversy or rivalry may have abridged their operation. And so far as this last cause is concerned, the breach seems to have be-

come wider between the Congregationalists and the New-school Presbyterians than the Old. May the great Head of the Church so order things, that without infringing truth and righteousness, it grow narrower and not wider!

This intimate communion between Presbyterians and Congregationalists has arisen from various causes. First and most fundamental is their agreement as to the system of doctrine taught in the Bible, and underlying all genuine piety. This was the system set forth in all the Reformed and Puritan symbols, the only system which, until a recent period, friends thought to honour, or foes to reproach, with the name of Calvinism: the system drawn out more minutely in the Westminster and Savoy Confessions of Faith, and more summarily in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. The former is the doctrinal standard in the Presbyterian Church, explicitly professed by all her ministers and officers.

The Westminster or Savoy, which on all doctrinal points is identical with it, not only in matter, but with scarcely a variation in language, is the only creed ever adopted by any Synod of the New England churches representing the entire communion, and authorized to declare its faith. The first Synod held at Cambridge in 1648, voted unanimously: "This Synod having perused and considered, with much gladness of heart, and thankfulness to God, the Confession of Faith, published of late by the reverend Assembly in England, do judge it to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith." They then proceed to say, that they except to it only in matters of church government and discipline. Again, in their second and last Synod at Boston, in 1680, they say: "It is well known that as to matters of doctrine we agree with other reformed churches." "We have (for the main) chosen to express ourselves in the words of those reverend assemblies, (the Westminster and Savoy,) that so we might not only with one heart, but with one mouth, glorify God, and our Lord Jesus Christ." At a later period, the churches of Connecticut, by their representatives assembled at Saybrook, in 1708, for the purpose of fixing a Confession of Faith and platform of government for the churches of the colony, unanimously adopted the Savoy Confession, which had been previously adopted by

the Synod of all the New England churches, together with that system of Church government which has been peculiar to that State, and to which we may hereafter advert. They declare it "to have been the constant faith of the churches in this colony from the foundation of them." That this was true, not only of the Connecticut, but all the New England churches till this date and long afterwards, appears not only from these public confessions, but from the catechisms, sermons, theological treatises, and every other manifestation of their faith during that era.

Although more recently innovations upon the doctrines of these confessions have appeared in a descending series, labelled after the names of their inventors, with the uncouth titles of Hopkinsianism, Emmonism, Taylorism, (shall we yet be obliged to add Bushnellism?) still, these have never commanded such a number of open adherents, as to induce any rejection or alteration of these ancient standards. They are still the only formal confessions of faith ever made by the New England churches as a whole, the only avowed and unretracted faith of the congregational communion in New England. The only qualification to this remark is, that the Saybrook Platform says that it is sufficient if a man acknowledge either the Westminster or Savoy Confessions, the Assembly's Catechism, Shorter or Longer, or the doctrinal articles of the Church of England. So far from disowning, they have in various ways reaffirmed their adherence to these formularies. Thus the General Association of Connecticut, as appears from their Minutes for 1849, voted in that year that "we do, (and can hardly too often) reaffirm our faith in the great doctrines of the gospel *as embodied in our Confession of Faith.*" Hence it has been well said, by one who is not obnoxious to the imputation of narrowness or bigotry; "This is the authorized faith of the Congregational churches, the only faith which has ever been professed by the churches assembled by their pastors and representatives in synod or council. And this has been not only the publicly professed faith of our churches, but it has been the real or implied faith of every church calling itself Congregational.*

* Budington's History of the First Church in Charlestown, p. 151.

Another index of unity in doctrine between the two denominations, and which tended more powerfully than all else to make them substantially one in feeling and in fact, was the universal use of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism in the religious instruction of children. Until a comparatively recent period, all pious parents in both communions taught this admirable summary of Christian doctrine to their children. Much was also done by pastors and in schools, in teaching and explaining it to youth. It is still the only recognized manual for instructing youth in Christian doctrine among Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Their ecclesiastical bodies often commend it, and urge to greater fidelity in the use of it. And wherever faith in its doctrines and zeal for God have not died out, much is still done in both communions by parents, pastors, teachers, and Sabbath schools, to make the rising generation familiar with it. So far as this influence extends, it must promote unity in doctrine, and in the whole development of Christian life and experience.

Closely connected with all this, is an agreement as to the true doctrine of the Church, (notwithstanding differences as to its external organization) as against the fundamental principle of Popery and Prelacy. They agree that the Church is the communion of saints: that the matter of the Church is men considered as already regenerate and believing, and deny that the Church exists before believers as a divine corporation and repository of saving power, from which, and by union to which, men first derive the new-creating grace of life.

Aside then from questions of ecclesiastical order, this identity of principle in regard to all that directly moulds the Christian character, produced such a similarity of Christian life, that the ministers and people of these two Christian communities readily coalesced, wherever convenience favoured their union. Nor did their differences as to government loom up into prominence, until the upspring of lax doctrines raised the question, which system best guarded its own creeds, or offered the largest license to latitudinarians.

Besides this, a considerable portion of the first ministers of New England were Presbyterians in principle. They had been so in England. Even Congregationalists themselves, as not

only their leading writers, but the Cambridge Platform itself shows, made ruling elders an essential requisite to a duly organized church. Their powers were not only co-ordinate with, but superior to those of the body of communicants, inasmuch as it devolved on them to initiate and direct all acts of discipline and government.*

That great Congregational luminary, Thomas Hooker, first pastor of Hartford, is said to have described their prerogatives by calling them "a speaking aristocracy in the face of a silent democracy." He also laboured incessantly for some union of the churches under one organization. One of his last solemn sayings was, "we must agree upon constant meetings of ministers, and settle the consociation of churches, or we are undone." The Saybrook Platform provides for this. Trumbull pronounces it a compromise between those who were "*nearly Presbyterian*," on the one side, and those who were "verging towards independency" on the other. Till within a recent period the common appellation of Congregationalists in New England was *Presbyterian*. Nor has it yet become obsolete. The consequence has been, that as all portions of our country have been largely peopled by emigrants from New England, they have generally found, until the recent growth of congregational propagandism, and notwithstanding this, do even now, to a great extent, find, not only a welcome, but a congenial religious home in the Presbyterian Church. They have contributed a large constituent part of her ministry and members, while, *vice versa*, many of her own members and ministers have formed happy and edifying connections with the Congregational churches of New England.

We have, at the risk of wearying our readers, thus particularly explained the close connection between the Congregational and Presbyterian bodies, by way of introduction to the principal topic of our article, because it shows the deep stake we have in the matter. Whatever transpires in any branch of the Church is a legitimate subject of interest and consideration to every other branch. For they are all members of one body, and partake of a common life. If one member suffer, all suffer, and

* Cambridge Platform, Chap. x.

if one rejoice, all rejoice. No one part can be independent of any other, or unaffected by, or, if right, indifferent to its fortunes. But this is pre-eminently true of all doctrinal developments in either of the Congregational or Presbyterian bodies. Their affinities and their intercourse are so close that, whether they will or no, they exercise a strong reciprocal influence. Doctrinal principles have seldom appeared in one, without speedily contending for a foothold in the other. This has been true of the metaphysical solutions of the high points of doctrine attempted successively by Hopkins, Emmons, and Taylor. Then again, the "new measures" in which some of these diluted schemes sought to work themselves out in New York were speedily transported to New England. And we already see one great principle on which Congregationalists and New-school Presbyterians made issue with the Old-school, viz: *that the Church as such* should conduct her own Missions, and that *each branch of it as such* should provide publications for the due exposition and enforcement of its own system, working like a mighty leaven in each of those bodies.

All branches of the great Presbyterian and Congregational families have the deepest interest in the final disposition of that great question which has agitated the Congregational ministry of Connecticut for some years past; which has made them a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men; and which, so far as action through existing ecclesiastical organizations there is concerned, is understood to have reached a finality. That question has been no other than this: "Shall the peculiar opinions upon the Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, and Justification, advanced by Dr. Bushnell in his book entitled 'God in Christ,' and re-asserted and vindicated by him in another book entitled 'Christ in Theology,' be legalized or outlawed among them?" This is very far from being the question whether, if a minister, in his private speculations, gets bewildered into some crude theory on the Trinity, or incarnation, by attempting to fly without wings above the proper level of the human intellect, he is therefore to be disowned. It is the question, whether a systematic speculating away of the whole series of doctrines specified above, carried to the scornful rejection of even the lowest form of the doctrine of vicarious atonement,

and the use of the most contemptuous epithets in regard to the accepted forms of all these and other fundamental Christian truths, and this, too, in *the form of open propagandism* through the press, shall be consistent with good standing in the ministry. Moreover, it is not the question whether these things shall be ground of discipline in a private church-member, but whether he who propagates them shall be countenanced and upheld in their ranks, by the Congregational ministry of Connecticut, as a safe Christian teacher. After an amount of effort and sacrifice on the part of faithful men, rarely possible in any similar case, to exclude these heresies from their connection, what is the practical result? While we trust that their faithful testimony will be blessed of God to check the evil, we fear that, so far as this precise point is concerned, their labours have been in vain.

In order to understand the import of all the ecclesiastical movements on this subject, it will be necessary to explain such peculiarities of the Saybrook Platform as are implicated in them. That instrument, besides providing for associations which consist exclusively of ministers, and are the only permanent ecclesiastical bodies beyond single churches generally known among Congregationalists, provides also for consociations conterminous with these associations. These consociations are confederations of the churches in a given district, each church being represented by its pastor, and a lay-delegate, at their meetings. These consociations are charged with the duty of acting on "all occasions ecclesiastical"* within their limits, that cannot properly be met by a single church. They are, in short, permanent councils, doing for their churches what is done for Congregational churches elsewhere by councils either mutual or *ex parte*, chosen by one or both the parties for the occasion, and expiring with it. The only powers committed to the associations are the licensing of ministers, advising vacant churches, forming a General Association, composed of delegates sent by them, together with the following:

"ART. XIII. The said associate pastors shall take notice of any among themselves that may be accused of heresy unto, or cognizable by them, examine the matter carefully, and *if they*

* Saybrook Platform, Art. 2.

find just occasion, shall direct to the calling of the council, (*i. e.* consociation,) where such offenders shall be duly proceeded against."

This makes the association a grand jury of inquest, to determine whether there is such *prima facie* evidence of guilt in the case of an accused consociated pastor, as to warrant putting him on trial before his consociation.

Soon after the publication of Dr. Bushnell's *God in Christ*, as our readers doubtless recollect, it was condemned, as subverting some of the first principles of the gospel already mentioned, by the accredited organs of doctrinal opinion in nearly every evangelical denomination in the country. This unanimity cannot be explained unless there was such *prima facie* evidence of heresy as to demand a trial.

Under these circumstances, the Hartford Central Association, to which Dr. Bushnell belonged, examined the case for the purpose of ascertaining if there was justifiable cause for putting him on trial.

After having thus examined the case, and heard Dr. Bushnell's "Vindication of himself from the charge of heresy brought against him from various quarters," they adopted and published to the world the following decision in the premises:

"We are satisfied that whatever errors the book may contain, it furnishes no sufficient ground for instituting a judicial process with him.

"We regret his departure in some of his statements from the formulas of the Church. We adhere to those formulas; but we regard him, notwithstanding the exceptions he has taken to them, as holding whatever is essential to the scheme of doctrine which they embody.

"He could not, in our view, be properly or justly subjected to the charge of heresy and a consequent trial, or be denied the confidence of his brethren in the ministry."

This decision, as might be expected, created wide-spread distress and alarm. It was not so much that the man, Dr. Bushnell, was cleared, who personally was of small consequence in the matter: but the *principles* on which he was acquitted, which had the nature and effect of law, applicable to all similar cases. While this decision stood, that Association could not

consistently refuse licensure, ordination, or confidence, to any man on account of his holding the opinions advanced by Dr. Bushnell. And so long as the decision was assented to by tacit acquiescence on the part of other associations, it was presumptively in accordance with the standard of orthodoxy recognized in the State. What then was to be done by that class of ministers, who would no sooner countenance such teachings, than (as Dr. Hall said at Danbury) "poison the wells out of which their children drink?" What could they do? The General Association is not a judicial body—nor is there any body having appellate jurisdiction over the doings of a district association. But one remedy remained. 1. Fraternal argument and remonstrance with the Hartford Central Association by sister associations. 2. If this proved unavailing, to bring the case before the General Association, on the ground that every society, and especially every Christian association, must, in the nature of things, be the judge of its membership, and have the power to deal with and exclude from its privileges those persons or constituencies that subvert the very basis of the union and compact. Few would pretend that the General Association could not exclude an association of avowed deists or infidels from its connection, although not an appellate, or, in form, a judicial body. In conformity to these principles, measures have been pursued with a constancy, fidelity, and sacrifice, seldom equalled, to procure by these circuitous, and therefore laborious, processes, the removal of the heresy from connection with that body. These, at length, ended in a formal complaint against the Hartford Central Association before the General Association, at its last meeting, signed by fifty-two ministers, among whom were, Drs. Day, Woolsey, Hewit, Calhoun, Tyler, Thompson, Cleveland, Hall, Atwater, and others. As this narrates in the most concise form the whole history of the case, and shows the real issues presented to the General Association, while the names attached to it are a sufficient guaranty for the truth of its statements, we shall lay before our readers the whole of it, following its statement of the decision of Hartford Central, already quoted, both as in itself deserving of permanent record, and as the shortest way of putting the principal facts in the case in their possession. They represent,

“That the Fairfield West Association being in common with vast numbers in and out of our State, dissatisfied with this decision, addressed to the Hartford Central Association a remonstrance and complaint, in which they undertook to show, and in our opinion did show, by copious extracts from the book in question, that its author had plainly denied several of the fundamental articles of the Christian religion, and entreated their brethren to reconsider their doings and redress the injury which their decision had done to the cause of Christ, a copy of which is herewith submitted.

“That the Hartford Central Association made a brief reply, in which they declined to reconsider their decision until new evidence of a decisive character should be presented, while they offered no proofs or arguments to overthrow or invalidate the allegations and reasonings of the remonstrance from Fairfield West Association, a copy of which reply is herewith submitted.

“That hereupon the Fairfield West Association published said remonstrance and answer, and sent them to all the ministers of the State, with a circular letter to each of the District Associations, requesting them to meet and consider the subject, and let them know the conclusion to which they came.

“That the Fairfield West Association received answers from these bodies, some of which expressed entire concurrence with them, and all, as far as they expressed any positive opinion, sustained their position, that this was a case in regard to which judicial proceedings ought to be instituted.

“That as the question had been raised by the apologists of Dr. Bushnell, what doctrines are fundamental in respect to the Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, and Justification, the Fairfield West Association, by their memorial, brought the whole subject before the General Association, at its meeting in Litchfield, in June, 1850, and asked that body to declare what are deemed and treated as fundamental doctrines on the points in question, among the ministers and churches of this State: and that thereupon the General Association, with great unanimity, declared the doctrines of the Westminster Catechism on these points fundamental, and the denial of them heresy; they also said, ‘we regard it as the right of any of our District Associations to remonstrate with any other Association in respect to

any proceedings which are thought to involve the faith and purity of our churches, or to bring reproach on the associated clergy of the State.'

'We regard it as the duty of any Association receiving such a remonstrance, to reconsider the case in question; and if they do not reverse their former action, to use their best endeavours to satisfy the complaining Association in respect to the proceedings so complained of.'

"That after waiting a sufficient time for the Hartford Central, of their own motion, if they saw cause, to adjust their doings to this standard so set forth by the General Association, and finding that they neglected to do so, the Fairfield West Association, in October, 1850, addressed to them a second letter, requesting them to compare the teachings of Dr. Bushnell with the declaration of the General Association, and either reverse their decision aforesaid, or use their best endeavours to satisfy them (the Fairfield West Association,) that their allegations were unfounded.

"That in May 1851, the Hartford Central sent back a reply to this letter. In this they utterly declined to reverse or even reconsider their proceedings, or to discuss the allegations made. They further said, 'the question is not, as to what doctrines are fundamental to the Christian religion, for on that point there is no controversy, but as to what are the essential elements of the doctrines conceded to be fundamental, and how far these are retained in Dr. Bushnell's book.' Thus the real issue, as stated by themselves, is, what is essential in the great doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement and Justification? and are those things which Dr. Bushnell has denied on these subjects, essential gospel truths? and are they, or are they not longer to be deemed and treated as such amongst us? In other words, the question is, whether the declaration as to fundamental doctrines made at Litchfield, is to be so interpreted amongst us, that they are to be considered as conforming to it in good faith, who avow the teachings complained of in Dr. Bushnell's book? And this is the real question at the bottom of all others, now agitating the ministry and churches in connection with this painful subject.

"That, at about the same time, Dr. Bushnell published

another volume, entitled 'Christ in Theology,' containing the substance of 'his vindication of himself' before the Hartford Central Association, from the charges of heresy brought against him from various quarters. That, on examination, this book appeared to reaffirm in an offensive manner, the heresies complained of in the first—particularly that it appears to us to teach,

"1. That the orthodox are not justified in maintaining that there are Three Persons or even distinctions in the Divine Nature, or essence, and that this doctrine as commonly held among us is 'plain tritheism.'

"2. That there is no evidence that Christ had a human soul, and no warrant for believing it.

"3. That if God could accept the sufferings of the just for the unjust, it would 'indicate in him the confusion or loss of all moral distinctions;' and that the 'whole scheme of suffering in Christ substituted directly for penal suffering in us, is a bare assumption, justified by no scriptural authority whatever.'

"4. That although in the author's judgment the doctrine of vicarious atonement is thus absurd, and would indicate in God, if it were true, 'the confusion or loss of all moral distinctions,' yet God has set forth the work of Christ under this form, and as such, calls upon ministers to preach it, and men to receive it.

"5. That our accepted systems of religious doctrine give us not the gospel, but a 'dull mechanical contrivance of theology,' in which the gospel is 'reduced to two dry factors,' to a 'speculative figment, cold and dry,' to 'petty formulas,' 'specks,' 'fragments,' 'minima' of truth; and that there is reason to suspect that 'what we call our Christianity is the product of the organizing force of human dogmatism.'

"6. Accordingly, in March, 1852, the Fairfield West Association issued an 'Appeal to the Associated Ministers of this State connected with the General Association,' in which, after a full narrative of the proceedings aforesaid, they undertook to prove, and in our opinion, did prove, by copious extracts from the volume in question, that it contains not only the above mentioned, but numerous other false and dangerous sentiments,

and announced their intention to bring the whole subject before the General Association.

“That accordingly, the whole matter was so submitted by Fairfield West Association to the General Association, at its last meeting in Danbury, June, 1852.—That hereupon, the General Association with great unanimity adopted the following minute:

‘That it is the opinion of this General Association, that, in the present state of public feeling in regard to the publications referred to in the memorial from the Association of Fairfield West, all the parties concerned should, in the exercise of Christian charity, remove, so far as possible, every obstacle whether real or supposed, to a full and fair investigation, according to our ecclesiastical rules, and we do hereby advise to such a course.’

“That before it was practicable to bring charges against Dr. Bushnell, with a view to his trial before his (the Hartford North) Consociation, in accordance with this vote, the North Church in Hartford, withdrew from that Consociation, thus taking their pastor from its jurisdiction.

“That the Hartford North Consociation, at its annual meeting on the 4th Tuesday in September, 1852, passed the following resolutions:

‘*Resolved*, 1. That we have received with surprise and regret, the communication from the North Church in Hartford, notifying us, that they have withdrawn from Consociation.

‘*Resolved*, 2. That the action of said church, especially if, as it seems to us, it was taken for the purpose of screening its pastor from an expected trial before this body, is in our view irregular, uncourteous, and eminently unhappy in its tendency.

‘*Resolved*, 3. That these resolutions be sent by the Register to the Clerk of the North Church in Hartford.’

“That said church has not retraced its steps, but still remains, with its pastor, out of the jurisdiction of Consociation.

“That Dr. Bushnell has not retracted the offensive doctrines complained of, while he yet continues a member of the Hartford Central Association in good standing; and that this body

still adheres to the votes complained of in the foregoing Memorial of Fairfield West, viz: that the sentiments he has taught in his books aforementioned, 'furnish no sufficient ground for instituting a judicial process with him:' that 'he could not justly be subjected to the charge of heresy and a consequent trial, or denied the confidence of his brethren in the ministry;' that he 'holds whatever is essential to the scheme of doctrine' embodied in 'the formulas of the Church.' That while these votes stand, the idea of bringing charges with a view to his trial before his Association, is preposterous.

"That all due labour has been used to induce the Hartford Central Association to rescind the aforementioned votes, and no recourse remains for remedying the evil, but in the action of the General Association.

"That the General Association cannot decline to interpose in the case, without thus signifying to the world, either that it deems the errors of Dr. Bushnell non-essential, or that it has no power to deal with or exclude from its connection and fellowship, those who hold or propagate fundamental error, and persist therein.

"To take the former ground, is to deny that to be essential which we most solemnly believe to be such, and which has ever been the basis of fellowship in evangelical communions.

"To take the latter ground, is virtually to strip the General Association of all just claim to be regarded and treated as a Christian body; to render its certificates of membership and good standing worthless; its delegations to other Christian bodies an imposture, and its bond of union a nullity. No such theory can endure the slightest examination. To avow it, would be to forfeit the confidence and respect of other Christian bodies and of the world, and would contradict the whole past history of your body.

"We therefore COMPLAIN against the Hartford Central Association, that in the action aforesaid it has subverted the doctrinal basis of our union and fellowship as a General Association. We ask for a suitable redress of this grievance at your hands; and insist, that without such redress, membership and certificates of membership in this body are not even *prima facie* evidence of soundness in the faith."

Let us stop a moment, and see how the parties thus far appear, in this statement of facts, unquestioned in any quarter. 1. The complainants are manifestly open, bold, straightforward. There is no disguise, no shrinking from the fullest discovery and exposure. They demand a thorough sifting and righteous disposal of the whole case. They, with extraordinary pains-taking, collate the proofs that the fundamental doctrines of the gospel have been cast away. They once and again call upon the Hartford Central either to retrace their steps, or to explain to them how they can shield such principles in the ministry, without sacrificing fundamental truth. The Hartford Central will not do the first. They "utterly decline" to do the last. But would they have thus declined under the pressure laid upon them, if they were conscious of the strength of their cause? Their first plea, and, until the last occasion on which they were arraigned before the General Association at Waterbury, their only plea, has been want of jurisdiction. Dr. Porter even claimed at Danbury, in 1852, in defence of his body, that if an Association should declare themselves Deists or Universalists, the General Association had no right to exclude their delegates! This idea was never, however, advanced but once. It in reality operated as a *reductio ad absurdum*, to prove to the satisfaction of all, the existence of the jurisdiction which he denied. Finally, when through these persevering exertions, a trial of Dr. Bushnell was impending before his Consociation, he and his church fled from its jurisdiction. These things speak for themselves.

But when formal complaint was made against the Hartford Central, at the last meeting of the General Association at Waterbury, that body adopted a new course. It sent up a memorial, not only denying jurisdiction, but also endeavouring to meet the charges of heresy laid against Dr. Bushnell in the complaint. But here again, although they had printed copies for distribution, they, we are credibly informed, refused to circulate it, when publicly requested, or to give a single copy to the complainants, when privately requested, even the night before, or until it was publicly read on the last day of the session, when there was no opportunity for a close and accurate examination of it. We do not wonder. The very show

of a defence, and of invalidating the charges of heresy, without allowing time to sift it, doubtless produced some confusion of mind in all that dubious portion of the body who had not thoroughly mastered the subject. Had there been opportunity to expose its true character, it seems to us that it would have been looked upon as furnishing the strongest confirmation of the truth of those charges. It fully explains why its authors had before been so shy of facing the merits of the case. We suppose this to be the best defence that can be given, as it is the only one that has appeared, and comes from accused parties capable of doing full justice to their cause. And as the whole case turns upon it, we shall inquire what proof they have adduced of Dr. Bushnell's soundness, or to weaken the vast amount of evidence that he holds the heresies imputed to him, arrayed in the documents of Fairfield West Association?

1. With regard to the Trinity, they do not deny that he teaches in manner and form as the complainants allege he has taught in regard to it. They could not. The proofs are too manifold and unambiguous. They quote a passage in which Dr. Bushnell says that as the persons of the Trinity are "incidental to the process of revelation," and since God has "an eternally self-revealing nature, we may well enough assume on that ground, if on no other, that he is always to be known as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."—(*Christ in Theology*, p. 168.) But what of all this, after his manifold denials of any Trinity in the divine nature, and his open avowal of doubt (p. 167) "whether the distinct personality of the word, when regarded as the Son, is referable to the incarnation?" We think it would have looked more like a serious attempt to do the subject justice, had they at least noticed the following answer to this plea, in the "Appeal of Fairfield West," pp. 29, 30.

"Nor does he (Dr. Bushnell) elevate his dogma above Sabellianism, by telling us that God has an eternally self-revealing nature, while he contends that we can KNOW nothing of any Trinity not 'generated in time' by the process of actual revelation. What we know nothing about cannot be an article of faith. Did Sabellius or any theist ever deny that God has eternally that nature whereby he not only reveals himself, but creates, upholds, and governs all things? Withal, a trinity

made by revelation can be eternal only by virtue of an eternal revelation. This is possible only on the supposition, that the creatures to whom God reveals himself, have themselves eternally existed. Thus we have the Pantheistic doctrine of an eternal creation, which makes God and the creation one. We know not that Dr. Bushnell is prepared to take these consequences of his doctrines. Yet the following passages from his first book, '*God in Christ*,' look strongly that way. 'Conceive of him (God) as creating the world, or creating worlds, if you please, *from eternity*. In so doing he only represents, *produces, or outwardly expresses himself*,' p. 146. Also, p. 177, 'If God has been *eternally revealed or revealing himself to created minds*, it is likely always to have been, and always to be, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' This may satisfy Pantheists. To all others, it looks worse than the Sabellianism it is offered to screen."

2. They in no manner invalidate the second of the foregoing charges, in regard to Dr. Bushnell's denials respecting Christ's human soul.

3. With a single, and, as we shall show, perfectly immaterial exception, they do not deny that he teaches the horrid sentiments ascribed to him in the third specification relative to the Atonement. That exception is this. The complainants charge, that they understand him to teach that *the* "whole scheme of suffering in Christ, substituted directly for penal suffering in us, is a bare assumption," &c. The Hartford Central say, instead of "*the* whole scheme," Dr. Bushnell said "*this* whole scheme," &c. They then try to divert attention from the real issue, by expatiating upon this as a painful instance of injurious misquotation. It will be observed, that the word "*the*," in reference to which this accusation is made, is not put by the complainants within their quotation marks; the whole charge of Hartford Central, therefore, is baseless. Moreover, whether true or false, nothing material depends upon it. Whether he says "*the*" or "*this* whole scheme," &c. the word "whole" makes it manifestly include *all forms of the scheme of doctrine, according to which Christ's sufferings are "substituted directly for penal suffering in us."* They allege that Dr. Bushnell's language in the sentence preceding the

passage in question, (Christ in Theology, p. 234) shows that he was speaking only of "penal" suffering in Christ. The sentence referred to, *as quoted by them, indeed*, adverts to the sufferings of Christ being viewed as a "penal substitute" for ours. But in looking into the book itself, we find that the words are not "penal substitute," but "direct substitute." They themselves have put the word "penal" for the word "direct." Thus they falsely charged the complainants with making a misquotation, which, if they had made it, was both accidental and immaterial. And in order to give it any show of importance, they misquote the hinge-word of a preceding sentence, which, as it stands in the book, fully sustains the charge of the complainants.

And all the writings of Dr. Bushnell on the subject, fairly interpreted, fully sustain it, the Hartford Central themselves being judges. Expunge this part of the third specification, and the previous part remains intact, which they have not even attempted to call in question. It is as follows:

"That if God could accept the sufferings of the just for the unjust, it would indicate in him the loss or confusion of all moral distinctions."

To preclude all doubt or cavil, we here put in full the original language of Dr. Bushnell, thus condensed. (Christ in Theology, p. 272.)

"The *willingness* of God to accept the woes of innocence instead of the woes of guilt, would only indicate the confusion or loss of all moral distinctions, a readiness to let justice perish by a double sacrifice, first by releasing the pains of guilt, and again by receiving the pains of holiness."

How could language more explicitly assert the impossibility of the *direct substitution*, *in any form*, of Christ's sufferings for the punishment of the guilty?

Not only so, but the Hartford Central say,

"Yet he (Dr. Bushnell) denies that the sufferings were 'penal' (p. 273) and also that they are to be regarded as a laying on upon Christ of the direct abhorrence of God for sin."

They thus admit that he rejects both of the received forms, and the only possible forms, of the doctrine of vicarious atone-

ment, "strict" and "mitigated," whether called by the name of New England or Old-school. As to their plea that Dr. Bushnell holds that Christ by his death *indirectly* expresses the abhorrence of God to sin, does not every martyr do as much, and could any Unitarian say less?

They further quote Dr. Bushnell as saying,

"It is often alleged as a fatal heresy that I reject the opinion that 'Christ suffered evil in direct substitution for evil or penal suffering that was due from us.' Doubtless this may well enough be taken for heresy by those who believe that Christ was literally punished for our sins, or suffered penalty on account of them. But this is a doctrine openly discarded by most of the teachers of New England."

That he here denies without qualification that Christ's sufferings were in any form directly substituted for the punishment of sinners, is indisputable. But he also herein claims agreement with many New England theologians, on the alleged ground, that they denied that Christ's sufferings were "penal." As it is just here that the tactics of Dr. Bushnell, and the Hartford Central and their defenders, have been successful in misleading ministers and Christians, we shall dwell upon the matter long enough to clear up the truth on the subject, and show the true attitude of the parties thus implicated.

1. The so called New England theologians have never questioned, they have ever held as a principle confessedly not to be controverted, and fundamental among the orthodox, that Christ suffered evil in "direct substitution" for the punishment due to sinners. They have also held that his sufferings were thus "directly" laid upon him as the substitute of sinners, in vindication of God's law, as an expression of his justice or regard for righteousness, and of his abhorrence of sin; and that whoever denies that they are, to this extent, strictly vicarious, denies the faith. The point wherein some of them have differed from the old standards, has been, not in denying that his sufferings were of this character, but that, being confessedly such, they could properly be called "penal" or a "punishment." As the venerable names of Dwight and Griffin have been cited by Dr. Bushnell and the Hartford Central, in support of his rejection of this fundamental Christian truth, we cite a single

passage from each on this point. Dr. Dwight says, (Theol. vol. II. p. 393,) after quoting several texts of Scripture:

“Language cannot more clearly or more strongly assert that Christ was a SUBSTITUTE for sinners, that he bore their sins and SUFFERED FOR THEIR INIQUITIES; or, in other words, that he became an atonement for them.”

Says Dr. Griffin, (Atonement, p. 49,)

“I will now show you from the Scriptures, that the thing which was offered *for sin*, and which *came in the room of punishment*, and which *laid the foundation for pardon*, was no other than SUFFERING. It was this which was offered *for sin*. ‘Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures.’” The italics are Dr. Griffin’s.

We hesitate not to pronounce the attempt to represent these men and their associates, as patrons or abettors of the doctrine that Christ’s sufferings were not directly substituted for the punishment of the sinner, a libel on the illustrious dead, and a fraud on the living. They would have sealed the doctrine they are thus charged with gainsaying, with their blood.

It is wholly immaterial to the present issue, whether they were right or wrong in denying that these vicarious sufferings of Christ could properly be called “penal.” The one truth which they held fast as beyond all debate among evangelical men was, that these sufferings were vicarious. That which they held to be an open question alone, was whether they were literally penal. But had the issue been this, that they must acknowledge that Christ’s sufferings were penal, because they were truly vicarious, or that they were not vicarious because not penal, they would have held fast the former view even unto death.

Now Dr. Bushnell, and, as we shall soon see, his defenders in Hartford Central, not only repudiate the penal view of Christ’s sufferings as absurd; but they also affirm, that the so called more mitigated view of the New England divines alluded to, which represents Christ’s sufferings as laid upon him “directly” in place of the sinner’s punishment, “to express God’s abhorrence of sin,” is one form or branch of the penal scheme, and as such to be rejected as absurd.

Thus, in our view, they discard every possible form of the doctrine of vicarious atonement.

We adduce the following facts to prove this grave allegation.

1. So far as Dr. Bushnell himself is concerned, the last quotation we have made from him (first adduced by the Hartford Central to prove his soundness) shows it. It is unmeaning on any other supposition, as will be perfectly clear to those who will look back and examine it.

2. That he rejects, and considers himself as rejecting, all forms, high and low, of vicarious atonement, held by the orthodox, on the ground that they are penal, will appear conclusively from the following extracts from his book, *God in Christ*.

"It will probably be right, then, to distribute the views of those, who are now accepted as orthodox teachers, into two classes; one, who consider the death of Christ as availing by force of what it *is*; the other, by force of what it *expresses*: the former holding it as a literal substitution of evil endured for evil that was to be endured; the latter holding it as an expression of abhorrence to sin, made through the suffering of one, in place of the same expression that was to be made, by the suffering of many." p. 195.

"The objections I have to that more mitigated theory, are these:—First, it assumes that, *as punishment expresses the abhorrence of God to sin, or what is the same, his justice, he can sustain his law* and lay a ground of forgiveness without punishment, *only by some equivalent expression of abhorrence*—an assumption that is groundless and without consideration, as I may cause to appear in another place.

"Secondly, this latter seems to accord with the former view in supposing that Christ *suffers evil as evil*, or as a PENAL visitation of God's justice, only doing it in a less painful degree; that is, suffering *so much* of evil as will suffice, considering the dignity of his person, to express *the same amount of abhorrence to sin*, that would be expressed by the eternal punishment of all mankind. I confess my inability to see how an innocent being could ever be set, even for one moment, in an attitude of displeasure under God. *If he could lay his frown for one moment on the soul of innocence and virtue, he must be no such being as I have loved and worshipped. Much less can I ima-*

gine that he should lay it on the head of one whose nature is itself co-equal Deity. Does any one say that he will do it for public governmental reasons? No governmental reasons, I answer, can justify even the admission of innocence into a participation of frowns and penal distributions. If consenting innocence says:—‘Let the blow fall on me,’ precisely there is it for a government to prove its justice, even to the point of sublimity: to reveal the essential, eternal, unmitigable distinction it holds between innocence and sin, by declaring that under law and its distributions, it is even IMPOSSIBLE TO SUFFER ANY COMMUTATION, any the least confusion of places.” pp. 198—9.

It follows, of course, that the Hartford Central deems and treats every form of the doctrine of vicarious atonement, which, according to Dr. Bushnell, and in fact, is recognized among the orthodox, as, at least, non-essential. But we are sorry to be obliged to say more.

As the Hartford Central had published their Memorial in the Religious Herald, a paper edited by one of their leading members, some of the complainants published a brief rejoinder in the same journal, which dwelt more especially upon the questions connected with the doctrine of atonement.

In this article, they observed that three schemes were contemplated by Dr. Bushnell in his books.

“1. The PENAL SCHEME; *i. e.* (as explained by Hartford Central) ‘the scheme of penal suffering’—suffering ‘merely as suffering,’ ‘APART from the consideration of *expression* and *design in relation to the ends of moral government.*’

“2. The GOVERNMENTAL SCHEME: in which suffering is laid directly upon Christ—‘evil to pay the release of evil’—as a sacrifice, a propitiation by *direct vicarious sufferings*, to EXPRESS God’s justice, or his abhorrence of sin.

“3. The AT-ONE-MENT SCHEME: which represents the sufferings of Christ as merely incidental, not laid upon him, nor inflicted on him in order that he may suffer ‘evil as evil’ for our release; but only the sufferings that he *incidentally* meets with from human malice, while on an errand of entirely another character.

“The first of these schemes, as stated by the Hartford Central, is a caricature of what they term the ‘Views of the

Princeton Theologians,' and of the doctrine of the atonement set forth in our own Westminster Confession and Catechism.

"The second or Governmental scheme, is commonly styled the New England theory.

"The third is the theory of Socinians and of modern Universalists. It denies what is fundamental in the other two, viz., the *direct vicariousness* of the sufferings of Christ. It denies all vicarious sufferings, every thing properly involved in the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice. With Dr. Bushnell, it holds that the work of Christ was not to propitiate God, but man: and hence it has been styled 'At-one-ment,' in distinction from any and every proper doctrine of atonement."

After showing by extracts from Dr. Bushnell's books, that he rejects the first two, and adopts the third, the complainants ask,

"And now how stands the Hartford Central? They say 'We have no hesitation in saying that the sufferings and death of Christ were *vicarious*.' But to the word 'vicarious' they append an explanation; 'vicarious *in the sense of*' &c. And in setting forth the sense which they assign to the word vicarious, they wholly omit to say whether Christ suffered directly in our stead, even to *express* the divine justice or abhorrence of sin, and so by his sufferings directly *substituted* for penal sufferings in us, to redeem us from the curse of the law—"Being made a curse for us;" or whether his sufferings were merely incidental, with no other design than of propitiating man.

"The explanation which Hartford Central appends to the word 'vicarious' in this connection, leaves it impossible to determine by the explanation itself whether they mean to adopt the evangelical atonement, or the at-one-ment of Dr. Bushnell and the Socinians. So far as their explanation goes, and on its own evidence simply, it is a paltering in a double sense between the two. Is this paltering designed? Did they mean, by annexing this explanation to the otherwise well understood word 'vicarious' to give it such a latitude as to embrace the heretical at-one-ment, as well as the evangelical atonement. Let them explain themselves. This is the more demanded, because in one of their answers to Fairfield West, they say that they came to their decision concerning Dr. Bush-

nell by 'analyzing the doctrines in question, *reducing them to their last elements*, throwing out what may be termed merely incidental, or at least not *essential*.' The results of that analysis they gave us before. Here we have the process. Whatever they may hold as their own theology, in their judgment concerning Dr. Bushnell, they throw away the sufferings of Christ in direct substitution for penal sufferings in us, even as an *expression* of God's justice, or of his abhorrence of sin. They retain the Socinian at-one-ment, as the only '*last element*' in the sacrifice and death of our Lord! So, by the late judgment and its recent vindication, so stands the rule of faith in Hartford Central. Is it now to be the rule of faith established among our ministers and churches, or does this judgment belie the New England faith, and subvert the doctrinal basis of our union?"

The * Editor of the paper, and reputed author of the Memorial of Hartford Central, and with Dr. Porter the most prominent of its chosen defenders in General Association, makes a reply in the same number of his paper, to this Rejoinder, which sufficiently answers these questions, so far as he is concerned, and, as we think, under the circumstances, for his Association, till they disavow such doctrine. He says:

"We consider the two first theories, as stated by them, to be nearly or quite identical, both being referable to the *legal* or *penal* scheme, of which they are but subdivisions, and to both of which the true New England view is opposed."

He then goes on and denounces the "legal or penal scheme" as a "*scheme of absurdity worthy of a mechanical theology*."

And what is the doctrine thus denounced in such terms of derision and scorn? Not merely the doctrine that Christ was punished for the sins of men, but also the "governmental scheme; in which suffering is laid directly upon Christ; evil to pay the release of evil—as a sacrifice, a propitiation by *direct vicarious sufferings* to EXPRESS God's justice, or his abhorrence of sin!" Thus most clearly every vestige of the doctrine of vicarious atonement is cast away as an absurdity! With what truth and fairness the "New England view" is impressed into the service of such men we have already seen. Let it be remembered, too, that their own General Association has pro-

nounced the doctrine that Christ "offered up himself as a sacrifice to satisfy divine justice," fundamental, and the denial of it heresy. And we feel compelled to add, that by whomsoever such heresies are avowed and persisted in, we can have no fellowship with them, be they Dr. Bushnell, the star Editor, the Hartford Central, New England, or even an apostle or angel from heaven. It is surely needless to labour the proof that Dr. Bushnell teaches this deadly heresy, or that his Association shield it, when their leading members, in a journal devoted to their cause, unblushingly avow, and defend, and propagate it. We have dwelt the longer on this point, because it involves the most vital and fundamental truth of the gospel.

The Memorial of Hartford Central complains of the fourth charge of complainants, as imputing to Dr. Bushnell a want of sincerity, but does not undertake to show it untrue. It is proved most undeniably in the documents of Fairfield West. They say, "we cannot speak of the sun's rising without being liable to the same kind of impeachment." A clear admission, as it seems to us, that Dr. Bushnell teaches that the form in which the Bible sets forth Christ, and calls on men to believe upon him, is, in fact, false and absurd.

With regard to the fifth charge, they say that Dr. Bushnell was speaking not of our "accepted systems of religious doctrine," but of our "treatises of theology." And do not these contain our "accepted systems of religious doctrine?"*

These charges, therefore, are in no manner invalidated by

* They commend the following as a "very serious and proper suggestion."

"*Christ in Theology.*" (p. 70.) "And it will be found, as a matter of fact, that all the strong bodies of Protestant believers—the Lutheran, the Reformed Church, the Scotch, the Methodist, and, in fact, the Independent connection—have been organized in and by the strong ligaments of formulas, taken as being the very essence and literal being of the truth. In their formulas, these bodies or churches have all their distinct characteristics, and, as it would almost seem, a vital force equally distinctive and peculiar to themselves. They seem, in fact, to be different organizations, and many will even praise the stern, uncomplying rigour of their doctrine, for the very reason that it is seen to have an organizing power so efficiently and broadly characteristic.

"Now if there be something agreeable in this, which I will not deny, it does not seem to me to be any thing that is properly Christian. On the contrary, though we love to see organic vigour and lively characteristics, it is not pleasant to see Christian bodies animated by distinct *varieties of life*. Such appearances awaken the painful suspicion that *what we call our Christianity, is a product only of the organizing force of human dogmatism.*"

the Memorial of Hartford Central, but are rather (especially the worst of them) confirmed by it, and aggravated by the developments since made. These show that one, at least, of the leading members in that body—even one who voted in the General Association, that he could have no fellowship with the opinions imputed by the complainants to Dr. Bushnell—not only countenances but adopts the worst of his heresies.

What action was taken by the General Association on this showing of facts? After a hurried discussion of a little over half a day, at about 10 o'clock, P. M., they passed the following minute unanimously:

“That the opinions imputed to Dr. Bushnell by the complainants, and the imputation of which is no doubt warranted, if the construction which they conscientiously give to certain quotations from his published books is just, are opinions with which the ministers and churches of Connecticut as represented in this General Association have no fellowship, and the profession of which on the part of candidates for the ministry, ought to prevent their receiving license or approbation of any of our Associations; and further, that when a minister is reasonably chargeable with holding those opinions, definite charges and specifications should be preferred against him before the proper body, which body should make arrangements to secure for the charges an impartial hearing and decision.”

“Rev. Dr. Hall said, that on reflection he was not satisfied with this resolution. Though good as far as it went, it was insufficient without something more. He thought the General Association ought to advise the Hartford Central that they should bring Dr. Bushnell to trial. Accordingly he offered the following resolutions:

“*Resolved*, That the matters alleged both by the Fairfield West Association and by the complainants, Rev. G. A. Calhoun, D. D., and others, are of so grave a nature as to demand judicial investigation, and that those who make these allegations are so numerous, so earnest, and, in our opinion, so intelligent and conscientious, as to render such matters of complaint duly presented by them, or any of them, reasonable ground for such investigation. Therefore

“*Resolved*, That this body advise the Hartford Central As-

sociation, that if such a complaint be presented in due order and form, they cannot refuse or neglect to secure a just trial of Dr. Bushnell before an impartial mutual council, with the approbation of the associated ministers of the State."

"On motion of Rev. Dr. Bacon, it was voted to lay this resolution upon the table; whereupon Dr. Hall presented the following protest:

"Against the decision of the General Association, in laying upon the table, and so refusing to consider the foregoing resolutions, designed to secure an impartial trial of Dr. Bushnell in case any shall duly present charges, the undersigned respectfully and solemnly *protest*—because, though the action already passed is good so far as it goes, and they voted for it, it does not go far enough to redress the evil complained of. It declares the matters alleged, if alleged justly, a sufficient ground for demanding trial and condemnation. Now Dr. Bushnell and his church have withdrawn from the Council of Hartford North, for the purpose of avoiding the trial advised by the General Association at Danbury; and the Hartford Central Association have already declared, and persisted in declaring, that to subject Dr. Bushnell to the charge of heresy for the matters alleged, is not merely unreasonable, but unjust. How much soever any may desire it, a trial under the circumstances is impossible. The General Association, by refusing to advise the Hartford Central, that on due charges being made, they cannot refuse to secure a just trial before an impartial mutual council, with the approbation of the associated ministry of this State, have refused the suitable and necessary redress to the complainants, and, in so doing, have refused to vindicate and maintain the standards of doctrine upon which our union and fellowship are based. They still retain and admit to all the fellowship, privileges, and immunities of our confederation, and that without securing the opportunity for an impartial trial, one who is fully and unequivocally charged with having denied the great fundamental doctrines of Christ, and with having set forth a scheme which the Fairfield West Association and others, have solemnly—publicly declared to be another gospel.

EDWIN HALL,
LYMAN H. ATWATER.

Waterbury, June 24th, 1853."

"The following answer to the above protest was presented and adopted:

"In admitting the protest of Drs. Hall and Atwater to a place in the minutes of this Association, we deem a denial of the reasonings and conclusions of that protest a sufficient answer; in particular, we deny,

"1. That there is any necessity for any further action on the part of this General Association, by way of advice, to secure a hearing in the proper quarter for such charges as may be preferred by responsible complainants against any man in our fellowship. We also deny,

"2. That it would be proper for this General Association to decide beforehand that certain charges against a member of a particular Association shall be tried, and in that way to encroach upon the power and liberty of a particular Association."

On a careful review of all the facts thus far presented, the following seems to be a true exposition of the present attitude of the case.

1. The Memorial of Hartford Central, the only defence of themselves or Dr. Bushnell's books which has yet appeared, so far from showing that "the opinions imputed to Dr. Bushnell by the complainants" are not avowed by him, furnishes additional evidence that, as to all material points, they are the real opinions undeniably taught in his books, and never yet retracted by him. At all events, the proofs of the truth of these charges, collated by Fairfield West, and laid before the General Association by that body, and by the complainants, which have so generally satisfied the Christian people of this country on this subject, have not been rebutted. No attempt has been made fairly to rebut any important part of them, nor, in our opinion, can they be rebutted.

2. The General Association being judge, such opinions ought to debar from the ministry and from Christian fellowship those who hold them. When the charge of holding them is reasonably, (*i. e.* with a strong appearance of probability,) brought against any minister, he ought to be put on trial for his standing in the ministry.

3. Yet, although charges of holding such opinions have been so widely and earnestly made against Dr. Bushnell, supported,

too, by such an amount of unanswered and unanswerable evidence, the Hartford Central Association persist in saying that he is sound in the faith, and cannot justly be subject to the charge of heresy and a consequent trial—and this, after an amount of labour to induce them to retreat from this position, seldom if ever paralleled, or likely, in future, to be paralleled in any similar case.

4. To evade the trial advised by the General Association at Danbury, Dr. Bushnell with his church withdrew from the jurisdiction of Consociation. Dr. Bushnell and the Hartford Central Association retain their standing, privileges, and immunities in the General Association entire and intact. Without further action, either dealing with, or advising the Hartford Central, the General Association suffers its own former advice to be defeated. Ministers that avow, and Associations that protect the heresies alleged, are suffered to remain in the General Association without censure, without expostulation, without a trial.

5. The General Association, having refused in any manner to call to account the Hartford Central, was then moved to advise that body, that if charges should be properly preferred before it against Dr. Bushnell, it could not properly refuse to secure a trial before an impartial tribunal. But it refused this only remaining measure of redress, having any tendency to exclude the heresies complained of from its connection. It has refused the slightest redress of which the case admits. It denies that such "further action" is either "necessary" or "proper." But without such action, manifestly, no fair trial is possible. They thus deny that it is "necessary" or "proper" for them to secure a trial of, or provide any other remedy for, the case of a member who has been repeatedly charged before them, by the Fairfield West Association, and again by fifty-two ministers, with teaching opinions which they themselves say, if justly charged, ought to exclude from the ministry. They refuse to touch one of their Associations, which persists in saying that the charge against one of their members of holding such opinions, thus extensively, persistently, and responsibly made, and supported by such overwhelming *prima facie* evidence, furnishes no just ground for a trial: nay, that

one who has in manifold forms avowed the identical opinions which the General Association says ought to debar from the ministry, "cannot justly be subjected to the charge of heresy and a consequent trial, or be denied the confidence of his brethren in the ministry."

6. It is thus virtually decided that the General Association cannot properly take any measures to purge itself from any heresy, when avowed by any minister in its connection, and shielded by his Association. It can scarcely be conceived that any minister expecting to remain in the Congregational communion, should avow opinions more grossly heretical, or in forms more palpable, manifold, unambiguous, than Dr. Bushnell has done. No case can be conceived in which a larger number of ministers would combine and persevere, with a greater amount of labour and sacrifice, to secure the removal of such heresy from their fellowship. The disposal of this case therefore, in our opinion settles it, that it is impracticable to remove heresy from the General Association of Connecticut, as that body is now constituted, when once it is sheltered or espoused by a district Association. Whether this results from the nature of Congregationalism, or the unfaithfulness of those who administer it, in this case, is of no importance, so far as the great fact is concerned. The practical issue has come, which the complainants insisted would come, if "suitable redress" of their grievances were denied. "Membership and certificates of membership in this body are not even *prima facie* evidence of soundness in the faith;" they are no evidence that those who have them do not hold the heresies of Dr. Bushnell; or of his brother of the Religious Herald, who scouts the doctrine of vicarious atonement, held by evangelical Christians, as a "SCHEME OF ABSURDITY WORTHY OF A MECHANICAL THEOLOGY." This is undeniable. For it now has such members, and refuses to take any steps for reforming or excluding them. And has not the further alternative, set forth by the complainants therefore come, in which "its delegations to other Christian bodies become an imposture, and its bond of union a nullity?" So it seems to us. Foreign bodies who exchange delegates with the General Association of Connecticut, are plainly liable to receive those

to their fellowship who repudiate the first principles of Christian doctrine as set forth in their Confessions of Faith. Their "bond of union" too, by including those who deny and subvert the doctrinal basis of that union, is utterly broken, or made a rope of sand.

In such a state of things those who love the truth as it is in Jesus, will of course take no vague or indecisive position. Fidelity to the Head of the Church, to the truth of the gospel, to the souls committed to their care, to the ministers and people connected with them, to other Christian bodies in correspondence with them, to the whole Christian world, and to posterity, require that they utter no uncertain sound, and take a position which shall be known and read of all men. This seems the more requisite, as the worst of the heresies charged, begins to be avowed and propagated with increasing boldness since this final disposal of the subject by the General Association.

What it becomes them to do in this emergency is not for us to say. We understand that many among them begin to feel that they can scarcely do less than signify to the world, that whatever relations they may continue to sustain to the existing ecclesiastical bodies of the State, they can be in no manner sponsors for the orthodoxy of those bodies, or of their members, or for the validity of their certificates, or other ecclesiastical acts. For such membership and certificates are no evidence that they who possess them do not hold and teach the heresies we have been considering, or what has loudly and justly been denounced by the evangelical world as "another gospel."

But how are we to explain the connivance and protection thus given to such sentiments by the major part of the Connecticut ministry? The ready answer to this with many will be, that so far from conniving at or protecting, they have by repeated declarations, first at Litchfield, and then at Waterbury, repudiated and condemned these sentiments, and disavowed all fellowship with them. Such declarations are indeed well, as far as they go. But they are of little account, so long as those who boldly avow the heresies so condemned, are retained in fellowship, and every measure is obstinately refused, *which can have any tendency to exclude such heresies from the General Association, or to bring their authors under Christian discip-*

line. There is no answering Fairfield West, when they say, (Appeal, p. 91,)

“In such circumstances, if the General Association does nothing more than declare that the ministers and churches regard the denial of these doctrines as heresy, if it does not go forward and take effectual measures for removing such heresy from its connection, all such declarations are proved to be false and insincere. They are masks, which if they hide our shame from ourselves, do but attract the attention of others to it.”

1. There are those who, as we have already seen, are represented in the only weekly religious journal of the denomination in the State by the chosen champion of Dr. Bushnell and his Association, and who tread so far in the footsteps of their master as to stigmatize the doctrine of vicarious atonement, in every form of it recognized in the Christian church, as “A SCHEME OF ABSURDITY WORTHY OF A MECHANICAL THEOLOGY.” We shall wait for evidence before we can believe that this class extends beyond the precincts of Hartford Central.

2. A larger class have been imposed upon by the disingenuous tactics of Dr. Bushnell and his apologists. They have been made to believe that Dr. Bushnell opposed only the “penal” scheme of atonement, while he substantially embraced what has been called the New England scheme. The grossness of this pretence we have already exposed.

3. In aid of this delusion has come the weak and confused position of those, who, holding that Christ’s sufferings are strictly vicarious, nevertheless deny that they are truly penal in their nature. So far as they are truly vicarious, they are laid on Christ for the sins of men, in satisfaction of justice and in vindication of law. What is this but punishment? So Christ bore our sins. How, unless in bearing their penalty? We have always resisted those who deny that Christ’s sufferings are penal, because we not only believe that herein they deny precious truth, but because we also believe that they thus put a sword into the hands of the opposers of vicarious atonement, and disarm its friends. While these good brethren cling to the vicarious, but deny the penal quality of Christ’s sufferings, they are embarrassed, as these artful dodgers skulk under their own theories for a shelter: and ask them, “if you deny that Christ’s

death was penal, and assert that it was symbolical or demonstrative merely, what if we affirm also that it was simply didactic or expressive only in another way?" Of course the same reasoning, if good for any thing, is good for the rankest Socinianism. The star Editor is abundant in insisting that New-school men would see that they could not consistently oppose Dr. Bushnell, if they had run out their own theories to their legitimate results. It is not incumbent on us to show that this claim is unjust. But we will say,

1. That the bold urging of it has apparently unmanned many New-school men on this subject, and paralyzed their opposition to Dr. Bushnell's heresies on the Atonement.

2. It is altogether unfair to assume, as Dr. Bushnell and his defenders have done, that these men admit the logical consequences of their denial that Christ's sufferings were penal, or waver at all in the faith that these sufferings are directly substituted for the sinner's punishment, and that this doctrine is fundamental.

3. This controversy has afforded a new and conclusive proof, that we gain nothing and hazard everything, by tampering with the old doctrine of the Scriptures and the Church, *that Christ's sufferings were truly penal and so truly vicarious.*

4. We imagine that uncertainty of mind as to jurisdiction had much to do with the result. This jurisdiction was sturdily denied by the Hartford Central Association to the last. No similar case had ever been known among Congregationalists. It was admitted too, on all hands, that the General Association was not a judicial body, and yet that it had control over its own membership. Still the feeling among many was, that the General Association could not look into the judicial acts of district Associations, for the purpose of calling them to account, and thus indirectly reversing proceedings which they could not directly overrule. The development of opinion in the body on this subject is somewhat remarkable. Dr. Bacon offered the following resolutions:

- "1. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as the General Association is not a judicial body for the trial of appeals from subordinate judicatories, whether Churches, Councils, or Associations, the decision of a particular Association in regard to the standing of

one of its members is not to be examined by the General Association, with a view to its being confirmed, or reversed.

"2. *Resolved*, That to arraign a particular Association for trial before the General Association, simply on the charge that it has made an erroneous decision in a single case concerning the character and standing of one of its members, especially when it professes its cordial and undiminished attachment to the system of Christian doctrine, which is the bond of our union, would be to do indirectly what the General Association has no right to do directly; and would be to usurp the power and jurisdiction belonging to a court of appeal."

The following resolutions adopted by the General Association in 1848, without any intimation from any quarter that the body was therein usurping judicial powers, were then read by a member.

"*Whereas*, this association is in the dark respecting the *discipline* exercised by certain ecclesiastical bodies in correspondence with us, in regard to the sin of slavery, therefore,

"*Resolved*, that a committee of three be appointed by this body, to collect facts and make inquiries respecting this subject, and report to the next General Association.

"Rev. Dr. Bacon, &c., were appointed a committee, &c."

No sooner was this read, than the second of the above proposed resolutions was modified with the assent of the mover, by the following addendum: "Unless the case be of such a nature that said judgment and decision indicates a fatal disregard of our faith and order."

It was somewhat too glaring to have had no misgivings about the warrant to inspect the discipline of distant Presbyteries remotely connected with the body, and to become all at once morbidly scrupulous about the right to look into a case of discipline in which it was solemnly alleged that one of their own associations had subverted the fundamentals of the gospel! Still we doubt not that a certain haziness of view on this subject concurred with a similar indeterminateness of mind on the doctrinal matters involved, to bring about the final indecisive result. As many viewed it, who had not thoroughly examined the subject, it was possible after all, that Dr. Bushnell might have been misunderstood. And it was possible that the offence

of the Hartford Central was not grave enough to subject it justly to the charge of a "fatal disregard of our faith or order." Of course all such were prepared to do nothing but to give the accused the benefit of their doubts.

But we should fail to detect the deepest ground of the sympathy or favour felt towards Dr. Bushnell's books by some of the younger clergy, if we did not advert to the state of mind in which a great part of those educated in the system called New Divinity find themselves, after being a few years in actual pastoral service. They soon feel it to be a dry, lifeless, starveling system; and that they must find something broader and richer to satisfy their longing souls. Many of them are directed to the standard, catholic, and Calvinistic authors, and above all, to their Bibles. They find themselves thus refreshed and invigorated with the truth as it is in Jesus, "ever new and ever young," and which the metaphysical figments that had famished their souls, had so long supplanted. Many such are even among the champions of old Calvinism.

But another class, in this unsettled state of mind, fall in with Schleiermacher, or Morell, or Dr. Bushnell. Here, too, they find large pretensions to spiritual light, inspiration, the life of God in the soul, which not only quite eclipse the dead metaphysics they have learned to mistake for orthodoxy, but the standard of Paul and John, Augustin, Luther, Calvin, Edwards, the saints of all generations. Not a few who are, as we verily believe, in search of the true light, are unhappily dazzled just now, by these glaring, stained lights, that happened to fall upon their track. We believe that many of these, if they can be shown, or can find the truth, will embrace it. When such a man as Dr. Bacon speaks in the terms following, as he did in the Bushnell debate at Waterbury, he certainly indicates a state of theological training, or opinion among the clergy antecedent to the late discussions, which, if not reformed into something better, must quickly ripen into something worse. It goes far to account for all the phenomena under review. We quote without note or comment.

"Let me say further—for I am now defining my position—that I think I can see the wisdom of God in permitting that book (*God in Christ*) to be published. Much as there is in it

at variance with our feelings, it has had a good effect upon our theology—at least it has upon mine. It has led me to a re-examination of what we were holding in New England as the doctrine of the Trinity. I was astounded when I found what was held by some of our divines on this subject. I did hear *flat tritheism* in my own pulpit from one of the most venerable and honoured men in the ministry of this country—in a sermon aimed against the teachings of this very book. I found that in some of our theological seminaries the doctrine of the Trinity was propounded in a form truly heretical—that of ‘one substance with three sets of attributes.’ This theory is in face and eyes of the Athanasian creed. Not only myself, but others, I am persuaded, have been led to more definite views on this subject, in consequence of the publications of Dr. Bushnell, and of the discussions that have grown out of them. In former years I was in the habit of speaking somewhat unbelievably, to say the least, of the doctrine of eternal generation, as held by our benighted brethren of the Old-school Presbyterian Church. But I take all that back. I believe that doctrine as it is contained in the Nicene creed. I have been led to hold the doctrines of our faith more in accordance with the ancient formulas, by Dr. Bushnell’s books; and I have heard of other men who have been led by them to preach the doctrine of eternal generation. I suspect, indeed, that they have been of benefit to our theology, even in the most orthodox quarters of our ecclesiastical commonwealth. Dr. Bushnell’s book has been useful to me because of the force with which it impresses upon us all the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It seems to me—I do not know but I shall give offence in saying it—but it seems to me, that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit among us was becoming a very dry kind of doctrine—was regarded as almost an *incumbrance* in our system of faith; and it is my impression that as the result of these recent discussions, we have become more orthodox on this point. I am weary, and have been for a long time, of this metaphysical hair-splitting in theology; of this attempt to define the psychological relations of the Holy Spirit to the human mind. We have had an erroneous tradition, that the power of Edwards as a preacher lay in his peculiar notions of the philosophy of the will. It did not lie there;

it lay in the doctrine which, as I think, constituted the life and power of his book on the Affections—namely, that gracious affections are accompanied with new spiritual light.”

There is another important fact in this connection, which doubtless had great influence in preventing any decisive action in the premises. Those who had themselves been forward in introducing or promoting doctrinal innovations, and in obliterating whatever old landmarks and barriers would dyke out their novelties, however much they detested Dr. Bushnell's views, felt the awkwardness of assuming to be champions of orthodoxy—and especially of appearing intolerant or exclusive towards fresh innovators, to whom they could not deny with a good grace the same license which they had already claimed for themselves. For the most part, therefore, New-school men were abundant in decisive declarations, but unwilling to carry out those declarations in the exercise of corresponding discipline.

The last General Association of Connecticut signalized itself by an act of fundamental importance in its bearings upon the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches of the State. They admitted an Association formed avowedly upon the basis of elective affinity, instead of territorial contiguity. Against this procedure, driven through with little discussion under the screw of the previous question, Dr. Hewit protested, as revolutionary and subversive of the Saybrook Platform. To this it was rejoined by Dr. Bacon, that the Saybrook Platform had already become obsolete and been superseded in various particulars. This is very true. But it is also true that these particulars did not involve the fundamental principle of the Platform, but only the incidental details and arrangements for carrying it out. That principle was this: that ecclesiastical bodies should be *formed upon the basis of territorial contiguity, and not of the likes or dislikes of parties or individuals, setting at defiance that principle.* The great principle of the Platform is, that “churches which are neighbouring shall consociate.” The formation of bodies by elective affinity lays the axe at the root of this principle, and gives the Platform its death-blow. Compared with this, all prior infractions were of that minor sort,

which did not touch the vitals; and to which Dr. Hewit justly applies the maxim, *de minimis lex non curat*.

We will only add, that some constitution, platform, or manual, which shall be recognized by the Congregational body as a just representation of their principles, seems to us a desideratum. As to the Saybrook Platform, even the fragments of it which yet survive, are of no force out of Connecticut. The Cambridge Platform is largely obsolete. Each Congregationalist may adopt as much or as little of it as he pleases. None adopt it as a whole. There is no manual or treatise on the subject known to us, which does not contain much that would be extensively repudiated by the most respectable men of the denomination. If one wishes to know his rights, duties, and immunities, as a member or officer of a Congregational church, where is the constitution that shows them? Does one say, the Bible? All claim to abide by that. Is it usage? But this is diverse in different quarters. Besides, where is the authentic evidence what this usage is? We think the permanent unity and prosperity of the denomination will require some united declaration of its fundamental principles, to which all can be directed, when they wish to know, on authority, what Congregationalism is.

ART. IV.—*History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. Vol. Fifth. The Reformation in England.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D. D., &c., &c. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1853.

In the preface to the *fourth* volume of this history, Dr. Merle states that it was his desire "to narrate also the beginnings of the English Reformation, but my volume is filled, and I am compelled to defer this subject to the next." After giving some reasons for the omission, he proceeds to say: "It is not without some portion of fear that I approach the History of the Reformation in England; it is perhaps more difficult than elsewhere. I have received communications from some of the most respectable men of the different ecclesiastical parties, who, each feeling convinced that their own point of view

is the true one, desire me to present the history in this light. I hope to execute my task with impartiality and truth. But I thought it would be advantageous to study for some time longer the principles and facts."

We need scarcely say that the public were prepared to give this long-looked-for volume a cordial welcome, for any work from the pen of D'Aubigné is sure to command readers. But, for the reasons indicated in the preceding extract, the appearance of the present volume was waited for with an unusual degree of interest by various religious parties in England and America; each being curious to see how the author would handle a subject confessedly more difficult than any other in the entire compass of the history of the Reformation. The mass of ordinary readers, we have no doubt, will find this volume not less attractive than those which have preceded it, for it is pervaded by the same kindly spirit, and has the same evangelical unction, which give such a charm to its predecessors. No one who begins its perusal will stop until he has reached the end of the book. Still, we are inclined to think, that, among those who have waited so anxiously for the publication of the work, there are some who will lay it aside, with the feeling that their expectations have not been fully answered. Considering that more than seven years have elapsed since the issue of the previous volume, and the statement made by Dr. Merle in the Preface to it, that the history of the English Reformation prior to 1530 is of comparatively little moment, we must confess that we were somewhat disappointed when we found that the narrative terminated with the fall and the death of Cardinal Wolsey. Nor are we exactly able to reconcile the large space he allows to certain political transactions, in which that remarkable man was a prominent actor, with the reasons he assigns for considering the year 1530 as the proper terminating point of the Reformation in Germany, viz: that "the work of faith then attained its apogee; that of conferences, of interims, of diplomacy, begins." Be this, however, as it may, the end of the volume leaves us at the outskirts of the field over which the author proposes to carry us; and when we think of its extent, and of the difficulties of the way, we cannot resist the fear that, at the present rate of progress, we may lose our

accomplished guide before we can reach those spots which we are especially desirous to investigate with the aid of his genius, piety, and learning.

With regard to the merits of Dr. Merle D'Aubigné as a historian, there is, we apprehend, little difference of opinion, at least among the thousands of evangelical Christians who have derived both pleasure and instruction from his fascinating pages. His first volume, published in Paris, obtained—as, indeed, might have been anticipated—a very limited circulation in France; so limited that the author was strongly tempted to abandon the enterprise on which he had entered, and was only induced to proceed with it through the earnest expostulation of Guizot. But the moment that the British and American public were made acquainted with the work, it gained immense success. Three distinct translations appeared almost simultaneously in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, while its author at once took rank among the first historical writers of the age. His *History of the Reformation* may be said to be not merely his *opus magnum*, but his only work, for he seems to concentrate upon it the studies and labours of many years; and while in the earlier portions of it he has drawn largely from Marheineke, yet all his volumes contain ample evidence of independent and pains-taking research. Among living historians—and our age can boast of not a few whose renown will long endure—who, in point of popularity can be compared with Dr. Merle, with the single exception of Macaulay? Both of them are perfect masters of the art of historical composition, yet their works are cast in very different moulds. The pages of Macaulay abound with pictures drawn with the most elaborate care, and with exquisite art; those of D'Aubigné, if less pictorial, are far more dramatic; they are instinct with life and action. The latter, too, like his English contemporary, possesses the rare power of producing his personages in all their individuality before the reader; his men and women move before us in the costume and mode of their day, and their features are imprinted on our mind with the distinctness of the daguerreotype.

But while Dr. Merle's dramatic power lends such a vivid interest to his historical writings, we are somewhat doubtful whether he does not occasionally carry it to an unwarrantable

excess. For example, he often brings forward the Reformers and others, conversing upon the topics of their day. We have, or seem to have, the very words, as well as the sentiments they uttered. In their case, it is a comparatively easy task for the historian to get up a dialogue such as may have occurred between the persons introduced, since the necessary materials are abundant and accessible, in the shape of letters, table-talk, examinations, and conferences. But when the men who lived a thousand or fifteen hundred years ago are presented before us occupied with the same sort of familiar discourse, though the sentiments put into their mouths may be quite consistent with the character of the speakers, we still cannot help feeling suspicious of the exact historical truthfulness of the narrative. Yet such dialogues we do find in the account of the early British churches.

These volumes abound with a class of sentences somewhat analogous to the gem-like notes with which good Matthew Henry has adorned his matchless Exposition—sentences in which the author aims to embody some grand truth of universal application in a few well chosen words, or to gather up the teachings of history on a specific subject, and to compress them into a form fitted to please the taste, and to fix itself in the reader's memory. Many of these sentences are exceedingly beautiful and striking; but in this last volume we occasionally encounter one which contains a good deal more fancy than force. Thus, in speaking of the fall of Wolsey, Dr. Merle observes: "England, by sacrificing a churchman, gave a memorable example of her inflexible opposition to the encroachments of the Papacy."—V. 489. Surely Dr. Merle must have penned these words while under the influence of that prodigious excitement into which Britain was recently thrown by the erection of the Popish bishoprics in England. Wolsey was undoubtedly a proud, ambitious, "churchman;" he was "sacrificed," and his fall was the occasion of great delight to one of the parties into which Henry's court was divided; but to speak of his overthrow as a "sacrifice" on the part of "England," by which she evinced her "inflexible opposition to the encroachments of the Papacy," is to use language more suited to the flights of poetry than the sober realities of history. Wolsey was the

victim of his own unprincipled ambition. As the historian observes, when summing up his character, "power had been his idol, and to obtain it in the State, he had sacrificed the liberties of England." For a time he was prime minister of the kingdom, with the whole power of the government in his hands, and while his conduct in the affair of the divorce no doubt helped materially to alienate Henry, yet he fell not as cardinal or churchman, but as the politician. Even his impeachment by the House of Lords did not partake of the nature of a protest against papal encroachments, for the particular acts of treason with which he was charged, were such as any prime minister might have perpetrated. Then, again, the House of Commons, to the great annoyance of the Cardinal's enemies, refused to concur with the Peers in impeaching him of high treason. In no proper sense of the words, therefore, can it be affirmed that in the overthrow of Wolsey, "England sacrificed a churchman," and manifested her "inflexible opposition to papal encroachments."

Another dictum of like character occurs as a pendicle to the account of Sir Thomas More's elevation to the chancellorship. "The less cause kings and their subjects have to fear the intrusion of clerical power into the affairs of the world, the more will they yield themselves to the vivifying influence of faith." It will be remembered that the judicial office to which More was raised upon the fall of Wolsey, was one which had been held, for a long period, chiefly by ecclesiastics, for the reason that there were few laymen capable of properly discharging its functions. That such a position is utterly incompatible with the appropriate work of a Christian minister, will be readily admitted by all who have a just conception of what that work is, and it may be that Dr. Merle in the sentence above quoted, simply intended to give expression to this sentiment. But he would find it a very difficult matter to substantiate his statement as it stands. Kings and their subjects may be and have been exempted from all fear of the intrusion of clerical power, without exhibiting the least readiness to yield to the influence of the faith. Priestly intrusion into secular affairs, unquestionably, has been productive of most disastrous results to church and state, but history teaches us that the very kings

and statesmen who were foremost in resisting priestly usurpation have been themselves equally ready to intrude into the spiritual things of the church, and to rule with a rod of iron the heritage of the Lord.

In the descriptive portions of this last volume, though they are on the whole very admirably executed, we occasionally meet with statements, which, to say the least, wear an appearance of exaggeration that may be pardoned in a tale claiming only to be "founded on fact," but which is certainly out of place in a formal history of the past. Thus in the account of Erasmus's edition of the New Testament, the publication of the work in England is represented to have produced an almost unparalleled excitement. "Never had any book produced such a sensation. It was in every hand; men struggled to procure it, read it eagerly, and would even kiss it. In every place of public resort, at fairs, and markets, at the dinner-table, and in the council chambers, in shops, and taverns, and houses of ill-fame, in churches, in the universities, in cottages, and palaces," Erasmus and the Greek Testament was the subject of discussion. From the terms employed, one might naturally conclude that this highly excited state of feeling, instead of being confined to particular localities and classes, had spread itself over the entire kingdom, so that all England was in a blaze. That the publication of a volume, which not one person in ten thousand could read, produced such an immense sensation, not only in schools and palaces, but in shops, taverns, and houses of ill-fame, is an event too improbable to be credited on the simple testimony of Erasmus, and the historian refers to no other authority in support of his statement. We do not like this tone of exaggeration, which Dr. Merle sometimes adopts, we dare say unconsciously. It is inconsistent with that rigid truthfulness at which the historian is bound to aim, and when once detected, it is apt to beget a suspicion in the mind of the thoughtful reader that the glowing pages which he at first peruses with the deepest interest, would be much less charming if they had not been so highly coloured.

The present volume contains four books, which are numbered as belonging to the general history of the Reformation. In the first we get a summary account of the introduction of

Christianity into the British Isles while under the dominion of Pagan Rome, and of the early struggles between the churches of Britain and Rome.

The early annals of the British churches, *i. e.* from the introduction of the gospel down to the period when the Papal dominion was established over the whole island, constitute a portion of church history that possesses great interest, especially for Presbyterians. Dr. Munter, a Danish divine, has written a very valuable book on this subject, our only regret being that he has not entered more fully into it. Very valuable materials were collected by Usher, Stillingfleet, and Lloyd, to which considerable additions have been made by Smith, Jamieson, Bost, and other historical students of the present day, but a full and fair history of these churches yet remains to be written. Long after the southern parts of Britain had yielded to the arts and had adopted the heresies of Rome, a vigorous struggle for the true faith was maintained in the northern division of the Island. Amid the rugged mountains of Scotland, and the green hills of the sister isle, there were multitudes of Christians who held fast their integrity. Here the light of the gospel continued to shine, in a high degree of purity, while the dark clouds of Romish superstition were rapidly spreading over the remainder of Western Europe; and here, too, the simple worship and discipline of an earlier age were observed, and, in spite of the fierce assaults of the Papacy, held their ground, until within less than two centuries of the Reformation. Dr. McCrie, the biographer of Knox, was of opinion that the early and firm hold which the Reformed doctrine obtained in the west of Scotland, was partly owing to the memory and influence of the ancient Culdees—as these early Scottish Christians were called—an influence which, like hidden leaven, continued to operate upon the minds of certain classes, long after Romanism had become the recognized religion of the kingdom. That there was a wide difference between the Culdees and the Romanizers of England in the seventh and eighth century, is put beyond dispute by the testimony of Bede. It was a difference that extended not only to articles of faith, but also to forms of government and modes of worship, and on each of these points, though they were not entirely

exempt from the errors prevalent in that age, the principles they avowed and defended with uncompromising fidelity, were essentially the same with those embodied in the symbolic books of the Reformed Church. Bede expressly declares that prelacy was totally unknown among them, and that while some ministers were styled bishops, these last neither claimed to be nor were regarded as superior in any respect to presbyters. So far were they from affecting to be lords over God's heritage, or, under Christ, supreme rulers of his Church, that they cheerfully received the directions, and obeyed the commands, of the college of presbyters, or, in other words, of the Presbytery, as their proper and divinely appointed ecclesiastical superior. Their pastors proclaimed that fundamental doctrine of the gospel—salvation by grace—and they attested their apostolic descent not only by their vigorous defence of apostolic truth and order, but also by their zealous and self-denying efforts to spread the glad tidings of salvation among the pagan tribes of their own land, and of continental Europe. Columban (who must not be confounded with Columba,) the apostle of Germany, was a Scot, and was sent forth upon his perilous, and at that day, far-distant mission, by the Presbyters of Iona—Iona! "*clarum et venerabile nomen*," one that richly merits to be held in affectionate remembrance by Christians of whatever name, but especially by those who derive their origin, natural or ecclesiastical, from Presbyterian Scotland. It indeed seems so strange, that a rocky islet on one of the wildest parts of the coast of a country at the farthest verge of the then known world, and which had not yet emerged from barbarism, should become a favoured seat of science and religion, the centre of influences literary, ecclesiastical, and missionary, reaching even to distant nations, that many who have heard the name of the sacred spot, and possibly have made a pilgrimage to it, are disposed, it may be, to regard its story as one of the lying legends of the dark ages. But the well known and noble passage in which the great lexicographer of England, forgetting for a moment his bigoted and sturdy hatred of Scotland and the Scots, gives utterance to the feelings awakened in his soul as he gazed upon the ruins of Iona, describes facts as indubitable as any that history records.

The survey of the Saxon period is followed by a more extended notice of Wickliff and his times. "Wickliff," says Dr. Merle, "is the greatest English reformer; he was, in truth, the first reformer of Christendom. The work of the Waldenses, excellent as it was, cannot be compared to his." p. 104. The name of Wickliff, "the morning star of the Reformation," will ever be regarded as one of the most glorious in the catalogue of witnesses for Christ; but we are scarcely prepared to assent to the judgment of the historian as to his comparative merits. Unquestionably his piety and abilities were of a very high order; and by his translation of the Bible, his polemic writings, and his academic lectures, he was the means of diffusing a light in which many rejoiced for a season. The publication of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue was virtually a blow aimed at the very foundation of Popery, as the Papists of that age were not slow to perceive; but, in general, his attacks were directed against the outworks of the citadel of superstition, rather than against the citadel itself. The historian himself admits as much, for in speaking of the character of Wickliff's followers, he says:—"Of the Lollards there were many who had been redeemed by Jesus Christ, but, in general, they knew not to the same extent as the Christians of the sixteenth century the quickening and justifying power of faith." The views of the Waldenses on most of the points in the gospel scheme, were clearer and more distinct, than those which obtained among the disciples of the English reformer. The protest of the former against the corruptions of Rome was pronounced with no less emphasis than that of the latter, and we therefore cannot go along with the historian in the strong statement that the work of the Waldenses "cannot be compared with that of Wickliff." Confined within the narrow limits of their Alpine valleys, by foes who would gladly have exterminated them, destitute of all political power, and with no John of Gaunt to stand between them and their bloody persecutors, it was impossible for them to make upon Italy the impression which Wickliff made upon England. And yet we know that in spite of all obstacles, they were accustomed to send forth their missionaries, two by two, who, travelling amid perpetual perils, and thus obliged to act with extreme caution,

kindled the light of life in many a family. While Wickliff lived, he enjoyed the countenance and support of powerful friends, who were allied with him, not so much from religious convictions, as for political reasons, and hence his cause, for a time, had something like fair play; but the moment that these princely patrons left the cause to stand on its own merits, it rapidly declined. Here and there a few humble, timid believers were found, who fondly cherished the memory and the teachings of the departed reformer, and who in secret places fed their faith by the perusal of that precious volume of inspiration which he had rendered accessible to them. We have no doubt that the labours of Wickliff were not without their influence in preparing the way for that triumph which the gospel, after the lapse of many long years, was destined to gain in England; but it must be owned that there was no apparent bond of connection between the reformer of the fourteenth and those of the sixteenth century.

The remainder of the volume is occupied with the history of the Reformation proper, which, as we have already mentioned, is carried down no further than to the death of Wolsey. It includes many exceedingly interesting details respecting Tynedale, Frith, and their fellow-labourers, in the work of translating the New Testament, and of spreading the knowledge of the gospel in England; but the personages who fill the largest space are Henry VIII. and the more prominent statesmen of the period. The history of Henry's divorce from Catherine of Arragon is given with great minuteness, and is one of the most readable portions of the book. The varying phases of this affair, as it dragged its slow length along, one while at Rome, and again at London, are depicted with elaborate care. While thus adding to the dramatic interest, and the popularity of the book, the excellent author, it seems to us, has been a little forgetful of his theory respecting the origin and character of the English Reformation.

"The English Reformation," says Dr. Merle, "has been, and still is calumniated by writers of different parties, who look upon it as nothing more than an external political transformation, and who thus ignore its spiritual nature."—*Pref.* iv. "If the Reformation in England happened necessarily to be

mixed up with the State, with the world even, it originated neither in the State nor in the world. There was much worldliness in the age of Henry VIII., passions, violence, festivities, a trial, a divorce, and some historians call that *the history of the Reformation in England*. To say that Henry VIII. was the reformer of his people, is to betray our ignorance of history. This great transformation was begun and extended by its own strength." Such is Dr. Merle's theory with regard to the causes in which the English Reformation originated, and one chief object of this volume, as he expressly declares, is to vindicate the work from the aspersions cast upon it by Romish and Protestant writers, by proving that it was pre-eminently spiritual and scriptural. We might adduce numerous other passages of precisely similar import with those already quoted. Notwithstanding these repeated and earnest protests against those who ignore the spiritual element in the English Reformation, he himself deals with a "trial and a divorce," in much the same way as that in which they would be handled by the class of writers from whom he so widely differs; that is to say, by the large space he allows to Henry's divorce, and by the elaborate minuteness with which the details of the affair are given, he virtually recognizes it as something more than a subordinate and unimportant incident in the history of the Reformation.

But without dwelling on this point, we proceed to observe that it would have been more satisfactory if the excellent author had described with greater precision the views of the English Reformation which he regards as partial, or as totally unfounded; and if he had done so, it is quite probable that our judgment respecting the nature of the work, and of the various agencies concerned in its production, would be found to be nearly or even exactly in accordance with his own. It does not, however, distinctly appear to what class of Protestant writers he refers as having calumniated the English Reformation, and as he affirms in several places, that it was more immediately and purely scriptural in its origin than that of any other country, his readers might infer that even the Nonconformists of England were among those who have done injustice to the history of the Reformation in their native land. We are

very confident that Dr. Merle himself would most earnestly disclaim such a conclusion, yet there are sentences which appear to warrant it; and we regret that he has not taken more pains to guard against the danger of misapprehension by explaining the sense in which he employs the term *Reformation*. That the Reformation in England was a mere political affair, that this great event was effected solely through the influence of a wanton and capricious tyrant, is a position which none beside papists and infidels have ever pretended to maintain. Romanism was assailed by men clothed in the panoply of God; the right of the people to possess and study the sacred volume was boldly asserted, copies of it were circulated, the revived gospel was preached in church and school, and many souls were turned from darkness to light, the sincerity of whose conversion was proved by the readiness with which they laid down their lives for the faith. These are facts beyond dispute; but the same things occurred in countries noted for their Popish bigotry, in Italy and Spain, and the question arises, Might not England's fate have been similar to theirs, if Henry VIII. had been a man of different character, or if his divorce from Catherine had never taken place?

Until Elizabeth ascended the throne, it cannot be said that the mass of the English people sympathized with the cause of Protestantism; on the contrary, there are strong reasons for believing that up to that time, if the popular mind could have found free utterance on the subject, the major part of the nation would have expressed a preference for the old religion. With some restraints upon the power of the priesthood, and some improvement in their morals, they would have been content to let things remain as they were. We argue this from the fact that no serious opposition was made to the monstrous system which Henry established, when he resolved to be the Pope in his own dominions, and to regulate the faith and worship of his people. Nor can we explain on any other supposition the readiness with which the nation submitted to Mary, notwithstanding her well-known bigoted attachment to the old faith, and the ease with which she set up the papal authority in her kingdom. We cannot believe that she would have been permitted to mount the throne so easily, and to shed

so much of the best blood of her kingdom, if the majority of her subjects had been decided Protestants. The most decided of them, as if conscious of their feebleness, fled to the continent the instant the crown was placed upon her head; while those who remained behind sought the shelter of obscurity, or became the unresisting victims of the bloody queen. Happily her reign was a short one, but if it had extended through as many years as that of her sister and successor, England might have continued until this day a faithful subject of the Apostolic See.

The little sympathy felt by the mass of the English people for the Reformation, appears in a striking light, when we compare the progress of that cause in England with its progress in Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, and even in France. In the countries last named the movement was pre-eminently a popular one. The revived gospel took such firm hold of the masses, that the Reformation triumphed in spite of the utmost efforts of kings and emperors to put it down. In each of those countries in which Romanism was supplanted by the reformed faith, the latter system of doctrine and order was received not at the dictation of the civil power, but because of the very general conviction that it was in accordance with the word of God. France, indeed, continued to be Romanist in sentiment; but up to the time of the horrible massacre which has covered the name of Charles IX. with undying infamy, papists themselves considered it doubtful on which side she would ultimately be found. Among the Protestants of France there were some of the highest nobles of the kingdom, and even princes of the blood royal; but none of these presumed to dictate to the Reformed Church what she should believe, or how she should worship God. The only recognized authority was that of Christ speaking in his word. How different the course of things in England! The light of salvation dawns upon her universities and her great metropolis. Some noble souls, illumined by its beams, seek to diffuse the word of life, and not without success, but they are few in number, they are obliged to act with extreme caution, they have no organization, while upon the higher powers in Church and State the only influence they exert is to provoke their vengeance. Meanwhile Henry, incensed at the duplicity of the Pope in the affair of his divorce,

and eager to consummate his marriage with Anne Boleyn, the beauty of his court, breaks with Rome, and assuming the powers previously exerted by his Holiness, as Supreme Head of the Church, he orders his people, under pains and penalties, to follow his example. Cranmer, Cromwell, and others, who were more or less Protestant at heart, taking advantage of Henry's indignation against Rome, and of his anxiety to get rid of Katherine, try to induce him to move a little in the direction of the gospel. The old religion of the State is slightly modified, but everything depends upon the will of the king. As Henry goes, the Church goes, and when he stops, she stops. He is succeeded by his son Edward, than whom a lovelier character never sat upon the throne of Britain. The heads of the Church, emboldened by the sincere piety of the youthful monarch, and his pliant temper, venture to take farther steps in the right direction.* But Edward's sun goes down before it was yet noon. The bloody Mary obtains the throne, and in a moment all that had been done for the reformation of the Church is undone. Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, and others, are sent to the stake. Popery is once more dominant in England, and such it might have remained until this day, if Mary had lived to give an heir to the throne, and to superintend his education. Her sceptre passes into the hands of Elizabeth, "that bright occidental star," as she is styled in the preface to our authorized version of the Bible; the daughter of Anne Boleyn, half Protestant, half Papist, and for some time after her accession to the throne, doubtful with which side to identify herself; but the instant she decides the question, the Church of England puts on a new type—one which has proved to be, in the main, permanent, and is as distinctive as the architecture of the age which gave it birth.

Now with these facts before us we cannot concur with the historian when he says that, "this great transformation was begun and carried on in its own strength, by the Spirit from on high," certainly in that sense of his words which they

* There is a document preserved by Strype, drawn up by Edward himself, which at once proves his cordial sympathy with the Reformation, and warrants the inference, that if he had lived he would have laboured to bring the Church of England into a conformity with the Reformed churches abroad, in point of discipline as well as of doctrine.

seem intended to convey. If by the transformation be simply meant the spiritual renovation experienced by such men as Tyndale, Frith, and Bilney, and which they were instrumental in producing in others; or in other words, that there was a real revival of pure religion begun and carried on by the Spirit of God, through the medium of his own word, the statement is indisputably true. With that work kingly power had no concern, unless to thwart and persecute it. But most readers will be apt to understand the term as having reference to the change which passed upon the Church of England, when she threw off the papal authority, and assumed the form in which we now find her. Now, the first great decisive blow given to the Pope's power in England, was the work, not of the Church, but of Henry, and no one pretends that he was prompted to do what he did by regard for Scripture truth. In other countries, the reforming fathers refused to be satisfied with a mere modification of the old system. They sat down to discover by prayer and study, what was the mind of Christ as revealed in his word, respecting the constitution of his Church, in doctrine, polity, and worship. Whether they in all things found what they sought for, is a point which we need not decide; but this much is certain, that the voice of Christ speaking in his word was alone recognized by them as authoritative. They struggled long and hard to get their scriptural idea realized in the actual constitution of the Church. With the English Reformers in the days of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, it was notoriously different. As the process of reforming their Church went forward, they were compelled in many matters of importance, to stifle their own convictions of what was right and proper. In framing the ritual, the polity, and to a certain extent, even the doctrinal symbols of the Church, they were not permitted to follow Scripture alone, but were forced to content themselves with the monarch's notions of what was expedient. Hence that strange compound of opposite elements which we find in the constitution of the Church of England, and which for two centuries or more has rendered her relations to her reformed sisters so equivocal. In the lapse of years the monstrous evils to which Cranmer, Hooper, Latimer, and their contemporaries submitted, as the

only way of escaping still greater ones, have come to be looked upon as positive blessings; and Anglican divines of later times have been accustomed to describe the framework of their establishment, as the perfection of beauty, and worthy to be admired by all Christendom. We are very confident that the estimable author has not the slightest sympathy with Anglicanism of this sort; but his statements, already quoted, respecting the scriptural and spiritual character of the English Reformation are so unqualified, that many of his readers may consider them as intended to apply to the whole state and condition of things, as they existed in the Church of England, after she became decidedly Protestant.

The story of Henry's divorce is told in the historian's very best style. The various incidents more or less intimately connected with it—the domestic life of Catherine, Ann Boleyn's appearance at court, the relations of Henry with Charles V. and Francis I.; Wolsey's schemes to secure for himself the Papal throne, the dealings with Rome, Cranmer's entrance into public life, the trial, fall, and death of the great cardinal—all these topics are managed with such consummate art, that this portion of the volume has all the interest of the most attractive novel. The subject merits the large space which it fills, for if we may not say that the divorce of Henry from Catherine was one of the chief causes of the English Reformation, we certainly may say that the event was productive of the most important consequences, ecclesiastical and civil. If the lawfulness of that marriage had never been questioned, it is quite improbable—speaking after the manner of men—that the relations in which England had so long stood to Rome would have been disturbed. Or, if the Pope had acted promptly when the case was brought before him, and especially if he had decided it in accordance with the known wishes of Henry, there is reason to believe that the whole power of the government would have been exerted in support of the old religion, and to put down with a strong hand the friends of reformation. It is now a well established fact, that the question of the invalidity of the marriage was first started by Wolsey, as a means of revenging himself upon Charles V. the nephew of Catherine, who had twice prevented his election to the Popedom. But after the doubt

whether Catherine was his lawful wife, or the desire for a new and younger one had taken hold of Henry's mind, the cardinal bitterly regretted what he had done. He clearly foresaw the fatal consequences of the Pope's shuffling policy, not only to himself, but to the cause of the papacy in England, and he would gladly have paid any price, if he could have induced Henry to forego his scruples, or if death had come to his help, and had conveniently carried Catherine off. But he had gone too far to go back. It was now too late for him to repair the mischief he had done to his own Church through his eager thirst for vengeance. It was a striking instance of the wicked man taken in his own snare. Looking at the event from our stand point, one cannot help being amazed that a man so able and so sagacious as Wolsey, holding as he did the highest ecclesiastical position in the kingdom, should have committed himself to a scheme so full of peril to the Papal authority in his native land. But it should not be forgotten, that the Pope had annulled many a royal marriage, without stopping to inquire with over-much scrupulosity, whether the reasons of separation were legitimate or not. Henry's own brother-in-law, Louis XII. of France, had obtained a divorce from his wife Joan—a woman of spotless reputation—simply because he had never loved her, while she, meekly submitting to her fate, retired to a convent, and at last died in the odour of sanctity. Wolsey might therefore persuade himself, with some show of reason, that the affair, however difficult, could not involve serious danger. He knew neither the kind of man nor the kind of woman with whom he had to do, long as he had been acquainted with Henry and with Catherine; he did not understand, or at least did not take into account the lustful waywardness of the one, nor the conscientious obstinacy of the other. If the Pope had promptly decided the question when it was first raised, Henry might have acquiesced in the settlement of it, whether for or against the validity of the marriage, but at a later period his love for Anne Boleyn made it absolutely necessary for the Pope to declare the connection incestuous, if he wished to retain Henry in the communion of the Roman Church. If, at any period before the fall of Wolsey, Catherine had yielded so far as to enter a convent and assume monastic vows, Popery might

have escaped the overthrow which awaited it. We recognize in these events the overruling providence of Him who can cause the furious passions, and the deep laid policy of his enemies to subserve his own glorious purposes, who taketh the wise in their own craftiness, and maketh the wrath of man to praise him.

The subject of Henry's divorce merits consideration for its moral as well as its historical bearings. Henry VII. projected the marriage in order to retain Catherine's unusually large dowry, but in his last moments the piety of the old king seems to have got the better of his avarice, and he is reported to have urged his son not to consummate it, as being contrary to the divine law. But other counsels prevailed, and for more than twenty years Henry and Catherine lived together in the most perfect harmony. The king declared, in the most solemn manner, that not a doubt had ever crossed his mind respecting the lawfulness of his marriage, until it was suggested by the French ambassador, during the negotiations for the marriage of the Princess Mary, that it might be against a law of God, from which the Pope himself could give no dispensation. Dr. Merle, we think, clearly proves that these doubts arose in the king's mind prior to his attachment to Anne Boleyn. But whatever Henry's motives may have been, whether he was actuated by scruples of conscience, or by the lusts of the flesh, the right answer to the inquiry, was his marriage incestuous or not, is no way affected by these considerations. Supposing Henry to have been perfectly sincere, and simply desirous to know what his duty was, the replies which he received from theological faculties, canonists, and other distinguished divines, Popish and Protestant, were certainly well fitted to awaken his deepest anxieties on his own account, and for the sake of his kingdom. What the judgment of the historian is on this point, does not distinctly appear. In one place he says—"Some evangelical Christians, who thought that Henry was troubled more by his passions than his conscience, asked how it happened that a prince who represented himself to be so disturbed by a *possible* transgression of a law of *doubtful* interpretation, could desire, after twenty years, to violate the *indisputable law which forbade the divorce*." But when Cranmer is brought upon the stage as one of the actors in the affair, he

quotes, with apparent approval, the views of the Reformer, saying, "What says the word of God? If God says the marriage is bad, the Pope cannot make it good. When God has spoken, man must obey."

In the drama of the divorce, Anne Boleyn is of course one of the most prominent personages. Popish authors, for obvious reasons, have tried hard to blacken her character, by calumnies which her bitterest enemies did not venture to utter while she lived. That she had some sympathy with the new views, there can be no doubt, but the historian seems uncertain in what light to regard her. In some places he speaks of her as evincing the highest virtue; repelling with violence the approaches of the king; "deriving secret strength" to do this from the books she read while an inmate in the palace of Margaret of France; as the "only one who appeared calm" during the terrible sweating sickness; as praying much for Henry and for Wolsey. Elsewhere he says, "the world, with its pleasures and grandeur, were at bottom the idols of Anne Boleyn's heart." Up to the time when her misfortunes began, we can discover no decisive evidence in her conduct that she was a Christian, in the proper sense of the word. On the contrary, the eagerness with which she entered into the scheme for the divorce, before the question respecting the validity of the marriage had been decided, and the undisguised pleasure with which she received the news of the death of Catherine, of whose household she had been a member, and by whom she had been treated with much kindness, too clearly showed that her heart and life, during this part of her career, were not under the control of religious principle. Happy would it have been for her if she had steadily maintained the ground on which she stood, when, upon the first discovery of Henry's passion, she with a noble boldness said to him—"Sire, your wife I can never be, your mistress I never will be;" or if she had, at least, utterly refused to listen to his overtures until the sentence of divorce had been formally pronounced. Not a shade would then have rested upon her memory, and possibly she might have escaped her untimely end. The spirit in which she met her unhappy fate, leads us to hope that the clouds and darkness which gathered round her in the close of life, were

the means of teaching her not only the vanity of earth, but to seek the crown that fadeth not. Whatever may have been her foibles or her faults, they will be forgotten in the pity awakened by her cruel reverses, and the detestation which every generous mind will feel for all concerned in her judicial murder. No wonder that the remembrance of this murder was one of the sharpest and most galling thorns in the heart of the royal sensualist, when he himself was laid upon the bed of death.

ART. V.—*Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews. With an Introductory Essay on Civil Society and Government.* By E. C. Wines. New York: George P. Putnam & Co., 10 Park Place. 1853. Pp. 640, 8vo.

THIS work is a copious contribution to one of the most captivating and useful departments of sacred literature. It contains a large body of information connected with history, civil government, law, and divinity, gathered from various, and to some extent, remote sources, and presented in a manner suited to engage the interest of a large class of readers.

The history of the preparation of this large and handsome volume, affords encouraging promise of the extensive circulation of the work. That history was ten years long. It began with an invitation to the author to deliver one of the lectures of a course to the Mercantile Library Association of Philadelphia. That course of lectures embraced discourses from many of the most distinguished and popular writers and speakers of the different professions in the country. For a particular reason, mentioned in the Preface, the author "was led to choose, as the theme of his discourse, Moses and his Laws." Entering in such a way on the investigation of this attractive and prolific subject, he became enamoured of the theme. He was requested by many enlightened citizens who heard his lecture, to give a series of discourses on the same subject. He re-wrote and enlarged the discussion, until at length it became an extended course of lectures. These lectures, as many of our

readers know, were delivered, with distinguished acceptance, in several Theological Seminaries, and in some of the most enlightened cities of the United States.

A part only of the subject matter of this series of lectures has been taken as the basis of this volume. That part is the analysis of the civil constitution of the Hebrews. And this occupies only the latter half of the volume. The first half is taken up, in part, with an introductory essay on civil government, a discussion connected only remotely with the subject indicated by the title of the volume, yet an animated and extended view of the impressions of the author on the nature and design of the civil organization, including numerous references to writers whom he has consulted, and under whose influence his thoughts had been extended. Then follows the first book, preliminary to the main subject of the work, containing a statement of the nature and plan of the work, and the claims of the Hebrew law to our study and regard; an estimate of Moses as a man and a lawgiver; of the credibility of Moses as a historian, and his authority as a divine messenger; of the influence of his laws and writings on the world, and of the leading constitutions of the other ancient nations. All these matters, occupying so large a portion of the volume, though they give the book a more general aspect than the title promises, will still be welcome to readers who have not the author's sources at hand.

After these preliminary discussions, in great fulness and minute detail, extending through considerably more than half the volume, the author begins his second book, which treats of the organic law of the Hebrew State. In the first chapter he states what he conceives as the fundamental principles of the civil constitution of the Hebrews, seventeen in number, and embracing an exhausting enumeration of the principles strictly belonging to the basis of a civil organization of perfect order and perfect freedom; the two great leading objects of the Hebrew Theocracy, viz: to teach the science of civil government, and to maintain the true religion in the world; the general idea of the government, as to its officers, the mutual relations and the civil functions of the tribes, together with their union under a general government, and the Levitical and

prophetical orders; the constitution of the chief magistrate; the Senate; the Commons; the Priesthood; the Prophets. From this view of the number, nature, and order of the topics embraced in this second book, the reader will see how elaborate and extensive provision has been here made for his entertainment and profit, and may form his agreeable expectations of the additional volume, promised by the author, if this volume finds encouraging favour.

As we do not propose to discuss the topics presented so fully by our author, nor to examine and judge his positions and statements, we commend the volume to our readers, as containing a large amount of important and valuable information not brought together in any other book; as exhibiting the results of extensive and discriminating research, which has the further recommendation of having been pursued, not as drudgery, but with enthusiasm and delight; as offering the fruits of enlightened and patient thought, sound in its general principles, and lucid and instructive in its illustrations; elevated, and often eloquent, in its language, and presenting comparisons of great force and beauty, between the principles of the Hebrew constitution and those of our own.

The Hebrew institutions, political and religious, are matters of profound interest to all enlightened people. They were studied with great zeal by contemporary statesmen and philosophers. They have given exercise to the most active and powerful minds of all the civilized nations. They have been a fountain of knowledge on the nature of law and of right, and on the science of government, to all people who have sought wise laws and sound morals. There has never been in the world another example of statesmanship, of legislation, of social relations and duties, of religious precept and privilege, which would bear comparison with those of the Hebrew commonwealth, as a guide towards the chief ends of human society.

The cause of this wonder of history is one which makes the example as authoritative as it is sublime. God is in all history, and therefore all history is light—philosophy teaching by example. But God was in the history of the Hebrew nation as he was not in the history of any other. God was there in Christ the Redeemer. The Hebrew system, in both Church

and State, its fundamental laws of morality, its ritual and civil polity, were part and parcel of the scheme of redemption by Jesus Christ, and were a working out, for the time being, of the law of the spirit of life in him. There we see Christ. The laws of that economy were the utterance of his wisdom and love. The national sentiment was the breathing of his Spirit. The people were chosen instruments of his work. Their institutions and history are monuments of his glory. Over and over again will the spirit of those heavenly emanations be inhaled by the Christian nations, incorporated in the Christian forms of thought, feeling, and social organization, and formed into the spiritual symmetry, strength and complexion of those who, in successive generations, will appear as members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.

The Hebrew system was the beginning of the true religion in the world on a national scale, and in connection with a civil polity. It was the first example of national regulations for the worship of the true God. It was the first application of the true principles of the social economy to a great and growing people. The nation was prepared for its destination by a memorable course of divine providence. When its great ancestor had been taken from an idolatrous family, it was not till the third generation that the divine call and promise were allowed to embrace all the sons of the father's family. The germ of the mighty nation was then planted in Egypt, that, in the house of bondage, it might grow in numbers, without growing in pride, and become ready to follow the mighty hand of its deliverer through the subsequent discipline of liberty. It was a costly process, but for a worthy end; a tedious preparation, but for a glorious destiny.

Forthwith the Hebrew nation comes out from its grievous slavery, and stands before the world a living and an only witness of the nature and ends of civil society. Here the social relations and duties of men are seen in their very origin, in the will and ordinance of God, set forth by example and by written law, and carried out to their chief end—the elevation of man to his true religious life, his destined privilege of communion with God. Here is an example of the provision in human nature for that kind of government which helps men

most towards the present virtue and the highest happiness. Here is a practical lesson on the connection between civil society and all the motions of the divine nature in the people of God towards conscious and joyful devotion. Here is a living witness to the human law of order and of progress, corresponding so admirably with the whole scriptural idea of the progressive development of God in human affairs. We have here an actual example of the power of God concerned in the universal scheme of providential control, regulating and balancing the human forces, and holding the revolving systems of disordered humanity in a steady course of slow but sure progress towards universal equilibrium and rest. And here, in fine, we have a professed example of the authority of God in human government; one sublime instance, known or to be known in all the world, of what the Scripture asserts, that "the powers that be are ordained of God."

Those seeds of popular freedom and of social order, which, in the Hebrew institutions, fell for the first time into the soil of society, have ever since shown that they belong to human nature, by their germination and growth in every field of cultivated humanity. What was thus bestowed, by a special divine interposition, on a chosen nation, and preserved by a dispensation of miracle, has been struggling ever since for its due ascendancy in the social constitutions of the civilized world. And here we see the position of our own country in the history of true civilization. It presents a clear advance, beyond the position of any people of former times, the Hebrews alone excepted, in the full recognition of all human rights by our fundamental laws, and in that union of the sense of freedom with the acknowledgment of the true God and the true religion, on which the real progress of mankind must ever depend. The world is waiting to see whether, as all things seem now to promise, these great principles are here to yield their precious fruits in such an aggregate of knowledge and virtue as the world has never yet seen.

Our author presents an interesting view of the position of the Hebrew commonwealth in the history of free institutions. His whole representation of the non-conformity of heathen governments to the laws of human improvement and happiness

exhibits an instructive contrast with the history of the Mosaic institutions. How the germs of human right pressed upward against the rigid covering of ignorance and superstition; and how were they repressed and smothered under all the forms of social order that ever existed under the dark auspices of heathenism. The author's extended and spirited remarks on this subject are well adapted to inspire our countrymen with gratitude for the fullness of freedom attained by the government under which we live.

It is with great force and justice that the author bespeaks for the Mosaic legislation the study of the antiquary, who can find here one of the oldest forms of social structure preserved entire and in a living freshness, which has no parallel among like remains of so remote antiquity; of the theologian, who may read true divinity in every line of the Mosaic legislation, and discover many of those types of truth and virtue, which unfold their more spiritual forms under the Messianic dispensation; of the moralist, who may find here the seeds of true virtue expanding in their appropriate individual and social forms, and presenting that experimental basis on which alone a moral philosophy can stand; of the lawyer, who can find here the principles of universal justice, bringing forth, under a government of law, a body of legal practice not less instructive, in many respects, than that of Greece or Rome; of the statesman, who may see in Moses a sublime example of wisdom and efficiency in applying the great principles of a righteous government; and of the friend of constitutional liberty, who may here see all the fundamental principles of right in full vigour, amidst surrounding despotism, and flourishing in one of the brightest forms of social equality and freedom, which has ever appeared.

There is upon the legislation of Moses an aspect of authority for all people, which does not appear in the legislation of any other nation. Though the Hebrew laws do not, in their detail, bind other nations, yet the great principles of truth and right are such as no nation can disregard with impunity. The laws of Moses, moral, ceremonial, and civil, were the temporary and variable language of universal truth and duty. Hence the question concerning the authority of those laws, has some import. There would be no sense in the question, whether the

American people were bound to adopt the laws of Austria or France, or whether the people of Great Britain were bound to adopt the laws of the United States. But every intelligent reader of the Hebrew laws can make it a serious question whether, and how far, those laws are binding on all people. For in them the wisdom and righteousness of God must be confessed; and the presumption is natural, that laws which God would ordain for one people, would, in substance, be proper for all people. This presumption must hold in relation to the great principles of moral and religious duty, and of civil right, which form the basis of the system.

Undoubtedly, therefore, the Mosaic jurisprudence is destined to increasing authority as a precedent of social conformation. It is a great light in the history of the world. A higher civilization, a greater prevalence of true religion, and a livelier sense of order and right, will give the leading nations a deeper view of the groundwork and spirit of the Mosaic policy, and of its fitness for an advanced stage of human progress. It is more truly appreciated now, than it was by the contemporary nations, and in the coming times of knowledge and virtue, it will be more justly appreciated than it is now.

The character and endowments of Moses are matter of unceasing admiration to all intelligent readers of his history. The man was made for his office. It is remarkable how assiduously the natural endowments of that wonderful man are often distinguished from his gift of inspiration, in order to place his personal character in a more exalted light; as if the natural genius and the peculiar education of the man redounded more to the divine glory, or his own fame, than those miraculous gifts which raised his office and his acts into the supernatural sphere. But, in the life and character of Moses, it is not easy to distinguish the natural from the supernatural. It is not easy to tell what of his mental qualities came, in the course of nature, from his parents, his relation to the chosen people, and to the Egyptian royalty, and what came from the special work of the Spirit in him. Whatever of his uncommon qualities came by ordinary generation from a parentage commended by St. Paul for religious faith, and brilliant in the brief records of his infancy for heroic energy and decision, can hardly be con-

ceived, in his marvellous history, except in union with some extraordinary divine force diffused through the whole providential process of his birth, his preservation, and his training; and also with an inward spiritual operation corresponding to the wonderful outward conjunctures of his preparatory course. While the natural yearnings of his maternal nurse were breathing the inspirations of the Hebrew nationality into his infant soul, who can help perceiving, as well in the yearnings as in their consequences, a tincture of the supernatural? Who shall prove that unaided nature could so consolidate the Hebrew basis of his character, as to secure it from dissolution, amidst full exposure to an alien and seductive education, and insure his appearance in due time as a prodigy of patriotic jealousy for his brethren, and of legislative wisdom for the world? If God in ordinary nature produces no such *class* of Mosaic men, he makes nature extraordinary, so far as he uses it in producing one Moses. The Lord of heaven and earth was revealing himself to the world in Israel, as he did not reveal himself elsewhere in the established course of nature. For this purpose he sanctified the whole Israelitish apartment of nature to himself, and infused into it a fuller measure of his power. It was there, and not in any common field of nature, that Moses rose. Born and bred in miracle, the adopted heir apparent of the throne of Egypt, is trained by a hand of power known nowhere but in Israel, "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and comes out with heroic and unquenchable devotion to "the people of God," and an inbred disgust for "the pleasures of sin." "The inspiration of the Almighty, which giveth all men understanding," brought forth in Moses unexampled endowments, through a chain of causes, for aught we know, indefinitely antecedent, and, however like other natural causes in their outward form, still certainly unlike all others in their inward force, and, therefore, raising the whole mental conformation of Moses above the purely natural.

We do not endanger the miraculous by diffusion. Such long and broad intertexture of the supernatural with the natural meets no resistance from any reasonable jealousy for the moral influence of miraculous interventions. Let God work supernaturally through nature as he works naturally in it. *In*

nature, each event of to-day had its beginning in the beginning of the world, and thus *through* nature, if God so please, may his "mighty works" come into view through long and hidden paths of supereminent power. God shows himself above nature, to teach men that he is in it. He parts the waters for Israel at the motion of the rod of Moses, that Israel may see God in all the administration of their leader. And then when the people's eyes are open on the universal presence of God, what matter, as to either the reality of the miracle, or its moral effect, whether the quails which flew into the camp were produced at the moment, or grew and flocked together in a way to our eyes undistinguishable from the course of nature; and whether they came to the camp under an instant impulse against all their natural instincts, or by inward forces coming to them through innumerable antecedents, working out the hidden counsel by a hidden energy, and surprising the people by an outbreak of effects from causes long supernaturally pregnant, but unknown. The whole conjuncture is unexampled and alone. Men never saw the like before, and such are the conditions of the event, that men never look afterwards for the like from the constitution and course of nature.

Tracing thus the extraordinary in Moses to a supernatural enforcement of natural antecedents, we reach a vivid and adorable view of the divine administration on which the eye of true philosophy, as well as that of piety, delights to rest. With perfect justice to philosophy, we may trace the wonderful endowments and history of Moses, apart from impulses confessedly received from the Lord on special occasions, to an adequate supernatural agency, working slowly but surely, through long preparation, towards its marvellous result; an agency none the less special for beginning so far back, and none the less supernatural for its long concurrence with nature. And here we fall into company with the glorious incorporation of God with all the proceedings under the special covenant, from Abraham to Christ. Even that incipient, preparatory, typical economy, not to be compared with "the ministration of the Spirit," was charged throughout with the miraculous energy. The whole system was pervaded by the inspiration. Every phenomenon partook of the miracle. The power, still

chiefly, but not wholly latent, which was energizing towards the Messianic fulness of time, wrought in all the old covenant history. In the striking endowments of Moses, it came out in great glory. Through, beside, and athwart the course of nature, it wrought at pleasure to prepare the way for Moses; to bring him into being; to preserve, nurse, train, and inspire him for his work, and then to conduct and support him through his unparalleled career. The most natural of his qualities he could not have had, though born of the same parents, nursed on the same bosom, and schooled in the same learning, but not of the "chosen people, whose God was the Lord." He was of a people whose God had now developed his power in them almost to the wonderful deliverance; who was preparing the flint in Pharaoh, and the steel in Moses and Aaron, to kindle his promised blaze of glory in the earth; who took up Moses as his servant "in his house" of miracle, making him his organ of power for deliverance and defence, of wisdom for instruction, of authority for legislation, and of mercy for condescending communion, in behalf of the people chosen for his name. We adore God in the whole structure, office, and administration of the man. His powers, by whatever process conferred, made him a link in the chain of wonders—a legitimate antecedent of supernatural consequences. His laws are truly divine in their origin and nature, however apparently digested in his own understanding and heart. He received his doctrines and precepts from God, though he thought them—though they carry the image of his mind; as the fruits of the Spirit in Christians bear the natural image of the minds in which they arise.

Here, also, we fall in company with the glorious agency of God in the perpetual miracle of the Christian Church; his constant work of raising the supernatural out of the soil of the natural. What the natural could not do, in that it was weak in the principle of its constitution, God, sending his own Son into the system of the natural man, on account of its vital infirmity, exposed and removed the defect, that the rectifying of the natural may be accomplished in us, not by a natural process, but a spiritual and supernatural. Here God, in Christ, thus made under the law of the human nature, brings forth in

the thoughts and affections of his people, his own truth, and his own virtue. "In Christ Jesus, the law of the spirit of life" is let down into the natural sphere, and the result of the union is a new creation wrought by these two co-working forms of power—of which the one formed and upholds nature as it is, the other reforms it as it shall be—both equally divine, but neither without the other reaching the glorious effect. And now, in Christ, the whole administration takes an immense enlargement of the pervasive inspiration under which all men are to live. With this greater spiritual force comes also the louder warning. "Take heed that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him who spake on earth, much more shall not we escape if we refuse him who speaketh from heaven. He that transgressed Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, and done despite unto the Spirit of grace? How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?"

If any please to consider the divine force which explains the phenomenon Moses as something analogous to the spirit of the nation and the age, they still cannot reduce the wonder to a merely natural effect, but must leave it yet fairly in the sphere of the miraculous, unless they beg the whole question relating to the existence of the miracle. For while the influence may be diffusive as they would have it, it must still embrace whatever of special inspiration it may please God to breathe into and throughout the nation and the age, for the ends which the course of unaided nature would never have produced. The question whether Moses was a creature of the spirit of his nation and his time, is of no consequence towards deciding whether he was merely a natural man or not. For we have to ascertain what that spirit was, and whether it be only the same, both in kind and degree, which is all abroad in the whole natural bosom of humanity. If God is found to appropriate nature to his supernatural ends at pleasure, interposing his directing or strengthening agency, and magnifying the product beyond the power of the natural causes, we still meet the

power of the new creation in the regions of the old, and rationalism runs aground in shallows of its own selection.

In these thoughts we would wage no controversy with any fellow-believer in miracles. We give them place as one form in which the faith in miracles may be expressed. If the history of Moses and his people is a history of divine operations in humanity, it will command our reverence the more, the fuller it seems to us of God. The Mosaic economy was a revelation not only *from* God, but *of* him; not only *to* his people, but *in* them. The God of Israel there began the redemption of Israel by a spiritual presence, and an inworking power, which show the type of his presence and power through Christ in his fuller revelations in the Christian Church. It is in this light that we foresee the wonders which are to be wrought in the earth by those early revelations, and anticipate for the whole spirit and many of the literal precepts of the Mosaic code, an ascendancy among the nations, beyond what they have yet acquired.

The Hebrew institutions have exerted great power in the civilization of the world. But there is one section of their history which suggests the thought, that they owe more of their influence on the civil and religious affairs of the world, to the light they threw on contemporary minds, than to the study of the Hebrew records by the subsequent generations. This fact is strikingly evident in regard to religion. The Hebrew doctrine of one spiritual God fell into close connection with the philosophy of Greece. The ideas of Plato respecting the nature of God and his government in the world, are well known to have been derived from the Hebrew Scriptures. In his mind, the Hebrew conception of the spiritual God was digested into a form profoundly philosophical, and in that form, it passed into the speculations of those Christian fathers, whose philosophical education had been mainly pursued under the influence of Plato, and who cherished for him and his writings unbounded reverence and admiration. These platonizing fathers were the men who roused and guided the cultivated mind of the church, during those preparatory ages, while the leading doctrines of the gospel were taking their intellectual form. When the great fundamental doctrine of the Hebrew

revelations fell into the intellectual soil of Greece, it immediately took root and sprung up in a vigorous form of speculation, and has become a tree whose branches are filling the whole earth.

Thus heathenism had its John the Baptist, the voice of one crying in the pagan wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. While in the line of Jewish progress toward the fulness of time, prophets and saints were fixing their hopes with growing clearness and order on "Him that should come," while the old covenant was waxing old and ready to vanish away, and the want of something new from heaven was becoming the absorbing feeling of the religious world, the heaven-born conception of the living and true God passed over into the brightest region of philosophical culture in heathenism. We find there the doctrine of one infinite, supreme, spiritual God, who is viewed as the ultimate source and support of all created life; and in the broadest and highest sense the source and support of the rational and moral life of man. This was a great advance from those gross ideas which were strictly and properly pagan, which "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things," and which in the highest refinement it ever attained without the Hebrew element, still thought "the Godhead like unto gold or silver or stone, graven by art and man's device." Plato preached repentance, in his way, to his philosophic generation; and although his baptism, like that of John the Baptist, was of no account in Christ, yet his doctrines were a preparation for one who should come after him, and baptize his disciples with the Holy Ghost and with fire. And so intimate and decided was the affinity between the Christian doctrine and these higher conceptions of the Grecian schools, that the very words of the Greek and the thought and spirit of the Christian were joined together in Paul at Athens.

Plato rose far, far above the common mythology of his generation. In him, the highest and most refined spiritual ideas took the place of the popular religion. He took the hints of Judaism with amazing avidity and precision, and appeared extremely sensitive to all such approaches of truth, as if under

some mysterious influence from Him, whose coming was then so near. Those borrowed ideas he cast at once into the crucible of his lofty and severe speculation, and brought forth a philosophical view of morality, and a profound basis for speculative theology which enlightened Christianity can never totally reject. Though far beneath Christianity, he seemed rising, by unconscious speculative yearnings, towards it. What in John was the conscious inspiration of devout feeling, seems in him the unconscious inspiration of restless, unsatisfied thought. But neither in the highest nor the deepest regions of his philosophy could he discover any satisfaction for the spiritual wants of human nature, or any remedy for its deeply seated and mortal disease. By this heathen philosophy, as by the Jewish economy, came something of the "knowledge of sin," but nothing of its remedy. Both judaism and heathenism, therefore, though each at practical enmity with the other, and both at hearty enmity with Christ, unite first in preparing the way of the Lord, and then in rearing the doctrinal structure of his kingdom.

In due time these mutually alien systems amalgamate, and their blood flows together in the veins of a new race, redeemed by the blood of Christ, and quickened by his life. Heathen philosophy and Jewish theology become one in Christ! He breaks down the middle wall of partition between them, for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace. In this sublime and holy union, we find them continually blending their forms of thought, their motions of feeling, their lights and shades of religious character, their tastes, their habits, and whatever differences come from the history of different races of men; all to bring forth that unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, which will transform the heterogeneous and chaotic mass into the perfect man in Christ Jesus.

In all we have said we mean simply to enter a protest against the mechanical theory of the universe, which regards it as a machine, made, indeed, by God, but left to go of itself. The Bible teaches us that God is everywhere, working all things after the counsel of his will, and that his Spirit dwells in men, either in the form of "common or of efficacious grace;"

so that, according to the Scriptures, the Spirit is the author of all special mental endowments, as well as of holy affections. It was he who gave skill to Bezaleel to work in gold, and silver, and brass. It was he who gave strength to the warrior, and wisdom to the lawgiver, as well as inspiration to the prophet. This is the clear doctrine of the Scriptures, which teach an everywhere-present, sustaining, and controlling God, in whom we live, move, and have our being.

ART. VI.—*Visibility of the Church.*

OUR view of the attributes of the Church is of necessity determined by our view of its nature. There is no dispute between Romanists and Protestants, as to whether the Church is visible, perpetual, one, holy, catholic, and apostolical. This is universally conceded. The only question is as to the sense in which these attributes can be predicated of it. If the Church is, in its essential nature and external organization, analogous to an earthly kingdom, then its visibility, perpetuity, and all its other attributes, must be such as can pertain to such an organization. When we affirm that an earthly kingdom is visible and perpetual, we mean that its organization as a kingdom is conspicuous, notorious, seen of all men, and unchanging. The kingdoms of Babylon, Egypt, and of Rome, have passed away. They are no longer visible or extant. The Papacy has a visible existence of the same kind, and Romanists affirm it is to continue while the world lasts. The kingdom of England is the body of men professing allegiance to its laws, and subject to its sovereign. The Church, according to Romanists, is the body of men professing the true religion, and subject to the Pope. Bellarmin, therefore, says: "*Ecclesia est cætus hominum ita visibilis et palpabilis, ut est cætus Populi Romani, vel regnum Galliæ aut respublica Venetorum.*"* As

* Disputationes: de Ecclesia Militante, Lib. iii. c. 2.

these bodies are equally external organizations, the visibility of the one is analogous to that of the other.

But if the Church is the *corpus sanctorum*, the company of believers; if it is the body of Christ, and if his body consists of those, and of those only, in whom he dwells by his Spirit, then the Church is visible only in the sense in which believers are visible. England stands out before the world as an earthly kingdom; the members of Christ's body in England are no less conspicuous. That believers are there, that the Church is there, is a fact which can no more be rationally disputed, than the existence of the monarchy. But it does not follow that because equally visible, they are equally external organizations, and that to deny that the Church, in its idea, is an external society, is to deny that it is visible. Protestants teach that the true Church, as existing on earth, is always visible:

1. As it consists of men and women, in distinction from disembodied spirits or angels. Its members are not impalpable and unseen, as those ministering spirits who, unrevealed to our senses, continually minister to the heirs of salvation. "Surely," exclaims Bellarmin, "the Church does not consist of ghosts!" Certainly not: and the suggestion of such an objection betrays an entire misconception of the doctrine he was opposing. Protestants admit that the Church on earth consists of visible men and women, and not of invisible spirits.

2. The Church is visible, because its members manifest their faith by their works. The fact that they are the members of Christ's body becomes notorious. Goodness is an inward quality, and yet it is outwardly manifested, so that the good are known and recognized as such; not with absolute certainty in all cases, but with sufficient clearness to determine all questions of duty respecting them. So, though faith is an inward principle, it so reveals itself in the confession of the truth, and in a holy life, that believers may be known as a tree is known by its fruit. In the general prevalence of Arianism, the true Church neither perished nor ceased to be visible. It continued to exist, and its existence was manifested in the confessors and martyrs of that age. "When," says Dr. Jackson, "the doctrine of antichrist was come to its full growth in the Council of Trent, although the whole body of Germany, besides

Chemnitz and others, and although the whole visible Church of France, besides Calvin and some such, had subscribed unto that Council, yet the true Church had been visible in those worthies.”* Wherever there are true believers, there is the true Church; and wherever such believers confess their faith, and illustrate it by a holy life, there the Church is visible.

3. The Church is visible, because believers are, by their “effectual calling,” separated from the world. Though in it, they are not of it. They have different objects, are animated by a different spirit, and are distinguished by a different life. They are visible, as a pure river is often seen flowing unmingled through the turbid waters of a broader stream. When the Holy Spirit enters into the heart, renewing it after the image of God, uniting the soul to Christ as a living member of his body, the man becomes a new creature. All men take knowledge of him. They see that he is a Christian. He renounces the ways of the world, separates himself from all false religions, becomes an open worshipper of Christ, a visible member of the Church, which is Christ’s body. When the early Christians heard the words of eternal life, and received the gospel in faith, they at once renounced idolatry, withdrew from all corrupt associations, and manifested themselves as a new people, the followers of the Lord Jesus. They were visible members of his body. Even though there was but one such man in a city, still the fact that he was a Christian became notorious; and if a visible Christian, a visible member of the Church. The true Church is thus visible throughout the world, not as an organization, not as an external society, but as the living body of Christ; as a set of men distinguished from others as true Christians. They are the epistles of Jesus Christ, known and read of all men. This is a visibility which is real, and may be, and often has been, and will hereafter be, glorious. The Church, in this sense, is a city set on a hill. She is the light of the world. She is conspicuous in the beauty of holiness. This is not, indeed, the visibility of a hierarchy, gorgeous in apparel, pompous in ritual services—a kingdom which is of this world. But it is not the less real, and infinitely more glo-

* *Treatise on the Church*, p. 19, Philadelphia edition.

rious. How unfounded, then, is the objection that the Church, the body of Christ, is a chimera, a Platonic idea, unless it is, in its essential nature, a visible society, like the kingdom of England or Republic of Switzerland! Apart from any outward organization, and in the midst of all organizations, the true Church is now visible, and she has left a track of glory through all history, since the day of Pentecost, so that it can be traced and verified, in all ages and in all parts of the world.

4. The true Church is visible in the external Church, just as the soul is visible in the body. That is, as by the means of the body we know that the soul is there, so by means of the external Church, we know where the true Church is. There are, doubtless, among Mohammedans, many insincere and sceptical professors of the religion of the false prophet. No one can tell who they are, or how many there may be. But the institutions of Mohammedanism, its laws, its usages, its mosques, its worship, make it as apparent as the light of day, that sincere believers in Mahomet exist, and are the life of the external communities consisting of sincere and insincere followers of the prophet. So the external Church, as embracing all who profess the true religion—with their various organizations, their confessions of the truth, their temples, and their Christian worship—make it apparent that the true Church, the body of Christ, exists, and where it is. These are not the Church, any more than the body is the soul; but they are its manifestations, and its residence. This becomes intelligible by adverting to the origin of the Christian community. The admitted facts in reference to this subject are—1. That our Lord appeared on earth as the Son of God, and the Saviour of sinners. To all who received him he gave power to become the sons of God; they were justified and made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and thereby united to Christ as living members of his body. They were thus distinguished inwardly and outwardly from all other men. 2. He commissioned his disciples to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He enjoined upon them to require as the conditions of any man's being admitted into their communion as a member of his body, repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. 3. He commanded all who did thus repent and believe, to unite

together for his worship, for instruction, for the administration of the sacraments, and for mutual watch and care. For this purpose he provided for the appointment of certain officers, and gave, through his apostles, a body of laws for their government, and for the regulation of all things which those who believe were required to perform. Provision was thus made, by divine authority, for the Church assuming the form of an external visible society.

Let us now suppose that all those who, in every age, and in every part of the world, professed the true religion, and thereby united themselves to this society, were true believers, then there would be no room for the distinction, so far as this world is concerned, between the Church as visible and invisible. Then this external society would be Christ's body on earth. All that is predicated of the latter could be predicated of the former; all that is promised to the one would be promised to the other. Then this society would answer to the definition of the Church, as a company of believers. Then all within it would be saved, and all out of it would be lost. The above hypothesis, however, is undeniably false, and therefore the conclusions drawn from it must also be false. We know that even in the apostolic age, many who professed faith in Christ, and ranked themselves with his people, were not true believers. We know that in every subsequent age, the great majority of those who have been baptized in the name of Christ, and who call themselves Christians, and who are included in the external organization of his followers, are not true Christians. This external society, therefore, is not a company of believers; it is not the Church which is Christ's body; the attributes and promises of the Church do not belong to it. It is not that living temple built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets as an habitation of God, through the Spirit. It is not the bride of Christ, for which he died, and which he cleanses with the washing of regeneration. It is not the flock of the good Shepherd, composed of the sheep who hear his voice, and to whom it is his Father's good pleasure to give the kingdom. In short, the external society is not the Church. The two are not identical, commensurate, and conterminous, so that he who is a member of the one is a member of the other,

and he who is excommunicated from the one is cut off from the other. Yet the Church is in that society, or the aggregate body of professing Christians, as the soul is in the body, or as sincere believers are comprehended in the mass of the professors of the religion of Christ.

If, then, the Church is the body of Christ; if a man becomes a member of that body by faith; if multitudes of those who profess in baptism the true religion, are not believers, then it is just as certain that the external body consisting of the baptized is not the Church, as that a man's calling himself a Christian does not make him a Christian. Yet there would be no nominal Christians, if there were no sincere disciples of Christ. The name and form of his religion would long since have perished from the world. The existence of the external Church, its continuance, its influence for good, its spiritual power, its extension, its visible organizations, are all due to the living element which it embraces, and which in these various ways manifests its presence. It is thus that the true Church is visible in the outward, though the one is no more the other than the body is the soul.

That the Protestant doctrine as to the visibility of the Church, above stated, is true, is evident, in the first place, from what has already been established as to the nature of the Church. Every thing depends upon the answer to the question, What is the Church? If it is an external society of professors of the true religion, then it is visible as an earthly kingdom; if that society is destroyed, the Church is destroyed, and everything that is true of the Church is true of that society. Then, in short, Romanism must be admitted as a logical necessity. But if the Church is a company of believers, then its visibility is that which belongs to believers; and nothing is true of the Church which is not true of believers.

2. The Protestant distinction between the Church visible and invisible, nominal and real, is that which Paul makes between "Israel after the flesh," and "Israel after the Spirit." God had promised to Israel that he would be their God, and that they should be his people; that he would never forsake or cast them off; that he would send his Son for their redemption; dwell in them by his Spirit; write his laws in their

hearts; guide them into the knowledge of the truth; that he would give them the possession of the world, and the inheritance of heaven; that all who joined them should be saved, and all who forsook them should perish. The Jews claimed all these promises for the external organization, *i. e.* for the natural descendants of Abraham, united to him and to each other by the outward profession of the covenant, and by the sign of circumcision. They held, that external conformity to Judaism made a man a Jew, a member of that body to which all these promises and prerogatives belonged; and, consequently, that the apostacy or rejection of that external body would involve the destruction of the Church, and a failure of the promise of God. In like manner Ritualists teach that what is said and promised to the Church belongs to the external visible society of professing Christians, and that the destruction of that society would be the destruction of the Church.

In opposition to all this, Paul taught, 1. That he is not a Jew who is one outwardly. 2. Circumcision, which was outward, in the flesh, did not secure an interest in the divine promises. 3. That he only was a Jew, *i. e.* one of the true people of God, who was such in virtue of the state of his heart. 4. That the body to which the divine promises were made, was not the outward organization, but the inward, invisible body; not the Israel *κατα σαρκα*, but the Israel *κατα πνευμα*. This is the Protestant doctrine of the Church, which teaches that he is not a Christian who is such by mere profession, and that it is not water baptism which makes a man a member of that body to which the promises are made, and consequently that the visibility of the Church is not that which belongs to an external society, but to true believers, or the communion of saints.

The perversion and abuse of terms, and the false reasoning to which Romanists resort, when speaking of this subject, are so palpable, that they could not be tolerated in any ordinary discussion. The word *Christian* is just as ambiguous as the word *Church*. If called upon to define a Christian, they would not hesitate to say—He is a man who believes the doctrines and obeys the commands of Christ. The inevitable inference from this definition is, that the attributes, the promises, and prerogatives pertaining to Christians, belong to those only who

believe and obey the Lord Jesus. Instead, however, of admitting this unavoidable conclusion, which would overthrow their whole system, they insist that all these attributes, promises, and prerogatives, belong to the body of professing Christians, and that it is baptism and subjection to a prelate or the pope, and not faith and obedience towards Christ, which constitute membership in the true Church.

3. The same doctrine taught by the apostle Paul, is no less plainly taught by the apostle John. In his day many who had been baptized, and received into the communion of the external society of Christians, were not true believers. How were they regarded by the apostle? Did their external profession make them members of the true Church, to which the promises pertain? St. John answers this question by saying, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that it might be made manifest that they were not all of us. But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things." 1 John ii. 19, 20. It is here taught, 1. That many are included in the pale of the external Church, who are not members of the true Church. 2. That those only who have an unction of the Holy One, leading them into the knowledge of the truth, constitute the Church. 3. And consequently the visibility of the Church is that which belongs to the body of true believers.

4. The Church must retain its essential attributes in every stage and state of its existence, in prosperity and in adversity. It is, however, undeniable, that the Church has existed in a state of dispersion. There have been periods when the whole external organization lapsed into idolatry or heresy. This was the case when there were but seven thousand in all Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal, when at the time of the advent the whole Jewish Church, as an organized body, rejected Christ, and the New Testament Church was not yet founded; and to a great extent, also, during the ascendancy of Arianism. We must either admit that the Church perished during these periods, or that it was continued in the scattered, unorganized believers. If the latter, its visibility is not that of an external

society, but such as belongs to the true body of Christ, whose members are known by the fruits of the Spirit manifested in their lives.

5. The great argument, however, on this subject, is the utter incongruity between what the Bible teaches concerning the Church, and the Romish doctrine that the Church is visible as an external organization. If that is so, then such organization is the Church; then, as the Church is holy, the body and bride of Christ, the temple and family of God, all the members of that organization are holy, members of Christ's body, and partakers of his life. Then, too, as Christ has promised to guide his Church into the knowledge of the truth, that external organization can never err as to any essential doctrine. Then, also, as we are commanded to obey the Church, if we refuse submission to this external body, we are to be regarded as heathen men and publicans. Then, moreover, as Christ saves all the members of his body and none other, he saves all included in this external organization, and consigns to eternal death all out of it. And then, finally, ministers admit to heaven all whom they receive into this society, and cast into hell all whom they reject from it. These are not only the logical, but the avowed and admitted conclusions of the principle in question. It becomes those who call themselves Protestants, to look these consequences in the face, before they join the Papists and Puseyites in ridiculing the idea of a Church composed exclusively of believers, and insist that the body to which the attributes and promises of the Church belong, is the visible organization of professing Christians. Such Protestants may live to see men walking about with the keys of heaven at their girdle, armed with a power before which the bravest may well tremble.

The scriptural and Protestant doctrine of the visibility of the Church is, therefore, a corollary of the true doctrine of its nature. If the Church is a company of believers, its visibility is that which belongs to believers. They are visible as men; as holy men; as men separated from the world, as a peculiar people, by the indwelling of the Spirit of God; as the soul and sustaining element of all those external organizations, consist-

ing of professors of the true religion, united for the worship of Christ, the maintenance of the truth, and mutual watch and care.

The objections which Bellarmin, Bossuet, Palmer, and writers generally of the Romish and Ritual class, urge against this doctrine, are either founded on misconception, or resolve themselves into objections against the scriptural view of the nature of the Church as "the company of believers." Thus, in the first place, it is objected that in the Scriptures and in all ecclesiastical history, the Church is spoken of and addressed as a visible society of professing Christians. The churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, and Rome, were all such societies; and the whole body of such professors constituted THE CHURCH. History traces the origin, the extension, the trials, and the triumphs of that outward community. It is vain, therefore, to deny that body to be the Church, which the Bible and all Christendom unite in so designating. But was not the ancient Hebrew commonwealth called Israel, Jerusalem, Zion? Is not its history, as a visible society, recorded from Abraham to the destruction of Jerusalem? And yet does not Paul say expressly, that he is not a Jew who is one outwardly; that the external Israel is not the true Israel? In this objection the real point at issue is overlooked. The question is not, whether a man who professes to be a Christian, may properly be so addressed and so treated, but whether profession makes a man a true Christian. The question is not, whether a society of professing Christians may properly be called a Church, and be so regarded, but whether their being such a society constitutes them a competent part of the body of Christ. The whole question is, What is the subject of the attributes and prerogatives of the body of Christ? Is it the external body of professors, or the company of believers? If calling a man a Christian does not imply that he has the character and the inheritance of the disciples of Christ; if calling the Jewish commonwealth Israel did not imply that they were the true Israel, then calling the professors of the true religion the Church, does not imply that they are the body of Christ. When the designation given to any man or body of men, involves nothing more than what is external or official, its application implies they are what they

are called. To call a man an Englishman, is to recognize him as such. To address any one as emperor, king, or president, is to admit his claim to such title. But when the designation is expressive of some inward quality, and a state of mind, its application does not imply its actual possession, but simply that it is claimed. To call men saints, believers, the children of God, or a Church, supposes them to be true believers, or the true Church, only on the assumption that "no internal virtue" is necessary to union with the Church, or to make a man a believer and a child of God.

Scriptural and common usage, therefore, is perfectly consistent with the Protestant doctrine. That doctrine admits the propriety of calling any man a Christian who professes to be a worshipper of Christ, and of designating any company of such men a church. It only denies that he is a real Christian who is one only in name; or that that is a true Church, which is such only in profession. An external society, therefore, may properly be called a Church, without implying that the visibility of the true Church consists in outward organization.

2. It is objected that the possession of officers, of laws, of terms of communion, necessarily supposes the Church to have the visibility of an external society. How can a man be received into the Church, or excommunicated from it, if the Church is not an outward organization? Did the fact that the Hebrews had officers and laws, a temple, a ritual, terms of admission and exclusion, make the external Israel the true Israel, or prove that the visibility of the latter was that of a state or commonwealth? Protestants admit that true believers form themselves into a visible society, with officers, laws, and terms of communion—but they deny that such society is the true Church, any further than it consists of true believers. Everything comes back to the question, What is the Church? True believers constitute the true Church; professed believers constitute the outward Church. These two things are not to be confounded. The external body is not, as such, the body of Christ. Neither are they to be separated as two churches; the one true and the other false, the one real and the other nominal. They differ as the sincere and insincere differ in any community, or as the Israel *κατα πνευμα* differs from the Israel

κατα οὐρα. A man could be admitted to the outward Israel without being received into the number of God's true people, and he could be excluded from the former without being cut off from the latter. The true Israel was not the commonwealth, as such, and the outward organization, with its laws and officers, though intimately related with the spiritual body as the true Church, did not constitute it. The question, how far the outward Church is the true Church, is easily answered. Just so far as it is what it professes to be, and no further. So far as it is a company of faithful men, animated and controlled by the Holy Spirit, it is a true Church, a constituent member of the body of Christ. If it be asked further, how we are to know whether a given society is to be regarded as a Church; we answer, precisely as we know whether a given individual is to be regarded as a Christian, *i. e.* by their profession and conduct. As the Protestant doctrine, that true believers constitute the body of Christ, is perfectly consistent with the existence among them and others outwardly united with them, of officers and laws, no argument can be drawn from the existence of such outward institutions to prove that the Church is essentially an external organization.

Bossuet presents this objection in the light of a contradiction. He says, "Protestants insist that the Church consists exclusively of believers, and is therefore an invisible body. But when asked for the signs of a Church, they say, the word and sacraments: thus making it an external society with ordinances, a ministry, and public service. If so, how can it consist exclusively of the pious? And where was there any such society, answering to the Protestant definition, before the Reformation?"* This objection rests upon the misconception which Ritualists do not appear able to rid themselves of. When Protestants say the Church is invisible, they only mean that an inward and consequently invisible state of mind is the condition of membership, and not that those who have this internal qualification are invisible, or that they cannot be so known as to enable us to discharge the duties which we owe them. When asked, what makes a man a Christian? we

* Bossuet's *Variations*, Book xv. § 20, *et seqq.*

say, true faith. When asked, whom must we regard and treat as Christians? we answer, those who make a credible profession of their faith. Is there any contradiction in this? Is there any force in the objection, that if faith is an inward quality, it cannot be proved by outward evidence? Thus, when Protestants are asked, what is the true Church? they answer, the company of believers. When asked, what associations are to be regarded and treated as churches? they answer, those in which the gospel is preached. When asked further, where was the Church before the Reformation? they answer, just where it was in the days of Elias, when it consisted of a few thousand scattered believers.*

3. A third objection is very much of the same kind as the preceding. If the Church consists exclusively of believers, it is invisible. We are, however, required to obey the Church, to hear the Church, &c. But how can we hear and obey an invisible body? To this the answer is, the Church is no more invisible than believers are. We are commanded to love the brethren; to do good to all men, especially to the household of faith. As faith, however, is invisible, it may be asked, in the spirit of this objection, how can we tell who are believers? Christ says, by their fruits. There is no real difficulty in this matter. If we have a real heart for it, we shall be able to obey the command to love the brethren, though we cannot read the heart; and if disposed to hear the Church, we shall be able to recognize her voice. Because the true Church is always visible, and, therefore, can be obeyed, Ritualists infer that the visible Church is the true Church, though, as Dr. Jackson says, the two propositions differ as much as "to withstand a man" differs from "standing with a man."

4. Much the most plausible argument of Romanists is derived from the analogy of the old dispensation. That the Church is a visible society, consisting of the professors of the true religion, as distinguished from the body of true believers, known only to God, is plain, they say, because under the old dispen-

* The question which Romanists so confidently ask, Where was your Church before Luther? is well answered in the homely retort, Where was your face this morning before it was washed?

sation it was such a society, embracing all the descendants of Abraham who professed the true religion, and received the sign of circumcision. To this external society were given the oracles of God, the covenants, the promises, the means of grace. Out of its pale there was no salvation. Union with it was the necessary condition of acceptance with God. This was a divine institution. It was a visible Church, consisting of professors, and not exclusively of believers. If such a society existed then by divine appointment, what has become of it? Has it ceased to exist? Has removing its restriction to one people destroyed its nature? Does lopping certain branches from the tree destroy the tree itself? Far from it. The Church exists as an external society now as it did then; what once belonged to the commonwealth of Israel, now belongs to the visible Church. As union with the commonwealth of Israel was necessary to salvation then, so union with the visible Church is necessary to salvation now. And as subjection to the priesthood, and especially to the high-priest, was necessary to union with Israel then, so submission to the regular ministry, and especially to the Pope, is necessary to union with the Church now. Such is the favourite argument of Romanists; and such, (striking out illogically the last clause, which requires subjection to prelates, or the Pope,) we are sorry to say is the argument of some Protestants, and even of some Presbyterians.

The fallacy of this whole argument lies in the false assumption, that the external Israel was the true Church. It was not the body of Christ; it was not pervaded by his Spirit. Membership in it did not constitute membership in the body of Christ. The rejection or destruction of the external Israel was not the destruction of the Church. The apostacy of the former was not the apostacy of the latter. The attributes, promises, and prerogatives of the one, were not those of the other. In short, they were not the same, and, therefore, that the visibility of the one was that of an external organization, is no proof that the visibility of the Church is that of an external society. All this is included, not only in the express declaration of the Apostle, that the external Israel was not the true Israel, but is involved in his whole argument. It was, indeed, the main point of discussion between himself and the

Jews. The great question was, is a man made a member of the true Israel, and a partaker of the promise, by circumcision and subjection, or by faith in Christ? If the former, then the Jews were right, and Paul was wrong as to the whole issue. But if the latter, then Paul was right and the Jews wrong. And this is the precise question between us and Romanists, and Anglicans. If the external Israel was the true Israel, then Romanists are right and Protestants are wrong as to the method of salvation. Besides, if we admit that the external Israel was the true Church, then we must admit that the true Church apostatized; for it is undeniable that the whole external Israel, as an organized body, did repeatedly, and for long periods, lapse into idolatry. Nay more, we must admit that the true Church rejected and crucified Christ; for he was rejected by the external Israel, by the Sanhedrim, by the priesthood, by the elders, and by the people. All this is in direct opposition to the Scriptures, and would involve a breach of promise on the part of God. Paul avoids this fatal conclusion by denying that the external Church is, as such, the true Church, or that the promises made to the latter were made to the former.

It is to be remembered that there were two covenants made with Abraham. By the one, his natural descendants through Isaac were constituted a commonwealth, an external, visible community. By the other, his spiritual descendants were constituted a Church. The parties to the former covenant were God and the nation; to the other, God and his true people. The promises of the national covenant were national blessings; the promises of the spiritual covenant, (*i. e.* of the covenant of grace,) were spiritual blessings, reconciliation, holiness, and eternal life. The conditions of the one covenant were circumcision and obedience to the law; the condition of the latter was, is, and ever has been, faith in the Messiah as the seed of the woman, the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world. There cannot be a greater mistake than to confound the national covenant with the covenant of grace, and the commonwealth founded on the one with the Church founded on the other.

When Christ came "the commonwealth" was abolished, and there was nothing put in its place. The Church remained.

There was no external covenant, nor promises of external blessings, on condition of external rites and subjection. There was a spiritual society with spiritual promises, on the condition of faith in Christ. In no part of the New Testament is any other condition of membership in the Church prescribed than that contained in the answer of Philip to the eunuch who desired baptism: "If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God."—Acts viii. 37. The Church, therefore, is, in its essential nature, a company of believers, and not an external society, requiring merely external profession as the condition of membership. While this is true and vitally important, it is no less true that believers make themselves visible by the profession of the truth, by holiness of life, by separation from the world as a peculiar people, and by organizing themselves for the worship of Christ, and for mutual watch and care. The question, when any such organization is to be regarded as a portion of the true Church, is one to which the Protestant answer has already been given in a few words, but its fuller discussion must be reserved to some other occasion.

SHORT NOTICES.

A Commentary on the Song of Solomon. By the Rev. George Burrowes, Professor in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 144 Chestnut street. 1853. Pp. 527.

By some mistake a notice of this interesting volume failed to appear in our last number. It is entitled to a much more extended notice than it is now in our power to give it. It is certainly somewhat remarkable, that the Song of Solomon seems to be attracting special attention in different parts of the Church. Hengstenberg, Hahn, and Delitzsch, have all recently published on the subject in Germany, and Professor Burrowes in our own country. We hope soon to devote a review to these works, and can now only say in general terms of the book before us, that it is imbued with a devout spirit, and evinces, in no small measure, skill and wisdom in the author. The Introduction, which occupies eighty-six pages, ably defends

the canonical authority of the book, vindicates its claims to the devout study of pious people, and proves that it is a religious allegory, and not an amatory eclogue.

One source of evil which has unquestionably, at times, arisen from the misinterpretation and misapplication of this book, is the neglect of the important fact, that the marriage relation is in Scripture used to illustrate the relation between Christ and the Church, and not that between Christ and the individual believer. A believer is no more the bride of Christ than he is Christ's body. The Church alone is the bride of the Lamb. And when this illustration is applied to the relation of the believer to Christ, it is very apt to lead to a false and pernicious form of religious feeling. The two essential characteristics of the conjugal affection are, that it is supreme and exclusive. But the love of Christ for the individual believer is neither supreme nor exclusive. He neither loves him more than others, nor to the exclusion of others. Whereas, his love to the Church is altogether peculiar; it passes knowledge, and has no other such object. If this statement should disappoint any one, and make him feel that his relation to Christ is not what he supposed it to be, it only shows the sickly and unscriptural character of his religion. It is enough that the believer is a member of Christ's body. He need not fancy himself the sole organ of his life. And it is enough that he is a member of that Church which is the Bride of the Lamb, without intoxicating himself with the idea that he is the supreme and exclusive object of the Saviour's love.

The Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah. An Exposition of Psalm xviii. and Isaiah lii. 13—liii. 12. By John Brown, D. D., Professor of Exegetical Theology in the United Presbyterian Church, &c., Edinburgh. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285 Broadway. 1853. Pp. 352.

This is a laborious and thorough doctrinal exposition of an important portion of Scripture, in a series of lectures. The author states that thirty years ago he committed to writing the results of his examination of the passages which are the subject of these lectures. The notes prepared at that time, after frequent revision, were cast recently into their present form, and published. Such maturity of consideration promises well for the solid value of the book. The slight examination we have given it has made the impression that it is sound and scriptural. We are the more pleased to see those portions of Scripture which treat of fundamental doctrines, made the subject of special works, because the tendency is everywhere manifest to divorce theology from the Scriptures, and to present it in the

form of a science. The great security for truth is adherence to the scriptural mode of exhibiting it. The attempt to separate the substance from the form, seldom, if ever, fails to transmute the divine into the human.

The Law and the Testimony. By the author of "The Wide, Wide World." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853. Pp. 840.

In answer to the self-proposed question, "What is this big book?" the author says, "It is a gathering of facts for the purpose of induction. It is a setting together of the mass of Scripture testimony on each of the grand points of Scripture teaching; in the hope that when the whole light of the scattered rays is flung on the matter, the truth may be made manifest." The father of the author, in order to find Sunday-work for his youngest daughter, drew out a schedule of doctrines, and proposed that she and an older sister should examine the whole Scriptures, and arrange under the several heads the passages which serve to sustain or illustrate them. This large and handsome volume is the result. It is evident, from the spirit in which the Preface is written, that the young ladies found their task a labour of love, and that they prosecuted it in happy ignorance that it was a work from which a Buxtorf or an Edwards might have shrunk. That it is not a work of critical analysis and discrimination, will be taken for granted; but the collection is so copious that the Biblical student will find it a very convenient book of reference. In the preparation of sermons especially, the minister may save much time and labour by having such a work constantly at hand. It will be a far better help than metaphysical or theological discussions of the doctrine he may wish to exhibit.

The Conflict of Ages; or, The Great Debate on the Moral Relations of God and Man. By Edward Beecher, D. D. Boston: Phillips, Sansom & Co. 1853. Pp. 552.

This work came into our hands only a few days since. We have had time to do little more than to ascertain its character and design. The great conflict of which it treats, is the struggle between the Augustinian and Pelagian systems of doctrine. The author's object is to trace the history of this conflict of ages; to ascertain the cause, and to reconcile the contending parties, by proposing "a mode in which all true Christians can, without any sacrifice of principle, be at harmony among themselves." In doing this, he says:—"I shall attempt to redeem the first named system from just liability to such attacks as it has sustained, by showing that all of its fundamental elements may be so stated and held as not to be inconsistent with the highest principles of honour and right. I propose at

the same time to do full justice to the motives and principles of those who in different ages have opposed it, as has been stated. So far as their principles of honour and right have been correct, it is my purpose to vindicate and defend them; at the same time endeavouring to explain how it has happened that they have been brought into conflict with the system which they oppose. I shall endeavour to point out a needless misadjustment of the parts of the system by which these principles have been brought into collision with the fundamental facts on which it is based." p. 4. Both systems contain important distinctive truths. These truths are so misadjusted as to be in perpetual conflict. Augustinianism rightly teaches the innate and entire depravity of man; Pelagianism no less earnestly teaches that God is essentially benevolent and just, and cannot first ruin his creatures and then punish them for being ruined. How are these truths to be reconciled? Pelagianism cuts the knot, by denying that man has a sinful nature, or is morally depraved at birth. Those who teach that God is the author of sin, with equal violence get rid of the difficulty, by denying that it is unjust in God to create sin in man and then punish him for it. Neither of these methods has had any vitality in the Church. They are alike unscriptural and in conflict with the most obvious facts of consciousness and experience. Some have assumed the personality of the race, and regarded the sin of Adam as the personal sin of all mankind; so that original sin or innate depravity is to be regarded in its origin as the common act and common guilt of the race, (*die Gesammthat und Gesamtschuld des menschlichen geschlechts.*) Others satisfy themselves by a reference to the law of propagation, like begets like. We inherit the depraved nature of Adam for the same reason and by the same law that the tiger of to-day has the ferocity of the first tiger. This is no solution. It is a mere statement of the fact to be solved. The question is, why do we inherit the corrupt nature of Adam? Where is the justice of spreading moral evil and spiritual death by the infection of one sin? Others, again, assuming the principle that with God, at least, the end sanctifies the means, maintain, if sin and the actual amount of sin are the necessary means to the greatest good, benevolence demands its existence and its propagation through the race, either by the direct efficiency of God, or by a law of nature. The great majority of the Church, as we believe, has in all ages, rested satisfied with the scriptural account of the fall of man. God created him upright. He was left to the freedom of his will in a state of probation. He sinned, and thereby lost the image of God, and incurred

his wrath and curse. The covenant having been made with him not only for himself, but for his posterity, all mankind, descending from him by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him, in his first transgression. This has been regarded by the Latin, Greek, and Protestant churches as the scriptural solution of this great problem; and with this they have rested satisfied, the more easily because every other solution seemed only to enhance the difficulty.

Dissatisfied, however, with all these explanations, Origen proposed the doctrine of a preëxisting state of holiness, in which a free apostasy from God occurred, so that men come into this world with the pollution and guilt contracted in a prior state of existence. This doctrine was mixed up on this part, with other speculations connected with the origin of the world. Discarding these foreign elements, the same view has been reproduced by Professor Müller, of Halle, in his work, *Die Christliche Lehre von der Sünde*. He admits the innate sinful corruption of our nature, from which actual sins proceed in every one who arrives to the period of moral consciousness. But with sin guilt is inseparably connected; and guilt implies that sin had its origin in a free personal act. Here is a contradiction for which he finds no other solution than "die Idee einer ausserzeitlichen Existenzweise der geschaffenen Persönlichkeit, von der ihr Leben in der Zeit abhängig ist;" that is, the idea of a preëxisting state, on which our present life is dependent. Vol. II. p. 488. To the same conclusion Dr. Beecher has arrived, and he appears to have fought his own way through to this solution of the great problem, with an earnestness that has given it the force over his convictions of an inevitable truth. This, then, is the Irenicum. The conflicting parties are to meet and unite on the field of transcendental liberty. The fate and character of man have been determined by a personal act of freedom which transcends the limits of consciousness and time. The three obvious objections to this scheme, viz: the silence of Scripture as to any such preëxisting state; the impossibility of connecting our present character with a personal act of which we have no consciousness; and the fact that Scripture gives in the fall of Adam a different solution of the problem in question, besides others which must crowd on every reader's mind, will probably produce an *a priori* conviction that our author's hopes of putting an end to the "conflict of ages" are doomed to disappointment. This, however, does not destroy the value of his book. Much appears to be conceded which has hitherto been denied; deeper views of the nature of sin are here presented than have recent-

ly appeared from the class of theologians to which Dr. Beecher is understood to belong, and many points of interest are discussed with great discrimination and force. The work appears to carry with it the impress of an able, earnest, and devout mind, and will do much, we doubt not, to conciliate for its author the respect and kind feeling even of those who are most opposed to his conclusions.

On Miracles. By Ralph Wardlaw, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853. Pp. 298.

The venerable author of this volume informs his readers that the substance of it was delivered from his pulpit in a series of lectures. He was induced to publish them under the present form by "the abounding scepticism of the times." Dr. Wardlaw has an established and widely extended reputation, and any work bearing his name is sure to meet with general acceptance. This work will not prove an exception. It is written in his characteristic clear and flowing style, and in a popular form, adapted to general apprehension and impression. The defect of the work, we apprehend, is a want of due discrimination and accuracy. "In every argument, without doubt," he says, "it is a first and most essential requisite, that our conceptions be as distinct and definite as possible of what we are arguing about." He complains of the want of accuracy in others, in stating the nature of miracles, and yet his own definition is both defective and inaccurate. He says they are "works involving a temporary suspension of the known laws of nature, or a deviation from the established constitution and fixed order of the universe." This definition is inaccurate, because it requires that an event, to be miraculous, must be contrary to the *known* laws of nature. This he insists upon. "It is an indispensable requisite to a genuine miracle, that it be wrought both *on* materials, and *by* materials of which the properties are well and familiarly known." But the nature of an event does not depend upon its nature being known. It is what it is, whether known or not. It may be known to one man, and not to another. So far as this member of the definition is concerned, it is enough that the event be actually supernatural. It may be, and very often is difficult to determine whether an event is natural or supernatural. But its being the one or the other is entirely independent of our knowledge.

The above definition is not only inaccurate, but essentially defective. A miracle is not only a supernatural event, but one due to the immediate efficiency of God. Satan has, no doubt, power to produce supernatural effects; that is, effects which

involve a suspension of the laws of nature. If he showed Christ all the kingdoms of the earth in a moment of time, this involved a suspension of the known laws of nature. If God were to show to us such a sight, it would be a miracle; if done by Satan, it is no miracle. It is essential to miracles that they should be the works of God, *i. e.* works produced by his immediate agency. And it is also essential that they be contrary to the established laws of nature. Raising Lazarus from the dead was a miracle, because it was contrary to nature, and effected by the immediate power of God. Regeneration, though due to the direct agency of God, is not, in the theological sense of the word, a miracle, because it involves the suspension of no natural law.

History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. By the Rev. W. M. Hetherington. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1853. Pp. 311.

Few provincial councils of the Church have had greater influence or are entitled to greater respect than that of Westminster. Its Confession of Faith and Catechism are the formula of doctrine for a greater number of Protestants than probably any other symbol. Dr. Hetherington's History of this venerable Assembly has for ten years been before the public, and is already too well known to need any commendation. This reprint is in a very neat and compact form.

The Powers of the World to Come and the Church's Stewardship as invested with them. By George B. Cheever, D.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1853. Pp. 384.

This work is "a practical survey of what is termed in some quarters the Eschatology of the Scriptures; the realities which according to Divine revelation we are to meet beyond the grave." A very solemn subject, treated in a very solemn way. The book is marked by the strength of feeling and imagination which are the known characteristics of Dr. Cheever's writings.

The Family Bible, Volume I., Genesis to Job. With brief Notes and Instructions, by Rev. Justin Edwards, D.D. With maps, and the references and marginal readings of the Polyglott Bible—pp. 608, 8vo; price in fine paper, bound, 75 cents. American Tract Society.

The work is similar in character to the New Testament, of which sixty thousand copies have already been welcomed by the community. "It is designed to assist common readers to understand the meaning of the Holy Spirit in the Bible, and to draw from it such instructions as they may need;" giving, in a terse and striking form, the plain, practical results of investigation.

The Missionary of Kilmany: A Memoir of Alexander Paterson, with notices of Robert Edie. By Rev. John Baillie. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1853. Pp. 253.

The subject of this memoir was a young man whose education was of the most limited kind. He was brought to the knowledge of the truth, through the instrumentality of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, who entertained for him the most affectionate regard to the end of life. Through the influence of his venerable friend, Mr. Paterson, was induced to go to Edinburgh and labour as a missionary among the neglected poor. In this work he was eminently successful; so that Dr. Chalmers said of him, "that his labours had been more blest than any man I know." The memoir of such a man is at once a witness, a reproof, an encouragement, and a guide. We pray it may widely answer all these ends, to the glory of God, and to the consolation of the poor of his people, who may here see how much may be done by one of their own number.

Water from the Well-Spring, for the Sabbath hours of afflicted Believers: being a complete course of Morning and Evening Meditations for every Sunday in the year. By Edward Henry Bickersteth, M. A., Rector of Hinton Martell, Dorset. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1853. Pp. 254.

In opening this volume, our eye fell on the sentence, "The sight of Jesus by faith is the beginning of spiritual life." A truth so characteristic as to be, as it were, a divine signet. With such a mark on it, it will find its way to the hands and hearts of many who know that Jesus is their life.

Abekuta: or Sunrise within the Tropics: an Outline of the Origin and Progress of the Yoruba Mission. By Miss Tucker. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853. Pp. 278.

Christian Progress: a Sequel to the Anxious Inquirer after Salvation. By the Rev. John Angell James. American Tract Society, 150 Nassau street, New York.

The Life of William Tuttle, the Self-made Man and Consistent Christian. Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle, Rockaway, New Jersey. Second Edition, abridged by the author. American Tract Society.

The Lamp and the Lantern: or Light for the Tent and the Traveller. By James Hamilton, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

—
GERMANY.

C. Scribner & Co., New York, will issue in the latter part of October, Dr. Schaf's History of the Apostolic Church. Translated from a revised and enlarged copy of the German, by Edward D. Yeomans. A work of extensive and accurate learning, of great philosophical ability, and literary merit, already known to our theologians acquainted with the German language, and worthy of very high esteem with the theological public.

An elegant edition of the Gospel of John in Syriac, in the Harelsian version; has been published by Prof. G. H. Bernstein, (xxx pp. advertisement, 30 pp. critical remarks, and 67 pp. Syriac text.) 2 thalers 20 sgr. It is reprinted from a MS. formerly in the possession of Joseph Asseman, and now in the Vatican library at Rome, numbered 279, and dating from A. D. 1483. Its text agrees throughout with that in White's edition of the Philoxenian version of the Gospels, Oxford 1778, though it is in many passages more correct. It possesses a peculiar value from being provided throughout not merely with the vowels, but with the points *Kushoc* and *Rucoch*, (corresponding to *Dagesh* and *Raphc* in Hebrew,) the employment of which is still involved in some obscurity. Bernstein has compared throughout two older MSS. in the Estrangelo character, the Florentine A. D. 757, and the Vatican 268, thought by Stephen Asseman to be the original MS. of Thomas of Haclea, A. D. 616, but regarded by Bernstein as less ancient than the preceding. He also compared in the first five chapters the Codex Angelicus, preserved in the Augustinian convent at Rome, written probably in the eleventh century, and which he supposes to represent the text of the Philoxenian version, prior to the emendations of Thomas of Haclea. The result of these comparisons is given in the critical remarks. The typography is of rare beauty. The work is from the press of Teubner, Leipsic.

Apostolus e codice monasterii Sisatovac palæo-slovenice, ed. F. Miklosisch. 8vo. pp. xxiv. and 267. 2 th.

F. Delitzsch, New Investigations into the origin and plan of the Canonical Gospels. Part I. The Gospel of Matthew. 8vo. pp. 112. 16 ngr. The first half of this treatise consists of an article which appeared in *Guerike's Zeitschrift* for 1850,

with some modifications: the rest is taken up with an exhibition of his peculiar views as to the form of Matthew, which he supposes to have been modelled after the Pentateuch. Its Genesis extends from i. 1—ii. 15; its Exodus from ii. 16—vii. 29; Leviticus viii. 1—ix. 38; Numbers x. 1—xviii. 35; Deuteronomy from xix. 1—xxviii. 20.

Jul. Müller, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians*. With a preface by Dr. Nitzsch. 12mo. pp. 392. $\frac{3}{4}$ th.

C. E. Luthardt, *The Gospel of John in its peculiarity represented and explained*. Part II. 8vo. pp. 491. 2 th. Both parts 3 th. 24 ngr.

J. G. Reich, *Critical Commentary to the New Testament*, in which the most important and difficult passages of doubtful reading are accurately reviewed and explained. Vol. I. contains Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. 4to. pp. 409. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ th. This work, as its name implies, is an elaborate examination of the critical authorities for the determination of the true text. It is written in Latin.

A second edition of Delitzsch on Genesis is announced, which appears from its title to be revised and enlarged.

The God-man, the Fundamental idea of Revelation in its unity and historical development, by C. W. E. Nügelbach. Vol. I. *The Man of Nature, or the idea of the God-man in the first stage of its realization in the life of natural humanity, from Adam to Noah*. 8vo. pp. 452. 1 th. 24 ngr.

E. W. Kolthoff, *Life of Jesus Christ delineated by the Apostle Paul, Commentatio*. 8vo. pp. 55. $\frac{2}{3}$ th.

H. K. Lipsius, *Paul's Doctrine of Justification*. 8vo. pp. 220.

The Psalms Explained, by J. Olshausen, 14th part of the *Condensed Exegetical Manual to the Old Testament*. 8vo. pp. 504.

W. F. Rinck, *Apocalyptic Inquiries or Outline of the Revelation of John, and Guide to its understanding*. 8vo. pp. 77. 12 ngr.

History of Rabbi Jeshua ben Joseph hanootzri (the Nazarene) called Jesus Christ. Vol. I. *Critical investigation of the sources*. No. 1. 8vo. pp. 1—112. $\frac{1}{2}$ th.

Kurtz on the Bible and Astronomy, has reached the third edition. 12mo. pp. 570. 1 th. 22 ngr.

A. Sartori, *On the Epistle to the Laodiceans*. An exegetico-critical treatise. 8vo. pp. 55. $\frac{1}{4}$ th.

C. A. Wahl, *Clavis philologica librorum V. T. Apocryphorum*, has been completed by the publication of the second part. 4to. pp. 321—509. Cost of whole work 5 th.

The second part of Reuss' History of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, second edition, has been published. 8vo. pp. 265—586. Containing what commonly passes under the name of General Introduction, viz., History of the canon, of the text, of the versions, and of the exposition.

The second volume has appeared, of Ewald's History of the People of Israel until Christ. 2d Ed. This edition of the work is to be divided into four volumes, instead of three. The present issue is occupied with the period of Moses, Joshua, and the Judges. 8vo. pp. 566. 2½ th.

E. Meier, The Form of Hebrew Poetry. 8vo. pp. 119. 21 ngr.

J. P. Trusen, The Manners, Customs, and Diseases of the Ancient Hebrews, according to the Holy Scriptures, historically and critically presented. 2d edition. 8vo. pp. 289. 1½ th. The whole book is written from the medical point of view; and the author would appear, from the length of title appended to his name, to be a physician of some distinction.

H. Graetz, History of the Jews from the fall of the Jewish State to the close of the Talmud. 8vo. pp. 564.

J. Alsleben, Life of Ephraim the Syrian, as an Introduction to a German and Syriac edition of the works of Ephraim, translated from the Syriac, and furnished with explanatory remarks. With a treatise, "Investigations on the Chronology of Ephraim," and an Appendix, containing a list of the Syriac works of Ephraim. 8vo. pp. 60. 10 sgr.

The Confession of the Evangelical Church in its relation to the Romish and the Greek: a critical exhibition of the distinctive doctrines of the contending Churches, by Dr. A. Hahn. 8vo. pp. 192. 1 th. After the opening sections on the true Church, and the Apostolic and Catholic Church, this treatise is divided into four articles, respectively relating to the objects of religious worship, the scheme of salvation, the means of grace, and the hopes of the Church. It was called out by the arrogant pretensions of the Romish bishop of Silesia, of which province Hahn is general superintendent.

H. Wimmer, The Church and School in North America. 8vo. pp. 368. The author, who, we infer from the preface, has visited this country, gives a brief account of each of the various sects that prevail here, and of the various grades of schools—the district, city, and normal schools, academies, colleges, and universities, professional schools, and benevolent institutions. It is interspersed with abundant statistics, and citations of American authorities.

J. Scheinert, *The Christian Religion*. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 479. 2 th. 8 ngr.

Corpus Reformatorum. Phil. Melanchthonis opera quæ supersunt omnia. Vol. XIX. 4to. pp. 787. 4 th.

L. Noack, *Christianity and Humanity, or the religious consciousness of Jesus, and the redemption fact of Christianity*. 12mo. pp. 105. 12 ngr.

M. Deutinger, *Ground-lines of a Positive Philosophy, as a preliminary essay toward a reduction of all parts of philosophy to Christian principles*. Part 7. With the additional title *History of Philosophy*. Vol. I. *History of the Greek Philosophy*. Section 2. *The Greek Philosophy from Socrates to its close*. 8vo. pp. 582. 2 th. 11½ ngr.

H. Ritter, *Essay toward an understanding upon the most recent German Philosophy since Kant*. 8vo. pp. 136. ¾ th. Reprinted from the *Allgemeine Monatschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur*.

Second editions have been published of the *Religion of Judaism, and the Task of Judaism*, by S. Stern.

A. Tholuck, *Heathenism according to Holy Scripture*. A discourse delivered before the Evangelical Union for Ecclesiastical purposes, April 4th, 1853. 8vo. pp. 16. 4 ngr.

A. Wuttke, *History of Heathenism in reference to Religion, Science, Art, Morality, and Civilization*. The 2d Vol. 8vo. pp. 597, is devoted to the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindoos. 2½ th.

Hindoo Studies, Contributions to the Knowledge of Hindoo Antiquity, by Dr. A. Weber. Vol. II.

L. Ross, *the Pnyx and the Pelasgikon in Athens*. 8vo. pp. 36. ½ th.

J. Bayer, *Of Sinai, Olympus, and Tabor*. *Studies in the Philosophy of History, Religion, and Art*. 8vo. pp. 160.

L. L. Dicke, *Zeus*. *The Gods of the Greeks and Romans*. 8vo. pp. 388.

L. Friedländer, *The Criticism of Homer, from Wolf to Grote*. 8vo. pp. 84.

T. Tobler, *Plan of Jerusalem after Catherwood and Robinson*. 2d ed. improved. 24 ngr.

O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanscrit Dictionary*, published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. No. 1. 4to. pp. 160. 1 th.

F. A. Arnold, *Arabic Chrestomathy, from Manuscripts and rare printed works*. 2 Parts, Text and Glossary. 8vo. pp. 438. 5 th.

Ibn-el-Athiri, *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*. Vol. XII. and last, containing years of the Hejira 584—628. Edited by C. J. Tornberg. 8vo. pp. 330. 4½ th.

Libri Arabici: *Fructus imperatorum et jectio ingeniosorum*, auctore Ahmede Ebn-Arabshah. ed. G. G. Freytag.

J. A. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum Etymologicum*. Fasc. I. 8vo. pp. 208. The work is to be completed in six parts.

J. J. Tschudi, *The Kechua Language, containing a Grammar, Specimens of the Language, and a Dictionary*. 8vo. pp. 890. 6 th.

A Coptic Grammar is promised shortly, by M. A. Uhlemann.

F. Spiegel, *To the Interpretation of the Vendidad*. 8vo. pp. 54. 10 sgr. This is a justification of his translation of the Vendidad, part of which has been published, in reply to the strictures of Benfey.

F. W. Ghillany, City Librarian in Nuremberg, *History of the navigator Martin Behaim, from the oldest existing documents*. With a preliminary treatise, *On the oldest Charts of the New Continent, and the name America*, by Alex. von Humboldt. With an exact copy of Behaim's globe of the year 1492, in two planispheres of its natural size, and three of the oldest maps of America. Fol. pp. 122. 10 th. The resources of the Nuremberg library have here been adduced to throw light upon many points in the life of this early navigator, which were previously obscure. Behaim was born about 1459, in Nuremberg, and was, perhaps, a pupil of Regiomontanus. It has been claimed for him that he discovered America before Columbus, and that he preceded Magellan in the discovery of the straits which bear his name. These questions and others of interest in regard to the discoveries of that period, are here discussed. In the opinion of Humboldt, Amerigo Vespucci is not to blame that his name was given to this continent, to the prejudice of the great discoverer. He had as little idea as Columbus had, that a new part of the world had been discovered. One year after the death of Columbus, in 1506, there appeared the first proposal to call the new world "in honour of its discoverer, Vespucci," *Americi terra* or *America*. This was contained in a work entitled *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, first published anonymously, then in 1509 a second edition, under the name of Martinus Ilacomylus. The first map upon which this name appears is that of Petrus Apianus, in 1520. The map of Juan de la Cosa, one of the companions of Columbus, found by Humboldt in Paris in 1832, also accompanies

the work. The portrait of Behaim which it contains is from an old copy in possession of his family.

Rudelbach und Guericke's Zeitschrift. 1853. No. 3. Stip, Liturgical Questions. Biarowsky, On the new draught of a Hymn book for the Lutheran Church in Bavaria. Delitzsch, The Neptunian and Vulcanian Theories. Wetzel, The distinction between the Lutheran and Reformed system of doctrine. Ströbel's defence of the truth against Latzel. Critical Bibliography of the most recent theological Literature.

